HISTORY OF CIVILIZATIONS OF CENTRAL ASIA

Volume V

Development in contrast:
from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century



UNESCO Publishing

Contents

History of Civilizations of Central Asia

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Volume V

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Preface of the Director-General of UNESCO

The preparation of the *History of Civilizations of Central Asia* undertaken by the International Scientific Committee began in 1980. This scholarly team, composed of 19 members until 1991 and just 16 members after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, comes from the region of Central Asia (as defined by UNESCO) and from other parts of the world. They are responsible for the preparation of this six-volume work, which covers the period from the dawn of civilization to the present day.

More than three hundred scholars, mostly from the Central Asian region, have contributed to this major work, which is now nearing completion with the publication of the present volume. For each scholar who has invested his or her knowledge and expertise in this great undertaking, the work on this *History* has been a difficult task since Central Asia is a complex region, composed of a variety of cultural entities and influences that have undergone major changes over the centuries.

Today, in an era of rapid globalization, it is increasingly vital to find ways to respect the world's cultural diversity while also recognizing our shared human values. The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity adopted by the General Conference at its thirty-first session is a major step towards finding avenues of dialogue between peoples living on our planet. We know that human beings forge their identity through the cultures which have enriched them. Their sense of worth and personal dignity very much lies in the recognition by the other of the special contribution that each and all – women and men, majorities and minorities – have made to weaving the rich tapestry of the world's civilizations. Indeed, civilizations are fertile mixtures and all borrowed from one another well before the advent of our age of electronic communications. The term 'civilization' must denote a universal, plural and non-hierarchical phenomenon, since every civilization has been enriched by contact and exchange with others. History is a shared experience.

The historical relationship existing between nomadic and sedentary peoples, living in quite different environments – steppes and oases – played a key part in shaping the cultural diversity of Central Asia and made an important contribution to its originality. To what extent and in what ways did the same influences affect different societies and fulfil

different functions in extremely varied environments? In this work, we find numerous examples of diverse cultures living together, distinguishable but nevertheless sharing a common heritage. Therefore, this work strongly attests that each and every culture has made its own distinct contribution to the common heritage of humankind, as recalled in the words of the great Iranian poet and philosopher Saadi Shirazi several hundred years ago: ‘All human beings are like organs of a body; when one organ is afflicted with pain, others cannot rest in peace.’ The *History of Civilizations of Central Asia* illustrates perfectly the wealth of diversity and the foundation it provides of a shared future. Today, we are faced with a new challenge: to make of that diversity an instrument for dialogue and mutual understanding.



Koïchiro Matsuura

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

M. S. Asimov

The General Conference of UNESCO, at its nineteenth session (Nairobi, October, November 1976), adopted the resolution which authorized the Director-General to undertake, among other activities aimed at promoting appreciation and respect for cultural identity, a new project on the preparation of a *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. This project was a natural consequence of a pilot project on the study of Central Asia which was approved during the fourteenth session of the UNESCO General Conference in November 1966.

The purpose of this pilot project, as it was formulated in the UNESCO programme, was to make better known the civilizations of the peoples living in the regions of Central Asia through studies of their archaeology, history, languages and literature. At its initial stage, the participating Member States included Afghanistan, India, Iran, Pakistan and the former Soviet Union. Later, Mongolia and China joined the UNESCO Central Asian project, thus enlarging the area to cover the cultures of Mongolia and the western regions of China.

In this work, Central Asia should be understood as a cultural entity developed in the course of the long history of civilizations of peoples of the region and the above delimitation should not be taken as rigid boundaries either now or in the future.

In the absence of any existing survey of such large scope which could have served as a model, UNESCO has had to proceed by stages in this difficult task of presenting an integrated narrative of complex historical events from earliest times to the present day.

The first stage was designed to obtain better knowledge of the civilizations of Central Asia by encouraging archaeological and historical research and the study of literature and the history of science. A new project was therefore launched to promote studies in five major domains: the archaeology and the history of the Kushan empire, the history of the arts of Central Asia, the contribution of the peoples of Central Asia to the development of science, the history of ideas and philosophy, and the literatures of Central Asia.

An International Association for the Study of Cultures of Central Asia (IASCCA), a non-governmental scholarly organization, was founded on the initiative of the Tajik scholar

B. Gafurov in 1973, assembling scholars of the area for the co-ordination of interdisciplinary studies of their own cultures and the promotion of regional and international co-operation.

Created under the auspices of UNESCO, the new Association became, from the very beginning of its activity, the principal consultative body of UNESCO in the implementation of its programme on the study of Central Asian cultures and the preparation of a *History of Civilizations of Central Asia.*

The second stage concentrated on the modern aspects of Central Asian civilizations and the eastward extension of the geographical boundaries of research in the new programme. A series of international scholarly conferences and symposia were organized in the countries of the area to promote studies on Central Asian cultures.

Two meetings of experts, held in 1978 and 1979 at UNESCO Headquarters, concluded that the project launched in 1967 for the study of cultures of Central Asia had led to considerable progress in research and contributed to strengthening existing institutions in the countries of the region. The experts consequently advised the Secretariat on the methodology and the preparation of the *History*. On the basis of its recommendations it was decided that this publication should consist of six volumes covering chronologically the whole history of Central Asian civilizations ranging from their very inception up to the present. Furthermore, the experts recommended that the experience acquired by UNESCO during the preparation of the *History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind* and of the *General History of Africa* should also be taken into account by those responsible for the drafting of the *History*. As to its presentation, they supported the opinion expressed by the UNESCO Secretariat that the publication, while being a scholarly work, should be accessible to a general readership.

Since history constitutes an uninterrupted sequence of events, it was decided not to give undue emphasis to any specific date. Events preceding or subsequent to those indicated here are dealt with in each volume whenever their inclusion is justified by the requirements of scholarship.

The third and final stage consisted of setting up in August 1980 an International Scientific Committee of nineteen members, who sat in a personal capacity, to take reponsibility for the preparation of the *History*. The Committee thus created included two scholars from each of the seven Central Asian countries – Afghanistan, China, India, Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan, Mongolia and what was then the USSR – and five experts from other countries – Hungary, Japan, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

The Committee's first session was held at UNESCO Headquarters in December 1980. Real work on the preparation of the publication of the *History of Civilizations of Central*

Asia started, in fact, in 1981. It was decided that scholars selected by virtue of their qualifications and achievements relating to Central Asian history and culture should ensure the objective presentation, and also the high scientific and intellectual standard, of this *History*.

Members of the International Scientific Committee decided that the new project should correspond to the noble aims and principles of UNESCO and thereby should contribute to the promotion of mutual understanding and peace between nations. The Committee followed the recommendation of the experts delineating for the purpose of this work the geographical area of Central Asia to reflect the common historical and cultural experience.

The first session of the International Committee decided most of the principal matters concerning the implementation of this complex project, beginning with the drafting of plans and defining the objectives and methods of work of the Committee itself.

The Bureau of the International Scientific Committee consists of a president, four vice-presidents and a rapporteur. The Bureau's task is to supervise the execution of the project between the sessions of the International Scientific Committee. The reading committee, consisting of four members, was created in 1986 to revise and finalize the manuscripts after editing Volumes I and II. Another reading committee was constituted in 1989 for Volumes III and IV.

The authors and editors are scholars from the present twelve countries of Central Asia and experts from other regions. Thus, this work is the result of the regional and of the international collaboration of scholars within the framework of the programme of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The International Scientific Committee and myself express particular gratitude to Mrs Irene Iskender-Mochiri for her arduous and selfless work in preparing the volumes for the press.

It is our sincere hope that the publication of the fifth volume of the *History of Civilizations of Central Asia* will be a further step towards the promotion of the cultural identity of the peoples of Central Asia, strengthening their common cultural heritage and, consequently, will foster a better understanding among the peoples of the world.

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EDITORS' NOTE

The Editors wish to draw the reader's attention to certain problems relating to the transcription of names and words in view of the large number of languages involved. The transcription has had to be in conformity with the recognized systems in use for each language, and yet to be harmonized with transcriptions of names or words drawn from other languages.

We have, as far as possible, tried to adopt the following principles:

1. For words and names in Chinese, the Pinyin system is followed.
2. For Tibetan, the Wylie system has been adopted.
3. For Persian and Turkic words, and personal names, the system follows, as much as possible, the one adopted by F. Steingass in his *Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*.
4. Where the texts or titles are in Arabic, the transcription, especially the treatment of the prefix *al-*, is in accordance with the standard system used for transcription from Arabic in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. But since there is often only a thin line between what should be taken to be Arabic and what by its context must be assumed to be Persian, the reader must excuse a great deal of looseness in the matter.
5. Where the same personal names occur in different languages, leading to different transcriptions, we have preferred the one closer to the language of the person concerned. Thus for the Mongol chief, Altan (Altan Khan), we use that form of the name (or rather title) and not the Chinese form An-da, nor the Russian form Altyn; and for the Dzungar rulers, the Mongolian forms are preferred to those the names assume when transliterated from Tibetan. So far as possible, the variant forms are given at first mentions within a chapter and in the Index.
6. Where there are regional variations in pronunciation, we have adopted the most familiar form. So Dūst appears thus in personal names of Iranian and Turkic peoples, but

Dost in those of Indians and Pashtoons. Similarly, the same word is represented as Shīr in ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī, the famous Turki poet, and as Sher in Sher Shāh, the Afghan ruler in India.

7. When the place names given in our sources are close enough to how they appear in modern maps (for which we have taken the latest edition of *The Times Atlas of the World: Comprehensive Edition* as our authority), we have not generally used diacritical marks, even when, for example, our spellings differ from the official versions, as when we have Khurasan instead of the official Iranian form Khorāsān. We have in several cases followed modern forms, like Delhi for Dehli or Dihli, when to do otherwise would seem pedantic, if not confusing.

8. For the sake of simplicity, we have decided to eliminate many diacritical signs, including the dots below consonants such as are used in Steingass' system to indicate the different letters of Arabic that in Persian (and Turkic languages) are pronounced without distinction as '*s*', '*t*' (soft) and '*z*'.

It is likely that among our exacting readers only a few will be happy with our principles and fewer still will like our numerous compromises (and lapses). But we hope they will spare a thought for the numerous languages involved in this volume and the daunting nature of the task of accommodating the requirements of the various, often widely differing, systems of transcription.

There is a further matter we could do little about: our sources usually give dates in eras whose years do not coincide with Christian years. The lack of conformity is greater in the case of Hijri dates, which follow the lunar calendar. Unless our sources give the precise date, or at least the month, there has been no choice in many cases but to give paired years (e.g. 1648–9) for certain events, however odd the given date may look.

INTRODUCTION

The Editors

This volume begins the history of the civilizations of Central Asia at the end of the fifteenth century, when far away from this region two events occurred that were later to affect its fortunes just as much as those of other parts of the world: Columbus' voyage across the Atlantic (1492) and Vasco da Gama's opening of the Cape route to India (1498). But there are reasons nearer home why one fixes on *c*. 1500 as important for Central Asian history.

Developing a point made earlier by V. Barthold, Marshall G. S. Hodgson describes the large states that emerged in Western, Central and Southern Asia at the beginning of the sixteenth century as 'Gunpowder Empires'.[1] Undoubtedly, the cannon and musket gave a new instrument of power to centralizing sovereignties. The Safavid and Mughal empires together held the entire southern part of Central Asia (as defined for this volume and the whole series), namely Khurasan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and north-western India, and both of them made use of gunpowder to impose a degree of central control of which earlier regimes would have been greatly envious. With regard to the Uzbek khanate, created at the same time and controlling Transoxania, the proposition seems less convincing since the khanate, except, perhaps, for the reign of ᶜAbdullāh Khān (1557–98), failed to develop into a strongly unified state. The Dzungar (Oirat/Kalmuk) empire, established in Xinjiang (East Turkistan, western China) in the seventeenth century, sought to strengthen itself in the next century by the use of artillery;[2] but its original success seems to have been due to the same factors as made nomads, when unified, so formidable a cavalry force.

This brings us to another way in which we can look at the consequences of gunpowder for political history. Did 1500 represent the beginning of the decline of nomad military power? Whereas the best war horses were bred in the pastoral lands of the nomads, it was otherwise with artillery and muskets. These were manufactured best in the workshops of sedentary societies. The Safavid and Mughal empires were largely inhabited by sedentary populations and could call upon a large craft sector to produce guns and muskets. The

[1] Hodgson, 1974. See also Barthold, 1935, pp. 142–3.
[2] Barthold, 1956, p. 163.

Uzbeks, whose khanate combined sedentary zones with large nomadic tribes, mightperhaps have failed to build an empire because while they could no longer depend on the previous invincibility of their cavalry, they did not adequately develop a 'gunpowder' arm. The Dzungars' dramatic revival of a nomad Mongol empire was in a sense anachronistic; the moment the Dzungars entered into a conflict with a power outside the nomadic zone, which happened to be the Qing empire of China, they were discomfited (1690s) and were ultimately destroyed (1755–8). Indeed, we can take this volume as treating a period when nomadism began to retreat before sedentary polities owing to a fundamental change in military technology.

We have already mentioned the long-term influences that the discovery of the Americas and the Cape route to India at the beginning of our period was to exert on the history of Central Asia. The internal growth of the European economies and the influx of silver from the New World gave Atlantic Europe an increasingly important position in world trade. Its ability to buy Eastern craft products and erstwhile luxuries by the use of its large stock of bullion, notwithstanding the protests of mercantilists, necessarily caused a major shift in inland Asian trade. If Chinese silk were to be directed mainly to markets, not of Central Asia or eastern Europe, but of Europe's Atlantic seaboard, then the so-called 'Great Silk Route' traversing the Central Asian steppes and deserts was bound to lose its traffic to the sea routes through the Red Sea and around the Cape of Good Hope. Despite objections to this thesis,[3] the broad argument seems persuasive enough: the political difficulties, which are supposed to have throttled traffic on the route, probably themselves arose because the route no longer carried sufficient traffic to support administrations strong enough to protect it.

Europe's acquisition of dominance in world trade was accompanied by the growth of colonialism, marked in rough sequence by the Spanish seizure of the main populated areas of the Americas, the rise of the Portuguese, Dutch and English 'seaborne' empires, the growth of the Atlantic slave-trade and, finally, the territorial conquests in Asia. The last began in earnest after the mideighteenth century. Being farthest from the seaboard, Central Asia began to be affected by colonial conquests only in the nineteenth century. By 1850 the British had seized Punjab and Sind, though the effort to occupy Afghanistan proved abortive. In the north, Russian expansionism had mainly taken the form of the subjugation of Siberian forests and Kazakh steppe-land, until by 1800, the southern limits of Russian-occupied territory ran along a line connecting Lake Balkhash, the Aral Sea and the northern tip of the Caspian Sea. Russian annexation of the more populous lands north and south of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) began mainly after 1850. The mid-eighteenth century has,

[3] Rossabi, 1990.

therefore, been chosen as a convenient approximate date to mark the end of the pre-colonial period in Central Asia.

While for the political and economic history of this region, the initial and terminal points of the period covered by this volume are reasonably well fixed, it is otherwise with the cultural history. One can, perhaps, say that 1850 marks the end of the total sway of pre-modern cultures: after the passage of the first half of the nineteenth century, the extension of colonial dominance was accompanied by the influx of modern ideas – we see here the duality ('destructive' and 'regenerative') of the colonial process, of which Karl Marx had spoken as early as 1853.[4]

One can, however, see no such major cultural discontinuity around 1500. What can be located at best are certain changes in the religious map. In 1501 Shāh Ismā^c^īl initiated a major schism in Eastern Islam when he proclaimed 'Twelver' Shi^c^ism as the state religion of his kingdom; and in 1510 he captured Mashhad in Khurasan, which became one of the holiest shrines of that faith. Henceforth, with Shi^c^ism well entrenched in Iran, substantial Shi^c^ite communities developed in Afghanistan and in the Indian subcontinent.

If this change affected mainly the south-western areas of Central Asia, a similar extensive change in religious colour took place in the region's northwestern parts as well. In 1578 the historic meeting between the third Dalai Lama and Altan Khan occurred at Koko Nor (Qinghai Hu) in northern China; and thereafter one after another the various Mongol tribes converted to Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhism spread to the Qinghan and Inner Mongolian regions of China, Mongolia and Dzungaria (northern Xinjiang, China). The earlier shamanist beliefs and rituals were largely eliminated, though some were doubtless incorporated into the practices of local Buddhism. Finally, in Punjab Gurū Nānak (d. 1538) founded Sikhism, which in the succeeding centuries won over a large number of people (perhaps a quarter of the Panjabi-speaking population) and attained political supremacy that lasted until the British destroyed the Sikh kingdom in 1849.

The changes of faith among the Iranian and Mongol peoples of Central Asia were not unimportant: certainly they deeply affected what might loosely be called their national cultures and their literatures, even if in the case of Lamaist Buddhism it did not initiate any radical changes in its fundamental thought. As to Sikhism it was a new faith, based on popular monotheism, but its influence outside Punjab remained limited.

The main religious and philosophical currents in our period, then, display a continuity rather than a discontinuity from what had gone before. The remarkable assertion of rationalism and the theory of *sulh-i kul* (Absolute Peace, signifying tolerance of all religious and other differences) that the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556–1605) and his circle developed

[4] Marx, 1968.

between 1579 and 1605, or the comprehensive synthesis of theological, Sufi and rational systems by Mullā Sadrā (d. 1640) in Iran, were no more than exceptions to the general spirit of conventionalism pervading the thought and theology of the period.

By and large, the same could be said of the sciences. Sawāi Jai Singh (d. 1744), the outstanding Indian astronomer, with five observatories to assist him, worked with the same Ptolemaic theory as Ulugh Beg (d. 1449): it was as if Copernicus had never existed. Such indifference to European progress was found not only in practically every branch of science, but, what is even more surprising, also in technology, where the products of European craft and industry were visible to the naked eye. Such lack of curiosity and emulation surely suggests that a state of stagnation had arrived.

It is, perhaps, with this in mind that the International Scientific Committee suggested for this volume the title 'Development in Contrast' to follow the previous volume entitled 'The Age of Achievement'. Our period certainly saw a growing contrast in the pace of economic and cultural progress between Central Asia and Europe. It is true that this could also be said of many other parts of the world outside Europe; and that within Central Asia all was not decay and stagnation, compared to what had gone before. But the main fact of relative decay remains clear.

A few words may be added about the plan of this volume. The limits of Central Asia set by UNESCO for this project include Afghanistan, the north-east of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan, northern India, western China, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. The notion of northern India for the purposes of our volume has been a rather restricted one, not including territory further to the south or east of Punjab, though in many matters of cultural and political history such a limit could not be adhered to. Similarly, in respect of China, while the Xinjiang region has been taken to represent western China, it has not been possible to consider the history of the Mongol people without trespassing on the territory of the Qinghai and Inner Mongolian regions of China. In respect of Iran, other areas such as Sistan or Baluchistan had also sometimes to be considered together with Khurasan.

The detailed plan of this volume was approved by the International Scientific Committee for the project meeting in Beijing (China) in July 1995, which chose the present Editors and the scholars contributing to this volume. The Editors wish to record the particular contribution made by the late Professor M. S. Asimov, President of the Committee, to the design of the volume. The various contributions received were considered by the International Committee at its meeting at Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) in June 2001. It desired that the gaps left be speedily filled and many members offered their help in this task. The Editors wish particularly to record their thanks to Professor D. Sinor for furnishing notes

and comments on material relating to Mongol history, and to Professor İ. Togan for providing much material, notably the rare printed text of Mahmūd Churās' *Tārīkh*, and notes on the history of Turkic languages and literatures.

Since many of the contributions received were in Chinese and Russian (and one in Persian), these needed to be translated, and much credit is due to UNESCO's translators for their accurate renderings. However, where these contributions contain references to translations of original English works, or to works whose translations are also available in English, it was desirable to replace them by references to the original or corresponding English publications. So far as it lay within the power of the Editors, this has been accomplished. The Editors have also had to provide various passages of an explanatory nature or to cover themes not dealt with in the contributions received. Unless they are long or possibly controversial, these have not been marked as the work of the Editors, for such indications often needlessly distract the reader's attention. Full care has been taken to ensure that nothing is inserted of which an individual contributor would not approve.

One of the Editors (Professor Irfan Habib) wishes to acknowledge the secretarial and computer assistance received from the Aligarh Historians Society.

Mrs Irene Iskender-Mochiri, who is in charge of the project on behalf of UNESCO, deserves the Editors' warmest thanks for her crucial contribution to the preparation of this volume. She scrutinized the contributed chapters closely before passing them on to the Editors, drew attention to differences in spellings, dates, references, etc., prepared lists of terms or names requiring explanations, and then checked the edited texts returned to her once again in the same way. She has also procured the illustrations and provided material for the maps. Her insistence that schedules be kept is perhaps solely responsible for the appearance of the volume this year. Ms Jana Gough, our copy-editor, has done much in the way of removing inconsistencies in spellings, making the text read more smoothly and providing cross-references wherever necessary. It is the Editors' fervent hope that this volume will prove worthy enough to take its place alongside the four highly acclaimed preceding volumes of this unique project.

1

THE KHANATE (EMIRATE) OF BUKHARA*

R. G. Mukminova and A. Mukhtarov

Contents

* See Map 2, pp. 923–4...

Part One

THE SHAYBANIDS

(*R. G. Mukminova*)

The Kazakhstan steppes and Transoxania in the late fifteenth century

By the end of the fifteenth century, Timurid power in Transoxania had split into a number of principalities ruled by independent and semi-independent sultans (princes or chiefs). Tashkent had passed into the hands of the Chinggisid Yūnus Khan of Moghulistan, and, following his death, to his son Sultān Mahmūd Khan. Khwarazm (Khāwrazm) was only nominally subject to the ruler of Khurasan, Sultān Husayn (1469–1506), who had his seat at Herat. Such a situation encouraged internecine warfare, out of which tribal chiefs in the eastern parts of the Dasht-i Qipchaq or Kipchak steppes (modern Kazakhstan), extending to the north of Khwarazm and the lower reaches of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes), began increasingly to seek power and influence for themselves.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the eastern Dasht-i Qipchaq was occupied by nomadic and semi-nomadic Turkic and Turkicized Mongol tribes ruled by khans (sovereigns) who claimed descent from Shaybān, son of Jöhi (a son of Chinggis Khan). One of the best-known rulers of what became a steppe empire was Abū'l Khayr Khan (1428–69). His realm included various cities along the Syr Darya, such as Sighnaq, Suzaq, Arquq, Uzgend and Yasi (renamed Turkestan), which were ruled by the khan's deputies, known as sultans.

The armies led by Abū'l Khayr formed a powerful and highly manoeuvrable cavalry, to which individual warring Timurid princes appealed for support on more than one occasion. Some of them hoped to seize power in Samarkand with the help of Abū'l Khayr; others attempted to annex neighbouring lands to the territory already under their control. In 1451 it was with the help of Abū'l Khayr that the Timurid ruler Abū Sa^{c}īd (1451–69) was enthroned in Samarkand; and as a token of his gratitude he arranged to give Rābi^{c}a Sultān (d. 1485–6), the daughter of the late Mīrzā Ulugh Beg, in marriage to Abū'l Khayr.

Three years later, Abū'l Khayr gave help to Ab ū Sa^c^īds adversary Muhammad Jūqī, and in 1455 he helped the ruler of Otrar, who had revolted against Abū Sa^c^īd. In 1468 Sultān Husayn arrived in Abū'l Khayr's camp, soliciting military support in the struggle for the Timurid throne in Khurasan. However, by then the khan was stricken with palsy and was unable to meet his request for aid.

Following the death of Abū'l Khayr, there ensued a struggle for power which led to the break-up of the steppe empire into separate units ruled by sultans and tribal chiefs. Increasingly prominent among these was Muhammad Shaybānī (Shāh Bakht, Shibak, 1451–1510), the son of Shāh Budāq Sultān, the eldest son of Abū'l Khayr. He had a gift for political intrigue and military strategy, and was a fairly well-educated man with a taste for sedentary life. Before his conquest of Transoxania he had visited the region a number of times and was well acquainted with conditions there.

The inhabitants of the steppes already had close economic, ethnic and cultural ties with the settled population of Transoxania. There was a fairly brisk trade conducted between them: the sedentary inhabitants needed livestock products, while the nomads required agricultural produce and also various items made by urban craftsmen. This interaction between nomadic and sedentary cultures was reinforced by ethnic links. Intermarriages between Timurid rulers and families of the steppe chiefs were quite frequent. As noted above, one of the wives of Abū'l Khayr Khan was the daughter of Mīrzā Ulugh Beg. The mother of the Timurid Sultān ^c^Alī, who was deposed from the throne of Samarkand by Muhammad Shaybānī, was Zuhra (Zahrā) Begum, a woman from the steppes; Sultan Qāsim of the steppes was the son-in-law of the Timurid prince Badī^c^u'l Zamān; and one of the wives of the Shaybanid ^c^Ubaydullāh Khān was Qazāq Khānum, the daughter of the Kazakh khan Qāsim Khan (d. 1518).

Muhammad Shaybānī

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SHAYBANID KHANATE

At the end of the fifteenth century, Shaybānī Khān became actively involved in the political events of the Timurid principalities. Heading a small military force, he helped now one, now another of the squabbling rulers of Transoxania. Subsequently, he assembled units composed of his steppe tribesmen and led them south with the aim of seizing the Timurid dominions.

As they moved southwards, the ranks of Shaybānī Khān's warriors swelled with conscripts from conquered towns and villages. When Shaybānī finally occupied Transoxania, his army consisted partly of nomads and seminomads and partly of recruits drawn from the

sedentary population.[1] According to Mullā Shādī's graphic description of Bukhara after it had been reduced, all Bukharans from 7 to 70 years of age were ordered to take part in Shaybānī's campaigns.[2]

In a series of campaigns from 1500 to 1503, Shaybānī Khān managed to seize Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent and Andijan. He found one stubborn opponent in Zahīru'ddīn Muhammad Bābur (1483–1530). Upon the death of his father ᶜUmar Shaykh, Bābur was proclaimed ruler of Ferghana, and a little later, at the head of a number of Ferghana *beg*s (commanders), he managed for a short time to occupy the city of Samarkand. On two subsequent occasions, he again endeavoured to ensconce himself in what had once been the capital of the great Timur. A decisive turning-point in Shaybānī's struggle to gain control of Transoxania was his victory over Bābur at the battle of Sar-i Pul near Samarkand in spring 1501, after which Bābur remained in Samarkand for a few more months. Having received no support from the other Timurids, however, he was forced to abandon the besieged city. In 1511–12, after Shaybānī's death at the hands of the Safavids (1510), Bābur had his final opportunity to hold Samarkand, but he was again forced to abandon it, this time for ever. Returning to his seat in Kabul, he turned his attention to India, where ultimately he gained an empire (1526–30). In his remarkable memoirs Bābur repeatedly and lovingly recalls his Transoxanian homeland.

In 1505 Shaybānī Khān's army took the city of Urgench after a ten-month siege, signalling the beginning of the annexation of the whole of Khwarazm, which belonged to the residual Timurid empire of Herat. The ruler of Herat, Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā (1469–1506), was already at odds with rebellious emirs and his own unruly sons. His attempts to mount a campaign against Transoxania proved abortive, and when he decided to take to the field with a united force, having assembled his troops at Herat, he was no longer capable of leading an army. On his death in 1506 his two sons, Badīᶜ al-Zamān Mīrzā and Muzaffar Husayn Mīrzā, succeeded jointly to the throne. In the apt words of the historian Khwānd Amīr, the brothers were more akin to kings on a chessboard than to ruling heads of state. Nevertheless, both the Herat rulers proclaimed a campaign against the Uzbeks, and began to assemble a force on the banks of the Murghab, where Bābur also dispatched his troops. In 1506 Shaybānī Khān's troops took Balkh, but the khan hesitated to move against the united Timurid forces. However, those forces soon dispersed on their own.

Finally, in 1507 Shaybānī Khān took Herat almost without a fight. With the subjugation of the territory of present-day Turkmenistan, including Merv and the city of Astarabad, the Uzbek conquest of the lands previously under Timurid rule was practically complete.

[1] Mukminova, 1954, Vol. 1.
[2] Mullā Shādī, MS, fol. 385.

THE SHAYBANID KHANATE: TERRITORY AND INHABITANTS

The core of the Shaybanid khanate was Transoxania, the land lying between the Amu Darya (Oxus) and Syr Darya rivers.[3] Towards the end of Shaybānī Khān's life (1510), his realm encompassed the Syr Darya towns of Turkestan (Yasi), Arquq, Sayram and Sauran, the whole of Khwarazm, the Ferghana valley, the southern parts of modern Turkmenistan with its major centre of Merv, and the Damghan and Astarabad (Astarābād) districts, as well as Khurasan including Mashhad and Herat.

Throughout the existence of the Shaybanid khanate, its borders were never stable. After Muhammad Shaybānī was killed near Merv in a battle with Shāh Ismāᶜīl in 1510, Khurasan was lost to the Safavids and Khwarazm became independent of the Shaybanid khanate – it was soon to be ruled by the descendants of Chinggis Khan's son Shaybān from another branch. It was again briefly conquered by the Uzbek Shaybanid khan ᶜUbaydullāh (1533–9); and in 1593 ᶜAbdullāh Khān managed to annex it to the Shaybanid empire. After his death in 1598, Khwarazm regained its independence.

The Shaybanids, like the Janids (Astarkhanids) later on, were concerned to ensure the security of their Balkh possessions, to which, according to the circumstances of the moment, both the Safavids of Persia and the Mughals of India laid claim. Khwarazm, Herat and Balkh and the surrounding areas had close economic and cultural ties with Samarkand and Bukhara. Through Khwarazm ran major commercial routes to the lower reaches of the Volga, the Kazan khanate (until 1552) and on to eastern Europe; through Khurasan ran transit routes to western and south-western Persia and India. Both Khwarazm and Khurasan therefore held great attraction for the rulers of Transoxania who tried to keep these areas within the confines of their empire.

The territory of the Shaybanid state was inhabited by an ancient stock, to which new ethnic layers had been added over the centuries. Historians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries used the general appellation ' Uzbeks' (Özbegs) to refer to the confederation of tribes living in the territories of Abū'l Khayr Khan; and Abū'l Khayr's state entered history as'the empire of the nomadic Uzbeks'. Authors of the sixteenth century also gave the name Uzbek to those elements of various tribes and clans of the Dasht-i Qipchaq who migrated to Transoxania under the leadership of Shaybānī Khān and settled in the territory they had conquered. Consequently the name Uzbek, which had previously been a political term covering a conglomerate of steppe tribes who had in the fourteenth century owed allegiance to Özbeg Khan of the Golden Horde, acquired in this new setting an ethnic

[3] Some medieval historians include in the territory of Transoxania (*māwarā' al-nahr*) certain territories located outside the area bounded by these rivers, such as Balkh, Tashkent, leftbank Khwarazm and the entire Ferghana valley.

meaning. Those elements of the tribes of the steppes that migrated to Transoxania at the beginning of the sixteenth century were gradually absorbed into the long-standing local Turkicspeaking population, to whom they gave their own name.[4] Individual tribal groups continued to penetrate into Transoxania even after this time. Today the Uzbeks make up the bulk of the population of Uzbekistan, though the language they speak is Eastern Turki and not the Turkic of the Kipchak steppes.

SHAYBĀNĪ KHĀN AS RULER

Shaybānī Khān attempted to concentrate both worldly and spiritual power in his own hands. He proclaimed himself *imām al-zamān wa-khalif-al rahmān* (Imam of the Age and Caliph of the Compassionate One, i.e. God). He dismissed the clerics who had played an influential role under the last Timurids, replacing them with others of his choice. For instance, Khwāja Khāwand was appointed *shaykh al-islām* (principal theologian) because he 'had never had relations with those [earlier] in power'.[5] Shaybānī entrusted the administration of the conquered lands to sultans and influential *beg*s who had participated in his campaigns. He relied upon them to organize military campaigns and guard the borders of the empire. In individual cases, there are references to land being transferred as a *suyūrghāl* (land grant, lit. gift) and other forms of assignment such as *iqtā*^{c},[6] as under the Timurids. Shaybānī also awarded lands to officials in return for their services, and was in the habit of distributing *tarkhān* certificates, especially to merchants. The *tarkhān*-holders were usually well-to-do members of society whose privileges were not conditional on service to the sovereign. Being a *tarkhān* meant that one was freed from paying taxes on one's own land and obtained a number of other advantages. A *tarkhān* could be excused up to 'nine times' for misdemeanours, and had free access to the sovereign. Eventually the policy of granting large estates to representatives of the high nobility meant that the state was divided up into many separate domains, whose chiefs grew rich in a relatively short time. Even by the end of Shaybānī Khān's life such nobles had become restive at any attempt to exercise control over them.

Various documents attest to the wealth of individual Uzbek sultans who owned pastureland and other income-yielding property. The property of one female member of the Shaybanid dynasty, Mihr Sultān Khānum (wife of Muhammad Tīmūr, the son of Muhammad Shaybānī), included numerous villages, around 200 pieces of land, gardens, meadows,

[4] Akhmedov, 1965; Yakubovsky, 1941, p. 3; Mukminova, 1954.

[5] Bannā'ī, MS, fols. 91–3; Rūmlū, 1931, Vol. 1, p. 98; Sālih, 1908, pp. 51, 155, 183; Kashmīrī, MS, fols. 315–477. Also Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 210, for Shaybānī's destruction of entire corps of officials and followers of the Timurid regimes that he brought down.

[6] ^{c}Abdullāh, MS, fol. 93a.

summer pastures, more than 40 craft establishments and shops, a writing-paper *kārkhāna* (workshop), mills, residential houses, etc.[7] An enormous amount of property, including numerous craft and commercial establishments, was owned by Dust Muhammad Bī, the son of Jān Wafā Bī, a member of Muhammad Shaybānī's entourage and for a time the governor of Samarkand, where he resided in the house of Khwāja Yahyā, the son of Khwāja Ahrār.[8] He was later to be the commander of the garrison placed in Herat.

Shaybānī Khān succeeded in uniting a patchwork of small domains and, for a time, centralizing political power. He took a number of steps to curb centrifugal tendencies, but this displeased individual sultans, and their disaffection was apparent during his campaign in the steppes in 1509, and, to a certain extent, also at the fateful battle with Shāh Ismā^cīl of Persia at Merv in 1510, where Shaybānī was heavily outnumbered and lost his life.[9]

Shaybānī Khān took a series of measures aimed at restoring agriculture and reclaiming land that had been abandoned during the years of civil strife. It was decided to transfer such land to the khan's stewardship pending the return of the previous owners, when it would be restored to them. He allocated a sum of money from the treasury for cultivating the land. Judging by documentary evidence, some of the land remained in the hands of Shaybānī Khān, passing later to his son Muhammad Tīmūr, after whose death in 1514 it passed to the latter's wife, who then arranged for it to be donated as a *waqf* (charitable endowment) to a *madrasa* (college for higher instruction in the religious and other sciences) in Samarkand.

Shaybānī Khān improved the administration of *waqf* properties and repaired irrigation works. In 1502 a dam carrying a bridge was built across the Zarafshan river. He also introduced monetary reforms and regulated the circulation of coinage. Shaybānī Khān was himself a poet and a highly cultivated man. On his orders, books written in Persian and Arabic, and some in the *mughulī* (Uighur) script, were translated into Uzbek (Turki).

ᶜUBAYDULLĀH KHĀN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The Uzbek khanate faced a grave crisis upon the death of Shaybānī Khān at the battle of Merv in 1510. Bābur, marching from Kabul, gained control of Hisar, Kunduz (Qunduz), Kulab and Badakhshan. In 1512 he occupied Samarkand. In order to consolidate his positions in Transoxania, Shāh Ismāᶜīl sent to his aid a 12,000-strong army under Najm-i Sānī, who laid siege to Karshi (Qarshi) and, after overcoming the stiff resistance of the town's inhabitants, subjected them to cruel reprisals. From Karshi, the Qizilbāsh[10] army headed

7 Mukminova, 1966.
8 Bannā'ī, MS, fol. 88.
9 For the circumstances leading to the battle and the battle itself, see Ghulam Sarwar, 1939, pp. 58–64.
10 Nomadic warriors, who formed the backbone of the Safavid armies, were generally known as Qizilbāsh (Red-Heads) from their turbans, which had twelve purple stripes in honour of the Twelve Imams.

for Bukhara – the domain of Shaybānī's nephew ᶜUbaydullāh Sultān – and laid siege to Ghujduvan, where the invading army was unexpectedly attacked. ᶜUbaydullāh Sultān's decisive victory at Ghujduvan in 1512 ensured the survival of Shaybanid power in Central Asia. For a time even Mashhad and Herat were reoccupied by the Uzbeks, but Shāh Ismāᶜīl regained these towns in 1513.[11]

ᶜUbaydullāh Khān (1512–39) proclaimed Bukhara the capital of the Shaybanid khanate and embarked upon a major programme of construction there, rebuilding part of the town walls. He also undertook campaigns against Khurasan and Khwarazm. Economic and cultural development continued to a certain extent under ᶜUbaydullāh Khān's son, ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz (1539–50). He ordered the construction of a mosque known as the Wālida-yi [Mother of] ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān mosque,[12] and other important buildings.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Shaybanid dominions consisted of a number of practically independent domains. The two main city-states of Samarkand and Bukhara each had its own ruler with the title of khan. Balkh too was an autonomous principality under Bukhara: when in 1549 Bābur's son Humāyūn, then ruling over Kabul, invaded Balkh, ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān of Bukhara arrived to join its ruler Pīr Muhammad and helped defeat the invaders.[13]

Also enjoying de-facto independence was Tashkent, the administrative and economic centre of a region that included the Ferghana valley and towns along the Syr Darya river. Tashkent grew in importance during the years it was ruled by the Shaybanid sultans Suyunj Khwāja and Kuchkunchī Khān (1510– 30), the well-educated sons of Ulugh Beg's daughter Rābīᶜa Begum. They, together with Suyunj Khwāja's son Keldī Muhammad, are remembered as patrons of literature, science and the arts. The sixteenth century also saw the building in Tashkent of the Burāq Khān *madrasa* (Burāq Naurūz Ahmad Khān being the appanage ruler of Tashkent, and from 1553 to 1556 the khan of Samarkand), which is one of the city's most beautiful buildings. Other buildings such as the Kukeldāsh *madrasa*, a bathhouse and a number of mausoleums were also erected there in the course of the sixteenth century.

The development of numerous crafts in Tashkent had much to do with the proximity of the nomadic steppe-lands. The city also had close links with Samarkand and Bukhara. Indeed, the town gate opening on to the road to Samarkand, the Samarqand Darwāza, has kept that name to this day. In the city and its suburbs were caravanserais catering to merchants from various countries. During this period both in Tashkent and in Shahrukhiya

[11] Ghulam Sarwar, 1939, pp. 66–71.
[12] Babajanov, 1998, p. 92.
[13] Abū'l Fazl, 1873–87, Vol. 1, pp. 285–92.

there were frequent literary *majlis*es (gatherings) during which local poets, scholars and wits competed with those of other cities. The poet and historian Zaynu'ddīn Wāsifī participated actively in these literary jousts.[14]

cAbdullāh Khān

In the 1550s the scattered possessions of the Shaybanid state began to be gathered together by cAbdullāh Khān II (1583–98).[15] The de-facto ruler of Bukhara from 1557, he consolidated his power following the death of Burāq Khān of Samarkand (d. 1556) and was officially proclaimed khan after the death of his father, Iskandar Khān, the nominal khan, in 1583. The weakness of his position at the beginning is shown by the account of an English merchant, Anthony Jenkinson, who visited Bukhara in the winter of 1558–9. 'The King of Boghar [Bukhara]', he observed, 'hath no great power or riches, his revenues are but small.' Within ten days of Jenkinson's departure, 'the King of Samarcand' appeared before Bukhara, taking advantage of the ruler's absence to try to seize the city. Balkh too was practically independent of Bukhara, for as Jenkinson returned to Russia, he was in the company of two ambassadors, one from'the King of Boghar', the other from the 'King of Balke'. It is interesting, however, that Jenkinson found something to commend in cAbdullāh Khān (whom he does not actually name). Taking him to his private chamber, the ruler sought information about Russia, the Ottomans and Christianity, and practised shooting with the Englishman's handguns. Jenkinson found that he was also strict in suppressing highway robbery. It was only in payment for wares purchased that 'hee shewed himselfe a very Tartar'.[16]

From rather unpromising beginnings, but with some firm character traits, cAbdullāh Khān emerged victorious from a bitter internecine struggle among the Shaybanids. After numerous campaigns, his troops conquered Tashkent. In 1582 he led a memorable expedition into the steppes, leaving a record of his campaign in an inscription in the Jilanuli gorge. His attention then turned southwards. In 1584 he expelled the Timurid ruler Shāhrukh from Badakhshan; and over Balkh (already subjugated in 1573) he placed his hot-headed son, cAbdu'l Mu'min, in 1582. In 1588, taking advantage of political instability in Persia, cAbdullāh Khān took Herat from the Persians after an eleven-month siege. Subsequently, in 1589, cAbdu'l Mu'min captured Mashhad, ordering a general massacre

[14] Mukminova, 1983, Vol. 9, pp. 26–30.
[15] Burton, 1997, pp. 17–95, provides the most recent and detailed account of the career of cAbdullāh Khān II, closely based on contemporary sources.
[16] Jenkinson, 1906, pp. 21–7.

and defiling the corpse of Shāh Tahmāsp. In 1593 and again in 1594–5 Khwarazm was invaded by ᶜAbdullāh Khān and annexed to Bukhara.

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE, TRADE AND COMMERCE

ᶜAbdullāh Khān's success in unifying the country created a degree of prosperity for craftsmen and traders, whose activities were naturally dependent on stability. He also enjoyed the support of some of the large secular and religious landholders. Particularly prominent among the latter were the Juybārī *shaykh*s, two of whom, Khwāja Islām (d. 1561) and his son Khwāja Saᶜd (d. 1589), participated actively in state affairs and carried on a considerable amount of trade.

In the Bukhara khanate much importance was attached to the irrigation system, and during the sixteenth century new irrigation canals were dug and reservoirs built. In Bukhara, as in Samarkand, certain crafts became so established that they were held to be typical of each city: Samarkand became known for various types of fabrics, a special high-quality paper and artistic stonework. Bukhara specialized in the manufacture of jewellery, weaponry, *alācha* (striped cotton and silk fabric) and wines of which it was said that'there were none stronger in all Transoxania'. Especially renowned were the weapons made here, inlaid with jewels. The praises of Bukharan bows were sung as far afield as Siberia, in the Buriat national epic.

The second half of the sixteenth century saw the construction of a number of religious monuments in Bukhara, including the ᶜAbdullāh Khān, Kukeldāsh and Mādar-i Khān *madrasa*s and the Chār-Bakr ensemble. The Mir-i ᶜArab *madrasa* was built somewhat earlier. The construction and opening of new *madrasa*s attests not only to the important role played by the clergy, but also to the role of Islam in spreading knowledge and enlightenment. ᶜAbdullāh Khān himself was a great builder of other public buildings, notably caravanserais, which greatly impressed subsequent travellers.[17] According to the seventeenth-century historian and encyclopedist Mahmūd b. Walī, 'Bukhara is considered a fountain of scholars and knowledge.' New works of history were compiled and poetry produced; there was also a flourishing school of miniature painting. Celebrated poets and writers worked at the courts of many Shaybanids. Qulbābā Kukeldāsh (d. 1598), the high-ranking official of ᶜAbdullāh Khān, was well known as a poet and a patron of learning and the arts.

The commercial and economic development of Bukhara in this period was reflected in the construction along the caravan routes of various facilities for trade such as *tīm*s (merchants' rows), *tāq*s (domed markets), *kārvānsarāy*s (caravanserais) and *sardāba*s (covered

[17] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, p. 263.

water reservoirs). Such buildings in Bukhara included the Tāq-i Tilpāq-furūshān (Hat-sellers' Dome), Tāq-i Zargarān (Goldsmiths' Dome), Tāq-i Tīrgarān (Fletchers' Dome), Tīm-i Bazzāzān (Drapers' Row, a covered row of warehouses for the sale of cloth and-fabrics), Tīm-i ᶜAbdullāh Khān or Tīm-i Kalān (ᶜAbdullāh Khān's Row or the Great Row), Chahār-suq-i Āhanīn (Ironmongers' Crossroads) and Chahār-suq-i Anār-furūshān (Pomegranate-sellers' Crossroads). A special place was reserved for the sale of mulberry leaves, the Bāzār-i Barg-i Tūt (Mulberry-leaf Market), which gives some indication of the importance of sericulture in Bukhara.

Banking institutions also grew in importance in Bukhara in the second half of the sixteenth century, and there was an active *sarrāf-khāna* (money-changers' mart). Indeed, the key role of the *sarrāf*s (money-changers) in the economy of the city and its social life in general is indicated by a street, crossroads, caravanserai, mosque, bridge and bathhouse (still standing) being named after them.

The building of new irrigation canals (*ariq*s), bridges, fords, open-air reservoirs and water-basins (*hauz*s) and *sardāba*s in its vicinity attests to the prosperity of Bukhara, which by the second half of the sixteenth century had finally become the capital of the Transoxanian khanate and a major centre of Central Asian crafts and trade. According to Badru'ddīn Kashmīrī, the Juybārī *shaykh* Khwāja Saᶜd gave instructions and funds for the building of a total of eleven bathhouses in various cities of Transoxania, including Bukhara, and for the laying out of a number of *chahārbāgh* gardens (gardens divided into four parts).[18]

Craftsmen played a major role in the economic life of Bukhara and Samarkand. The manufacture of high-quality articles depended essentially on the technical skill and professional mastery of these craftsmen, who were apprenticed from childhood to an *ustād* (master). Written contracts providing for the training of apprentices under master craftsmen have been preserved.[19]

ᶜAbdullāh Khān's monetary reforms (carried out in several stages), together with the earlier reforms of Muhammad Shaybānī and Kuchkunchī Khān, helped encourage domestic and foreign trade. Caravan routes linked the cities of the Shaybanid khanate to centres in Afghanistan, India, Persia, Khwarazm and Turkey, to the towns along the Syr Darya river, to the Kazakh steppe (Dasht-i Qazāq) and to Siberia. In the second half of the sixteenth century trade links with Russia were strengthened. Moscow received caravans bearing goods

[18] Kashmīrī, MS, fols. 295–301; on the term *chahārbāgh* (*chārbāgh*), see Davidovich, 1954; *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Tajikskoy SSR*, 1955, pp. 143–4; Mukminova, 1966, pp. 133, 242–3; McChesney, 1997; Subtelny, 1997.

[19] *Majmuᶜa-i wasā'iq*, MS, fols. 118a–122b; see also Mukminova, 1976, pp. 153–4; Keyvani, 1982, p. 131.

belonging not only to the khan of Bukhara, but also to the Juybārī *shaykh*s; and the Russian caravan embassy to Bukhara of Zakharia Bogdanov was joined by commercial agents of the Stroganov brothers.[20] ᶜAbdullāh Khān's reign also saw the opening of commercial relations with Muscovy, whose borders extended by the mid-sixteenth century to the shores of the Caspian.[21]

The Shaybanid khanate maintained diplomatic links with other countries. In the late 1520s, Bābur's court at Agra received emissaries from the Shaybanids Kuchkunchī Khān and Abū Saᶜīd, as well as from Shaybānī Khān's daughter-in-law Mihr Sultān Khānum and her son Pulād Sultān. The emissaries received presents of fine clothes and sums of money, each 'according to his station'. There were frequent exchanges of letters and gifts between the Indian Mughal emperor, Akbar, and ᶜAbdullāh Khān.

A wide variety of goods were traded between Bukhara and Samarkand and the major marts of India. Sixteenth-century documents mention various types of cloth and woven fabric, indigo, sugar, spices and special medicinal herbs being imported from India. Indian merchants were frequent visitors to the markets of Central Asia. In Bukhara as well as Tashkent there were caravanserais for Indians. In addition, in Bukhara there was an Indian quarter housing Indian merchants and money-lenders. Merchants from Bukhara and Samarkand had their own caravanserais in Isfahan, Astrakhan, Baku and other cities.

From the mid-sixteenth century, Bukhara's links with the Ottoman empire grew stronger, while trade with China declined somewhat.[22] Nevertheless, in the sixteenth and the following centuries, caravans continued to travel from Bukhara through Samarkand to the Far East.[23]

Much trade was carried on with the inhabitants of the Kazakh steppe, who supplied local markets with livestock and livestock products, camels and various distinctive craft items, such as sheepskin caftans dyed in various colours so that they resembled satin. The Karakalpaks (Qara-Qālpāqs) acted as intermediaries in the trade with the Kazakhs, bringing livestock and furs to Bukhara.

There was also considerable trade with the Turkmens, who mainly purchased cotton fabrics from the Bukhara markets. Turkmens bringing woollen clothing, saddle-bags and horse-cloth found a ready market in Bukhara, and there was great demand among the inhabitants of the Zarafshan and Ferghana valleys for Turkmen carpets, especially those made by the Teke Turkmens, which often adorned the floors of wealthy households. The Turkmens also supplied special breeds of horses. From Siberia came furs, dyes and wax.

20 Vvedensky, 1962, p. 94.
21 See Jenkinson, 1906, p. 25, for the commerce the Russians carried on with Bukhara in 1558–9.
22 Mukminova, 1990.
23 Meyendorff, 1975, p. 120.

Some idea of the numbers of merchants who visited Bukhara during ᶜAbdullāh Khān's reign may be gathered from the records of the chronicler of the Juybārī *shaykh*s, Badru'ddīn Kashmīrī, who wrote that they came 'from all over the world'.[24]

Transoxania was undoubtedly a producer and exporter of cotton fabrics and other cotton products. To a lesser degree, silk was also exported. Among its many other exports were writing-paper and artistic crafts. Unlike the early medieval period, the bulk of the production was for export, including that of woven goods and high-value goods; it was possibly aimed internally not only at a small court elite, but also at the middle classes. The lively trade sparked an increase in the production of woven goods. Weaving continued to be done by hand-loom, and the production of good-quality materials was possible thanks only to the skills of traditional craftsmen.

ᶜABDULLĀH'S FINAL YEARS

ᶜAbdullāh Khān's later years were troubled by a rift with his ambitious son ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min, who, dissatisfied with his viceroyalty at Balkh, sought to control more territories and even to replace his father. Since practically all the old Uzbek nobles rallied to the cause of their traditional master, ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min turned against them. ᶜAbdullāh Khān died in 1598 while preparing to deal with a Kazakh invasion under Tevke Khan (Tevekkel, Tavakkul, 1582–98). ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min marched to Samarkand to claim the succession and then carried out a massacre of the members of his own family to eliminate any possible rivals; he also put to death a number of ᶜAbdullāh Khān's commanders and nobles. So when he himself was assassinated before the end of 1598, while on his way to Balkh to face a Persian invasion, there was no easily identifiable heir left to claim the throne and the great edifice that ᶜAbdullāh Khān had built began to break up irrevocably.[25]

[24] Kashmīrī, MS, fols. 294a–b.

[25] See Iskandar Munshī, 1350/1971, Vol. 1, pp. 548–57, for a detailed narrative of the events touched upon in this paragraph. Cf. Adle, 1972; Burton, 1997, pp. 95–8.

Part Two

THE JANIDS (ASTARKHANIDS)

(*R. G. Mukminova*)

The establishment of Janid (Astarkhanid) power

Upon the death of ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min Khān, the notables at Bukhara dredged up Pīr Muhammad Khān, an opium addict, from among the few surviving members of the Shaybanid house and raised him to the position of khan. The Uzbek notables at Balkh installed a dubious pretender, ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAmīn. At Herat, Dīn Muhammad Sultān was proclaimed de-facto khan, because he was the son of a daughter of ᶜAbdullāh Khān, although nominal khanship was vested in his father, Jāni Beg Sultān, a migrant from Astrakhan. Thus one can date the start of the Janid or Astarkhanid dynasty to 1598.

The immediate circumstances surrounding the new dynasty were hardly propitious. Khurasan, where Dīn Muhammad Sultān had been proclaimed, was slipping into Persian hands. The Uzbek garrison vacated Mashhad under a local truce; thereafter Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629) himself appeared and inflicted a severe defeat on Dīn Muhammad Khān at the battle of Herat (August 1598). Dīn Muhammad fled, but was killed during his flight.[26] A Persian army installed a Shaybanid claimant (Nūr Muhammad Khān) at Merv, and Hājī Muhammad Khān, hitherto a fugitive with the Safavids, recovered Khwarazm. Early in 1600 a Persian army helped to install Muhammad Ibrāhīm Khān at Balkh.[27] In the north, the Kazakh khan, Tevke, who had already defeated an Uzbek army sent against him before ᶜAbdullāh Khān's death, now swept over Akhsi, Andijan, Tashkent and Samarkand and even laid siege to Bukhara. He was forced to retreat, however, and he died at Tashkent in 1599.[28]

It may appear that in these circumstances, the Janid cause was saved by the exertions of just one man, Bāqī Muhammad Sultān. Fleeing from the battle of Herat, he appeared

[26] Iskandar Munshī, 1350/1971, Vol. 1, pp. 558–74. Cf. Adle, 1972.
[27] Iskandar Munshī, 1350/1971, Vol. 1, pp. 599–601.
[28] Ibid., pp. 553, 591–2. See Ch. 3 below.

at Bukhara, and, while temporarily acknowledging the authority of the Shaybanid khan, Pīr Muhammad, exerted himself in driving away Tevke's hosts. As the Kazakhs retreated, he established himself at Samarkand, where after some time he declared himself independent. He defeated and killed Pīr Muhammad Khān when the latter battled with him near Samarkand in 1599. Thereafter he marched to Bukhara and made it his capital. The recovery of Balkh was another major success. Shāh ᶜAbbās I's nominee Ibrāhīm Khān died suddenly in 1601, enabling Bāqī Muhammad Khān to occupy Balkh without opposition. Next year he offered successful resistance to Shāh ᶜAbbās, who personally led an expedition to expel the Uzbeks from Balkh. Subsequently, in 1603, he also subjugated Badakhshan.[29]

Bāqī Muhammad Khān was formally proclaimed the supreme khan, following the death of his father Jānī Muhammad in 1603. He is described by contemporaries as a man of outstanding intellect and bravery. He is credited with establishing 'regulations of government and rules for army and subjects' that later rulers are said to have held as models,[30] but there is no precise description of what he did in these spheres. His reign was, in any case, a short one, since he died in 1605.[31]

During Bāqī Muhammad Khān's reign, Balkh and the adjacent territory were placed under the authority of his brother and successor, Walī Muhammad Khān. The city was a major centre of crafts and of domestic and foreign trade. One of the city gates was called the Bukhara Gate (Bukhara Darwāza), thus reflecting the ties between Balkh and Bukhara. Henceforth Balkh was often considered the appanage of the heir to the throne, who was sent to Balkh on the decision of the khan of Bukhara.

The Bukhara khanate (1611–47)

Walī Muhammad Khān (1605–11) gave his nephews, Imām Qulī and Nadr Muhammad, the two sons of Dīn Muhammad Khān, the important appanages of Samarkand and Balkh respectively. Having obtained considerable power, they revolted and after a complex struggle, drove out Walī Muhammad Khān; when the latter returned with a Persian force, he was ultimately overthrown and killed. Imām Qulī took his seat at Bukhara as khan.[32]

During his long reign (1611–41) Imām Qulī maintained a fairly stable government at Bukhara. Generally, he let the Uzbek chiefs govern their appanages as they wished. His brother, Nadr Muhammad, enjoyed a semi-independent status at Balkh. When Imām Qulī

[29] Iskandar Munshī, 1350/1971, Vol. 1, pp. 605–7; Vol. 2, pp. 619–33. See also Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fols. 31b–39a, for the career of Bāqī Muhammad Khān.
[30] Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fol. 38a.
[31] McChesney, 1980, p. 78; Akhmedov, 1994, pp. 161–71; Burton, 1997, pp. 99–122.
[32] Iskandar Munshī, 1350/1971, Vol. 2, pp. 832–47; Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fols. 39a–41b.

brought Tashkent back under Uzbek control in 1613, he handed the city over to the Kazakh Sultān Tursūn, who soon became an independent khan of the Kazakhs (1614–27). An expedition in 1621 to Tashkent, which suffered a general massacre at Imām Qulī's hands, proved fruitless.[33] Yet by his generally mild policies Imām Qulī Khān acquired a considerable reputation for bringing peace to Transoxania. He had irrigation canals broadened and repaired, and undertook a number of other projects which helped to revive agriculture in some parts of the Bukhara khanate. Towards the end of his life, he went blind and was compelled to abdicate in favour of Nadr Muhammad, whereafter he proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca, travelling through Persia.[34] In Persia he had his portrait painted, which is now kept in the State Museum of the Arts of the Peoples of the East in Moscow.[35]

During Imām Qulī's reign his brother Nadr Muhammad had governed Balkh and Badakhshan as an independent ruler, collecting considerable revenues from the relatively small area. When he moved to Bukhara in 1641 to step into the shoes of his elder brother, he created momentary visions of another vast Uzbek empire. When Isfandyār Khān of Khiva died in 1642, his sons – fearful of Isfandyār's uncle Abū'l Ghāzī's return – proclaimed allegiance to Nadr Muhammad and asked for a governor to be sent. Yet the inherent weaknesses of the Bukhara khanate now became apparent. Imām Qulī had let the Uzbek chiefs govern their appanages as they wished; but Nadr Muhammad undertook a wholesale transfer of offices in order to strengthen his authority. He also tried to resume some of the large land grants (*suyūrghāl*s) of the mystic *khwāja*s (see below). These measures turned the Uzbek chiefs against him, including some of his earlier associates from Balkh, like the powerful commander Yalangtūsh, as well as the religious classes. Ultimately his own son, ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān, rose against him and was proclaimed khan at Bukhara in 1645.[36] Nadr Muhammad clung to his older possessions of Balkh and Badakhshan, but when the Indian emperor Shāh Jahān (1628–58) decided to take advantage of the civil war to pursue his own territorial ambitions, Nadr Muhammad's power collapsed here as well.

The Indian invasion of Balkh and Badakhshan in 1646–7 initially proved successful: Nadr Muhammad fled to Persia, while ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān and his main troops were held at bay. But a universal uprising against the invaders turned the scales, and Shāh Jahān

[33] Abuseitova, 1998, p. 100. See Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fols. 45b–46b, on the massacre. See also Iskandar Munshī, 1350/1971, Vol. 2, pp. 865–6, 962–3.

[34] The details of the circumstances leading to Imām Qulī's abdication are given with exceptional clarity in a contemporary Indian source, Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, pp. 251–6. See also Burton, 1997, pp. 203–9.

[35] Pugachenkova, 1963, pp. 66–8; Ivanov, 1968, pp. 61–6. For Imām Qulī's reign, see Burton, 1997, pp. 135–211.

[36] A very detailed account of the events in Transoxania between 1642 and 1645 is given in Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, pp. 435–56.

decided to recall his troops in the autumn of 1647.[37] Nadr Muhammad's effort to return with Persian assistance proved unsuccessful, and he maintained his rule in Balkh with difficulty until his death in 1651. Ultimately, the characteristic pattern asserted itself: ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz ruled at Bukhara, while his younger brother Subhān Qulī governed at Balkh as a practically independent ruler.

In respect of the position of Balkh and his relations with the Uzbek chiefs, ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz's long reign (1645–80) was seemingly a repetition of Imām Qulī's. His principal commander, Yalangtūsh Bahādur (d. 1665–6), who had previously been Nadr Muhammad's *atālīq* (tutor, regent) at Balkh, now took Samarkand as his semi-independent appanage. Here he built the famous Tilla-kari *madrasa* (seminary) (see below, Chapter 18, Part One). Not surprisingly ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz's own power declined; and he had to face serious threats from the khans of Khiva, Abū'l Ghāzi (1643–63) and his son Anūsha Muhammad (1663–85), who repeatedly invaded his territory and even sought to capture Bukhara. ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz was a patron of theologians and was himself a *muftī* (jurist) qualified to give theological opinions. Ultimately, he followed Imām Qulī in abdicating his throne in favour of his younger brother (Subhān Qulī, ruler of Balkh) and going away with a splendid equipage for the *hajj* to Mecca.[38]

Subhān Qulī reigned at Bukhara from 1680 to 1702, and by and large, kept the inherited dominions under his authority. He was able to resist an invasion by Anūsha Khān of Khiva in 1685. Himself the author of a large work on medicine, he built a hospital (*dār al-shifā*') at Balkh after he had become the khan of Bukhara. He received embassies from both the Mughal and Ottoman emperors, the texts of whose missives have been preserved.[39]

Upon Subhān Qulī's death in 1702, the khanate was again divided into two parts: Muqīm Khān, the grandson of Subhān Qulī and patron of the historian Yūsuf Munshī, declared himself ruler at Balkh, while recognizing his uncleᶜUbaydullāh as khan of Bukhara.[40] ᶜUbaydullāh (1702–11) tried to revive the financial position of the khanate by monetary reforms, which were not wholly successful. He undertook military campaigns, and though these often proved ruinous, he tried to protect his subjects from undue harm. When he

[37] Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, pp. 482 et seq., gives a detailed narrative; for the last stages of the Mughal occupation and its final end, see Sālih, 1939, Vol. 3, pp. 2–17. Cf. Burton, 1997, pp. 233–41, 244–54.
[38] See Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fols. 53a–67a, for an account of the reign of ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān. His dates are sometimes suspect. Cf. Burton, 1997, pp. 265–328.
[39] See Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fols. 67a–124a, for Subhān Qulī's reign, and the texts of letters from the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and the Ottoman sultan Ahmed, the latter in Turkish. For Subhān Qulī's medical work, see Storey, 1971, p. 265.
[40] Cf. Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fols. 130b–136a. There was, however, no reciprocal recognition from ᶜUbaydullāh (fols. 136a–b).

pitched camp in a village, for example, he would arrange to pay for the damage done to the crops.

ᶜUbaydullāh Khān sought to make some departure from the established conventions: rather than confine his choice to members of the distinguished, old-fashioned nobility, he began to recruit to his service the sons of craftsmen and merchants; as his contemporary Mīr Muhammad Amīn Bukhārī noted in his *ᶜUbaydullāh-nāma* [The History of ᶜUbaydullāh], people 'of humble origin' were promoted by him. 'The son of a slave was made a court official,' grumbles the indignant historian. ᶜUbaydullāh Khān offered'the little man the places of great men', made him 'a ruler of state, a leading emir, and the ornament of the military caste, thereby deviating from the course of previous rulers and from the decisions and habits of his forefathers.'[41] Nevertheless, Mīr Muhammad Amīn recognizes that ᶜUbaydullāh Khān strove for the 'welfare and prosperity of the state'. ᶜUbaydullāh Khān also encroached upon the property of the Juybārī *shaykh*s, even though his forefathers had always shown great partiality towards that 'meritorious family'.[42]

Given the circumstances of the time, these radical measures of ᶜUbaydullāh Khān and his attempts to modify the composition of the ruling class were doomed to failure. The strong displeasure of the ruling classes led to a conspiracy which culminated in ᶜUbaydullāh's assassination in 1711.

After ᶜUbaydullāh's death the fragmentation of the state grew apace. The Bukhara khanate of the last Janids consisted of independent domains headed by the emirs of Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Balkh, Badakhshan and other territories. The khanate lost the Ferghana district, where an independent Kokand (Khoqand) khanate arose after 1709. The emissary of Peter the Great, Florio Beneveni, wrote that ' Samarkand, the former capital of the celebrated Tīmūr, is a large city, but now stands empty and ruined.'[43] Under Abū'l Fayz (1711–47), all that remained ultimately of his domain as the khan of Bukhara consisted of a small area in front of his palace.

In 1740 the armies of the Persian conqueror Nādir Shāh (1736–47), who had by then led a successful campaign into India, invaded the Bukhara khanate and occupied Bukhara. Under the regime of Nādir Shāh's appointees, the economy declined further, farms were ruined and the population grew impoverished.

In the 1740s one of the various emirs, Muhammad Rahīm Manghīt, son of the *atālīq*[44] Muhammad Hakīm, came to prominence. He became the founder of a new ruling house,

[41] Amīn Bukhārī, 1957, p. 229.
[42] Ibid., p. 223.
[43] *Poslannik Petra I na Vostoke...*, 1986, p. 75.
[44] The *atālīq* ('substitute for the father', or prince's tutor – appointed in the event of an underage prince) played a decisive role in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the Bukhara khanate.

the Manghīt (Manqet, Manghet) dynasty (see Part Three, below), whereafter the Bukhara khanate became known as the emirate of Bukhara.

ADMINISTRATION

The Bukhara khanate was divided into *wilāyat*s (provinces), each headed by a *hākim* (governor). The *wilāyat*s were in turn divided into *tumān*s. If a canal was dug from a river, and the water irrigated 100,000 *tanāb*s (1 *tanāb* = approx. 40 m) of land, such land was known as a *tumān*.[45] District offices were subordinate to heads of departments in the capital. To the name of the official governing the territories of an influential tribe was added the name of that tribe.

At the head of the state was the khan, who in theory had unlimited power, although it was assumed that any intended measures should first be discussed with his chief nobles and ministers. In practice, many Janid khans were completely dependent on their grand emirs, who possessed their own troops. While the eldest member of the ruling house was traditionally chosen as khan, in practice it was the individual with the strongest support among the nobles who came to power. Usually the election of the khan was accompanied by a ceremony in which the successful candidate was raised up on a white felt blanket, the four corners of which were held by four influential members of the ruling house, nobility and clergy.

A decisive role in the Janid state was played by the *atālīq*s, who received their pay in the form of an appanage. In theory, the title *atālīq* was conferred upon a respected, experienced and elderly emir, a 'knowledgeable, loyal and well-informed person'. In practice, in the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, the office of grand *atālīq*, which was considered a mainstay of the state, was claimed by the most powerful emirs.

The next highest office of state was that of the *dīwān-begī*, who was head of the *dīwān* (state chancellery) and treasury. A significant role in state affairs was also played variously by the *kukeldāsh* (*kukuldāsh*), lit. 'foster brother', who gathered information from all over the empire and was also in charge of hunting accessories, 'such as various hunting birds, hounds, and so on' (later, under the Manghīts, the role of the *qush-begī*, lit. 'chief of birds', 'commander of falconers', grew substantially); the *mushrif* (supervisor), whose duties included noting all grants made by the sovereign and maintaining records of *kharāj* (land tax) receipts in *daftar*s (tax registers); the *mīr-shab* (chief of night duty); the *dādkhwāh*, in charge of receiving complaints from the population; the *mīr-ākhur*, or

45 Mīrzā Badīᶜ-Dīvān, 1981, p. 36.

master of the stables; the *dastārkhwānchī* (court official, lit. 'spreader of the banquet cloth'); the *munshī* (chancery secretary), and others. Individuals belonging to the official hierarchy also participated actively in military campaigns. At government meetings and receptions, each official occupied a set place, according to his rank. Some sat and others stood; some were permitted to leave the palace on horseback, while others had to leave on foot.

The ruling class included members of the *ᶜulamā*' (high clergy). Some of these were considered the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, which allowed them to claim the honorary title of *sayyid* and seek a high status accordingly. Another group of privileged individuals, calling themselves *khwāja*, claimed to be descended from one of the four immediate successors of Muhammad. Beginning in the sixteenth century, a decisive role was played by the Juybārī *shaykh*s, some of the richest individuals in the country. It was usually from among their number that the guardian of the law, or *shaykh al-islām*, was chosen.

The *waqf*s were managed by *sadr*s ('eminences'), whose task was to supervise the activities of the *mutawallī*s, the managers of *waqf* institutions. Justice was in the hands of *qāzī*s (judges). From amongst the jurists a *muftī* was appointed, whose duties included ruling on religious and legal questions. An important place in the administration was occupied by the *muhtasib* (market inspector), whose task it was to ensure order in the market, to check the accuracy of weights and measures in the bazaar, to guarantee the quality and standard of goods, and also to ensure that the inhabitants observed practices enjoined by Muslim law.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

Despite the undoubtedly slow pace of socio-economic development in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Bukhara remained a centre of crafts and trade for a fairly large region. The products of craftsmen, farmers and livestock breeders were sold mainly in domestic markets, though some were exported. Trade was carried on for the most part along heavily travelled land routes, but also along waterways, especially the Amu Darya. For instance, 'from the Kelif quayside at Termez, where the corn grows well and ripens early', boats left laden with corn for Khwarazm. As the Bukhara khanate split up into semi-independent principalities, trade was hindered by numerous toll stations on roads, bridges and ferries. Consequently peasants were unable to bring their own produce to market in the cities. Well-known merchants managed to obtain passes which exempted them partially or

wholly from customs duty, tolls and other levies. Judging by the documentary evidence, the total number of levies was quite high.[46]

During these centuries, parts of the East–West roads, known in our time in the Western literature as the Great Silk Route, continued to carry traffic, although not to the same extent as in earlier centuries. As late as the nineteenth century, it was still considered a 'great highway': 'even today caravans continue to travel from Bukhara through Samarkand and Kokand to Kashghar...'[47] Caravan routes linked Bukhara to the markets of India, Afghanistan, Turkey, Siberia, and even, although to a lesser extent, China. In the late eighteenth century it was noted that in Bukhara 'there is always a multitude of people from Persia, India, China, Kokand, Khujand, Tashkent and Khiva, as well as Russian Tatars, Georgians and various nomadic peoples.'[48]

Of great economic importance were trade relations with neighbouring nomads, who drove their flocks to the outskirts of the settled oases. In Bukhara there was a special bazaar for the sale of horses brought from what are today Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. Also brought to Bukhara for sale were the distinctive craft items produced by semi-nomads. There was a fairly active trade with India in various types of cloth, dyes, precious stones, spices and other merchandise.[49] Some of the Indian goods passed in transit through Bukhara, on their way to other destinations. Some of the Janid khans managed to avert conflicts with the Indian Mughals, and this had a beneficial impact on their trade relations. In 1628, the year after the death of Jahāngīr, with whom Imām Qulī Khān had had friendly relations, the new emperor Shāh Jahān marched towards Kabul with a large army. Imām Qulī Khān nevertheless managed to come to an agreement with him, whereupon Shāh Jahān called off his military campaign. His subsequent campaign in 1646–7, seeking to occupy both Balkh and Badakhshan, certainly disrupted trade. Efforts to maintain friendly relations with India were also made under Subhān Qulī Khān, who received an embassy from Aurangzeb in 1685.

Relations were maintained with the Ottoman empire, and Central Asian khans granted a number of Turkish merchants *tarkhān* certificates exempting them from commercial taxes.

Among the European goods in some demand were clocks and high-quality woollen *saqirlāt* (brocade).[50] Chests of 'Frankish orange velvet' were kept in the stores of the Janid Nadr Muhammad. 'Frankish velvet' is often mentioned as one of the most valuable gifts.

46 *Maktubāt wa asnād*, MS, fols. 170b–171a.
47 Meyendorff, 1975, p. 120.
48 Putishestvie po sibirskoy linii do goroda Bukhary..., 1988, p. 144.
49 Mukminova, 1996, pp. 85–90.
50 Mukminova, 1992, pp. 29–35.

From the end of the sixteenth century commercial and diplomatic ties between Bukhara and Russia grew stronger. The principal commodities exported to Astrakhan, Kazan and Moscow were various types of cotton cloth. In 1580 alone, some 5,000 lengths of cotton cloth were exported to Moscow, and in 1585, 2,400 lengths. Trade in goods intended for large sections of the population was carried on by the merchants of Bukhara, Samarkand and Balkh on the one hand, and those of Astrakhan, Kazan, Nizhniy Novgorod, Saratov, and especially Moscow, on the other (see Chapter 15, Part Two).

With the conquest of the Kazan and the Astrakhan khanates, Russia's interest in Central Asia grew steadily. Observations on conditions in the Bukhara khanate occupy a significant place in the various journals, notes, diplomatic dispatches, reports, etc., sent from Moscow and St Petersburg by I. Khokhlov, the Pazukhin brothers, Daudov and Kasimov, Bekovich-Cherkasski, Florio Beneveni and others. They were interested in topics as varied as roads, administrative structure, the military power of the state, and flora and fauna. Nevertheless, the main stimulus for the movement of merchants' caravans was a keen interest in trade, which also entailed reciprocal cultural influence, and the exchange of techniques of craft production. Even commercial practices came to be similar. In the words of Kliuchevsky:

> In far-off Moscow, which was equally subject to the influence of West and East, trade in a particular item was always concentrated in the same traders' rows, just as in Bukhara and other Eastern cities… Each type of ware was assigned to specific places and shops.[51]

Part Three

THE MANGHĪTS

(*A. Mukhtarov*)

The Manghīts were a Turkic tribe who traced their origins back to the Mongol tribe of the Mangkits.[52] In the thirteenth century, the Manghīts moved westwards out of Mongolia and installed themselves in the Dasht-i Qipchaq. In the following century they were to be found between the rivers Volga and Ural, on the lands of the emirate of Bukhara and

[51] Kliuchevsky, 1918, p. 225. For a very detailed commercial history of the Bukhara khanate during the seventeenth century, see Burton, 1997, pp. 391–543.
[52] Semenov, 1954, p. 3.

the khanate of Khiva, in the Zarafshan valley and in several towns, including Jizak (Jizāq) and Karshi. A small part of the Manghīts installed themselves in the northern Caucasus and northern Afghanistan. Those Manghīts who were living in the Volga region, under the influence of the Kipchaks, began to speak the latter's Turkic language in the fourteenth century and came to be known in the fifteenth century as the Noghays. The Manghīts subsequently merged with the ethnic groups of the Uzbeks, the Karakalpaks, and, to some extent, the Kazakhs (Qazāqs). In the sixteenth century, those Manghīts who had moved into Transoxania were naturally influenced by the culture of the sedentary Tajik population, though right up to the twentieth century, some of them continued to lead a semi-nomadic way of life, engaging in the rearing of livestock and in agriculture and crafts.

The Manghīts did not form a homogeneous population. They were subdivided into compact groups, great and small, and some began to take an active part in the political life of the khanate of Bukhara and other principalities. In 1503, for instance, before Shaybānī Khān achieved complete dominance in Transoxania, a member of that tribe by the name of Khoja (Khwāja) Qāzī Manghīt became ruler of the ancient town of Ura-tepe.[53] In the mid-eighteenth century, the Manghīts seized power in the khanate of Bukhara and ruled the country from then on until 1920.

The rise of the Manghīt dynasty

Under the last rulers of the Janid dynasty, the Bukhara khanate was quite clearly falling apart. Ferghana, Balkh, Khwarazm and a number of smaller towns and regions broke away. Nādir Shāh (1736–47) of Persia decided to take advantage of the anarchy at Bukhara. An initial campaign against Bukhara was led by his son Rizā Qulī Khān. Rizā Qulī first occupied Balkh in 1737 and then crossed the Amu Darya, but withdrew in the winter. In the middle of 1740, Nādir started from Herat on his great campaign in Transoxania. The dominant role in Bukhara at this time was played by two Manghīts, the *atālīq* Muhammad Hakīm and his son Muhammad Rahīm. After Nādir Shāh had crossed the Amu Darya, Muhammad Hakīm himself was sent to the shah by the khan, Abū'l Fayz, bearing rich gifts. ᶜAbdu'l Hakīm, however, went over to Nādir Shāh and returned to Bukhara practically as his representative, taking up residence in the Mir-i ᶜArab *madrasa*. As the Persian troops drew near, both Abū'l Fayz and Muhammad Hakīm went to Nādir's field headquarters. The shah and the khan reached a peaceful settlement which was also placed on the basis of a family alliance, as Nādir married one of Abū'l Fayz's daughters. However, Nādir annexed all areas south of the Amu Darya and henceforth gave his orders to the

[53] Mukhtarov, 1996, p. 7.

administrative authorities and population of Bukhara exclusively through the intermediacy of Muhammad Hakīm. The latter's brother, Dāniyāl, became the ruler of Kermina, while his son Muhammad Rahīm was made the leader of a force of 10,000 horsemen from the Bukharan army sent to supplement the Persian forces. The *atālīq* was made responsible for supplying Nādir and his troops with 200,000 ass-loads (*kharvār*s) of wheat.[54]

The khan's recognition of the authority of Nādir Shāh in fact marked the end of independent rule by the Janid dynasty and the beginning of the ascension of the Manghīts, who to all intents and purposes were now in control of the Bukhara khanate.

Evidence of this is to be seen in the part played by Muhammad Hakīm, who in later years took the title of *amīr-i kabīr*, or 'Great Emir'. After his death in 1743 and the suppression of the Khitay-Kipchak rising led by ᶜIbādullāh Khitāy, this title was conferred on his son Muhammad Rahīm. At the head of a large detachment of troops and with the help of Nādir's son, Rizā Qulī, and of the Turkmens, he came to Bukhara and took up quarters not far from the town, in his father's property of Qāziābād. Members of the Manghīt tribe – kinsfolk and partisans of Muhammad Rahīm – were appointed to the highest offices of state. With their support and with the military power of the Persians behind him, he set about quelling Ibādullāh Khitāy's rebellion. The mutiny by the 'tribes of right and left' was also put down in Shahr-i Sabz.

By 1747, which was also the year Nādir Shāh died, Muhammad Rahīm had succeeded in creating his own well-equipped armed forces under loyal commanders. That same year he had Abū'l Fayz put to death. The latter's place was taken by his 10-year-old son ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min, but a year later he too was executed and another of Abū'l Fayz's sons, ᶜUbaydullāh, was made khan, but only as titular ruler. Having secured the support of the ᶜ*ulamā*', the nobility and the leaders of the Manghīt tribe, Muhammad Rahīm ascended the throne of Bukhara with the title of 'Amīr' in 1753, thus formally initiating the rule of the Manghīt dynasty, which was to last until 1920.[55]

The consolidation of the Manghīt dynasty

MUHAMMAD RAHĪM

From the earliest years following his seizure of power in Bukhara, Muhammad Rahīm (1753–8) exercised autocratic rule and conducted a policy of centralization. In pursuit of his aims he endeavoured, first, to strengthen his military forces, for which purpose he

[54] For an account of Nādir Shāh's expedition to Bukhara mainly based on Iranian sources, see Lockhart, 1938.

[55] *Istoriya Tajikskogo naroda*, 1964, Vol. 2, Book 1, p. 26; *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1967, Vol. 1, pp. 563–6.

introduced several new taxes. In the course of his reign he fought with leaders of the Uzbek tribes and local rulers such as those of Ura-tepe, Hisar, Nur-ata and others. He succeeded in putting down an uprising by the ruler of Nur-ata, the *burqut* Tuqāy Murād, in Miyān-Qalᶜa, but had to make careful preparations for the campaign against the ruler of Uratepe, the Bī Fazil (1749–85). In 1754 he came to an agreement with the khan of Kokand, Irdāna, and with the Kipchak chiefs, for a joint attack on Ura-tepe. The ruler of Hisar, Muhammad Amīn, went to the rescue of the besieged town with 8,000 troops. As a result of skilful moves by the defenders, the allies failed to achieve their objective, and Ura-tepe remained independent throughout the second half of the eighteenth century.[56]

Three years after his reverse at Ura-tepe, Muhammad Rahīm moved on Hisar. Its ruler Muhammad Amīn was put to death and its extensive territory was annexed.[57]

DĀNIYĀL

Rahīm died on 24 March 1758, and the Manghīts brought in as his successor his uncle Dāniyāl. The death of the khan sparked off rebellions in a number of tribes including the Kenagas (Kenigaziyas), Bakhrins (Bāyrins), Burquts, Sarāys and Yuzs. Fāzil, the Yuz overlord of Ura-tepe and Khujand, seized Jizak, Khatirchi, Kattakurgan and Samarkand, aiming to take Bukhara as well and make himself ruler of the whole country.[58] There was much hostility to Bukhara in both Hisar and Shahr-i Sabz.

Dāniyāl formally kept the last of the Janids – Fāzil Tura and Abū'l Ghāzi[59] – as nominal khans of Bukhara but retained all power in his own hands. In spite of this, the degree of political centralization that had been achieved under Rahīm was lost. Furthermore, according to the Tajik historian Ahmad Dānish (1826–97),[60] mosques and *madrasa*s were abandoned and fell into ruins. The population had various taxes and obligations imposed on it, and lived in misery.[61] In 1784 there was an uprising in Bukhara in which over 1,000 people were killed. Dāniyāl had to hand over power to his son Shāh Murād, who was more acceptable to the townspeople.

SHĀH MURĀD

Shāh Murād (1785–1800) began by executing with his own hands two of the highest dignitaries of the realm, the *qush-begī* Daulat and the *qāzī-kalān* (chief justice) Nizāmu'ddīn.

[56] Mukhtarov, 1964, pp. 17–18.
[57] Mukhtarov, 1995, pp. 107–10.
[58] *Istoriya Samarkanda*, 1969, Vol. 1, p. 265.
[59] *Istoriya Bukhary...*, 1976, p. 123.
[60] Dānish, 1992, p. 8.
[61] *Istoriya Bukhary...*, 1976, p. 125.

His purpose in so doing was to make it plain to all the chiefs that he intended to change the composition of the ruling faction and to satisfy, to some extent, the discontent aroused in the population by his father and uncle. Shāh Murād carried through a monetary reform, issuing silver and gold coinage of full value.[62] He repealed a number of taxes (*yārqu, bāj, tarh, tushmāl, yāsak, āluk* and *sāluq*) that were held to be against *sharīᶜa* law and also the labour levies exacted from craftsmen. Since these measures reduced the state's revenue, he introduced a new monetary tax, the *jul*.

Shāh Murād reformed legal procedure to some extent, but assigned great authority to the *muhtasib*: this official was made responsible for checking the accuracy of weights and measures and seeing to it that the citizenry observed *sharīᶜa* rules, an innovation that was designed to arouse the sympathy of the *ᶜulamā'*.

Shāh Murād mounted several military campaigns against rebels. He also entered into armed conflict with the Afghan ruler Tīmūr Shāh (1772–93), but had to cede Balkh to the latter.

HAYDAR

Shāh Murād was succeeded by his son Haydar (1800–26). His accession to the throne was accompanied by the mass uprisings and strife that usually marked a new reign. Throughout his reign, wars continued with the khanates of Kokand and Khiva, with Ura-tepe and with rebellious chiefs and other malcontents. The biggest uprising against him took place in 1821–5 among the Khitay-Kipchak tribe in Miyān-Qalᶜa, living between Bukhara and Samarkand.

Visiting Bukhara six years after Haydar's death, Alexander Burnes noted that the emir had introduced:

> an era of bigotry and religious enthusiasm [at Bukhara]. He took the name of Ameerool Momeneen, or Commander of the Faithful; and performed the duties of a priest not of a king… he read prayers over the dead, disputed in the mosques, conducted the service, and taught in the colleges.[63]

According to Semenov:

> Amīr Haydar took a great interest in scholastic theology and, believing himself to be a great expert in that branch of knowledge, he opened a *madrasa* attached to his palace mosque in the Ark [citadel] of Bukhara, where he himself held forth in the role of *mudarris* [teacher].[64]

[62] Ibid., p. 127.
[63] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, p. 312.
[64] Semenov, 1954, p. 3.

According to his own brother, Muhammad Ya'qūb, Haydar distinguished himself by the fact that 'his income was twice that of his father but his expenses were more than twice his income'[65] – in other words, the emir's revenue covered only half his annual expenses. In order to meet this deficit, Haydar had to take emergency fiscal measures, which led to further impoverishment of the population.

NASRULLĀH

Amīr Haydar was eventually succeeded by his son Nasrullāh (1826–60); this was preceded by some bloody events. Nasrullāh was Haydar's second son. After Haydar's death, his eldest son Husayn came to the throne, but his reign lasted less than three months, as he was poisoned by the *qush-begī* Hakīm. Before breathing his last, Husayn summoned his brother ᶜUmar from Kermina and placed him on the throne of Bukhara. Three months later, again with the involvement of Hakīm, ᶜUmar was ousted and forced to leave Bukhara.

His place was taken by the ruler of Karshi, Nasrullāh. His first act was to execute the *qush-begī* Hakīm. Nasrullāh gradually changed the whole retinue of the court and also put to death his three younger brothers in order to protect himself from possible rivals. He was certainly notable for his cruelty, which earned him the sobriquet *amīr-i qassāb* (the 'butcher emir').

Under Nasrullāh, a regular army and an artillery unit were formed and he embarked on a number of military campaigns. Early in his reign (1826), he retook Balkh from the Afghans,[66] only to lose it later to the Afghan Amīr Dost Muhammad in 1851. In 1842, having conquered Kokand, Nasrullāh put the khan, Muhammad ᶜAlī, and all his family to death. In 1858 he put to death the governor of Ura-tepe, Rustambeg, and several governors of other regions. By means of such harsh measures, Nasrullāh managed to impose order in his realm and to bring some of the breakaway regions back into union with Bukhara.

Burnes, who visited Bukhara in 1832, did not form an altogether unfavourable opinion of Nasrullāh's administration. He estimated the population of the city at 150,000 and even thought that'since the equity of its rulers keeps pace with its increasing extent, Bukhara bids fare to be a greater city in modern than ancient times.' It had, he says, 366 colleges, large and small, all devoted to theological learning. There was a large concourse of merchants of various nations, being in matters of customs, 'most liberally treated in this country'. There were 300 Hindus, also fairly well treated. Slavery existed, but the slaves were not 'badly treated'. Burnes found the vizier or 'Koosh Begi' well-informed about the world, and

[65] Muhammad Yaᶜqūb, MS, fol. 1576.
[66] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, p. 238.

unexpectedly ungrasping. The character of the emir too 'stands high among his country-men'; Burnes omits here to mention the executions the emir carried out after his accession.[67]

MUZAFFAR

Muzaffar (1860–85) was Nasrullāh's only son and, like his father, was notorious for his cruelty. Five years into his reign, Russian troops began to move into the heart of Central Asia. After the fall of Tashkent, the first major confrontation between the troops of the emir of Bukhara and those of the tsar took place at Irjan where Muzaffar was heavily defeated. In a relatively short space of time, the Russians took Khujand, Ura-tepe and Jizak in 1866, and were at the gates of Samarkand. Samarkand fell in 1868, and Muzaffar, who suffered a crushing defeat at Zirabulaq, was forced to conclude a peace on unequal terms with Russia. The emirate of Bukhara henceforth became a protectorate of the tsarist empire.

As a result of these military reverses, some of the chiefs and clergy staged a revolt against the emir. It was headed by Muzaffar's eldest son, ᶜAbdu'l Malik (Katta-tura). The uprising was, however, soon quelled.

Among the positive features of Bukhara's relations with Russia was the fact that slavery was abolished in Central Asia and that the emirate's diplomatic and commercial relations with the Russian empire and other countries were expanded and strengthened. In 1885 the 'Russian Imperial Political Agency' was set up in Bukhara.

ᶜABDU'L AHAD AND ᶜĀLIM KHĀN

Muzaffar was succeeded by his son ᶜAbdu'l Ahad (1885–1910) and then by ᶜĀlim Khān, the last Bukhara ruler of the Manghīt dynasty, whose reign lasted ten years (1910–20). At the end of August 1920, upon their victory in the Civil War, the Soviet forces moved on Bukhara. On 2 September, after four days of shelling, the Red Army entered the town and the emirate was overthrown.[68] ᶜĀlim Khān made for the beydom of Hisar and, in February 1921, crossed the Afghan frontier to live in Kabul as an exile. His persistent efforts over many years to re-establish his authority in Bukhara were unsuccessful. He died in 1944 and was buried in a cemetery on the outskirts of Kabul.

[67] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, pp. 267–329.
[68] Muhammad ᶜAlī, 1994, pp. 61–2; *Istoriya Bukhary...*, 1976, pp. 205–6.

The Manghīt system of government

Under the Manghīt emirate there was a complex apparatus of government and a numerous officialdom.[69] The principles of the administrative division of land in Central Asia were founded on the tax system and on the geography of land irrigation. As previously mentioned, large regions, known as *wilāyat*s, were each governed by a *hākim*. The smaller divisions were closely related to irrigation. Land irrigated from one large canal and with an area of 100,000 *tanāb*s (1 *tanāb* = approx. 40 m) constituted a *tumān*. Land with an area of 50,000 *tanāb*s was called a *hazāra* (lit. 'a thousand'), and one with half that area was a *nīm-hazāra*. An irrigated area of 10–15,000 *tanāb*s was called the *ābkhur* of such-and-such a river. In the case of a populated area of 400 *tanāb*s, the settlement was known as a *qariya* (village). A plot of land of 300 *tanāb*s or less was called a *mazra*ᶜ*a* (cultivated land), regardless of whether it was inhabited.[70]

Under the Manghīt dynasty, the head of state was the emir. This title came into use for the rulers of Bukhara only with this dynasty, i.e. from the reign of Muhammad Rahīm, its founder. From then on the granting of the title 'Amīr' to individual nobles, as practised under the previous khans of Bukhara, ceased. On his own territory, the emir of Bukhara exercised the same functions as any independent king.

The emir's closest associate in the administration of justice was the highest-ranking judge, the *shaykh al-islām*. In the nineteenth century, however, the duties of the holders of this office were reduced to insignificance and the title gradually became purely honorific. In Bukhara, the place of the *shaykh al-islām* was taken by the *qāzī-kalān* or *qāzī al-quzāt* (chief justice), who was chosen and confirmed in office by the emir. He was supposed to be the head of the body empowered to make recommendations to the emir for the appointment of magistrates. There was a *qāzī-*ᶜ*askar* (judge of the army) for the administration of justice among members of the military.

The *muftī*s played an important part in the administration of justice in Bukhara itself; they were appointed by the emir from among the leading legal experts and were thoroughly versed in *fiqh* (Islamic law or jurisprudence) and *hadīs* (the traditions and sayings of the Prophet). The chief *muftī* bore the title of *a*ᶜ*lam* (most learned).

Next in importance to the chief justice was the *ishān-ra'īs* (head *ra'īs*). He had the power of overseeing the citizens' behaviour and punishing them for unethical conduct. The *ra'īs* (or *muhtasib*) had religious connections and acted as guardian of the law. The

[69] Mīrzā Badīᶜ-Dīvān, 1981, pp. 8–9.

[70] Semenov, 1948, Vol. 5, pp. 137–53; 1954, pp. 59–69; Mīrzā Badīᶜ-Dīvān, 1981, p. 18. (Our account of the Manghīt system of government is largely drawn from these two sources.)

ra'īs of every other locality was subordinate to the *ishān-ra'īs* of the capital. Authority for the policing of Bukhara itself was concentrated in the hands of the *mīr-shab*; he, the *qāzī-kalān* and the *ishān-ra'īs* were in command not only of the town's police force but also of every *mīr-shab* in the other towns.

The supreme administrative authority in the capital belonged to the country's highest official, the *qush-begī*, who also deputized for the emir in the latter's absence from Bukhara. This post, first introduced by the Janid khan, ᶜUbaydullāh (1702–11), became highly important under the Manghīts, when the *qush-begī* was given the functions of a sort of prime minister. His precise title was *qulī qush-begī*. He lived in the Ark (citadel) of Bukhara, and was therefore known as the *qush-begī bālā*, or upper *qush-begī*.

The *qush-begī* was also the *mīr*, or commander, of the Bukhara *wilāyat*, i.e. of the district or region adjacent to the capital, and had authority over all the regional commanders. He also had supreme supervisory power over the state's revenues and expenditure.

In addition to the chief *qush-begī*, there was also a *qush-begī pā'īn*, or lower *qush-begī*, so called because he lived and had his office below the *ark*, at the foot of the citadel. His rank was that of *dīwān-begī*. He was responsible for the country's financial affairs, primarily the supervision of the collection of the *zakāt* (alms-tax). As this made him head of all the country's *zakāt* collectors, the so-called *ᶜāmila'īs or zakātchīs*, he was known as the *zakātchīkalān*, or chief *zakātchī*.

Bukhara was unacquainted with intermediate levels of government or with a hierarchical civil service. The *qush-begī* was overloaded with various affairs of state, owing to the fact that there was no division of functions among separate departments or ministries.

The whole of Bukhara's ruling class was divided into officials with secular titles (ᶜamal dārīs) and those with clerical titles (*ᶜulamā*', sing. *ᶜālim*). There were fifteen secular ranks in all: starting with the lowest, that of *bahādur* (captain), they ended with the *dīwān-begī* (head of financial affairs), the *qulī qush-begī* (chief minister) and, highest of all, the *atālīq*. The holder of the last title played no practical role in the business of government.

According to Ahmad Dānish and Muhammad ᶜAlī, the latter an eyewitness to events under the last emir of Bukhara, most of the officials of the Manghīt state, high and low alike, were semi-literate or illiterate, as were the regional governors. These authors regard this as being the particular reason for the backwardness of the Bukhara emirate under the Manghīt dynasty.[71]

[71] Dānish, 1992, pp. 23, 40, 44; Muhammad ᶜAlī, 1994, pp. 73–4.

2

THE KHANATES OF KHIVA AND KOKAND AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KHANATES AND WITH OTHER POWERS*

M. Annanepesov and H. N. Bababekov

Contents

* See Map 2, pp. 923–4.

Part One

THE KHANATE OF KHIVA (KHWARAZM)

(*M. Annanepesov*)

The Khwarazm (Khāwrazm) oasis on the Amu Darya (Oxus) in its lower reaches is cut off from Transoxania and Persia by arid steppes and deserts, and so has always been somewhat isolated from its neighbours. Geographically speaking, the territory of Khwarazm consisted of two parts separated by the Kara Kum (Qara Qum) desert: the lands along the lower reaches of the Amu Darya are known as *Su-Boyu* (the riverside) and the foothills of the Kopet Dagh (Kupet-Dāgh) and the area comprising the Balkhan mountains are known as *Dagh-Boyu* (the mountainside).[1] The main ethnic components of the population had long been the settled indigenous element (the Sarts) and numerous semi-nomadic and nomadic Turkmen tribes, in addition to the Karakalpaks (Qara-Qālpāqs) and some Kazakhs.

The sixteenth century

Early in the sixteenth century Khwarazm was nominally dependent on the Timurid Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā (1469–1506). In 1505 Shaybānī Khān (1500–10) seized Khwarazm, after laying siege to Urgench (Urganj) for eleven months. The Turkmen tribes who defended the city suffered a crushing defeat. The intensified immigration of Uzbek tribes resulted in their gradual occupation not only of Khwarazm, but also of a considerable amount of territory on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, that is Mangishlaq (Manqeshlāq), Uzboy, Balkhan (Balqan) and northern Khurasan, where the Turkmens lived.

Shaybānī Khāns' control over Khwarazm, however, proved to be transitory. In 1510 the Safavid ruler Shāh Ismāᶜīl routed his army at the battle of Merv, where Shaybānī Khān himself was killed. Following this, Shāh Ismāᶜīl occupied Herat without a struggle and annexed all lands along the left bank of the Amu Darya, including Khwarazm.[2]

[1] Barthold, 1963, p. 596. On the formation of the khanate, see Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 876–9.
[2] Khwānd Amīr, 1954, Vol. 4, pp. 506–14, 519.

The death of Shaybānī Khān marked the beginning of the end of unified Shaybanid rule throughout Central Asia and not just in Khurasan. There began a series of protracted wars among the Uzbeks in the quest for supremacy and possession of the best appanage lands. Nor did the Safavids remain supreme in Khwarazm for long. The official recognition of Shi^c^ism caused dissatisfaction among the Sunni *^c^ulamā'* (clergy) and they summoned Ilbārs, an Uzbek claiming (like the Shaybanids) descent from Chinggis Khans' son, Jöhi.[3] The Safavid garrisons had to quit Khwarazm, and Ilbārs founded the ^c^Arabshahid dynasty in 1511. Under the ^c^Arabshahids, the influx of new Uzbek tribes from the Dasht-i Qipchaq (Kipchak steppes) into Khwarazm intensified.[4]

From 1538 to 1540 the ^c^Arabshahids had to face the attempts of the Bukhara Uzbek ruler, ^c^Ubaydullāh Khān (1512–39), to reduce them to submission; and in 1593 they faced a similar attempt by ^c^Abdullāh Khān. On each occasion the respective khans of Khwarazm (Dīn Muhammad and Hājam, i.e. Hājī Muhammad Khān) managed to flee to Persia, Dīn Muhammad putting himself under the protection of Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76), and Hājam Khān under that of Shāh ^c^Abbās I (1587–1629).[5] Hājam Khān's attempt to regain his lost possessions with the assistance of the Safavids and the Turkmen tribes led to a new campaign by ^c^Abdullāh Khān in 1597. But ^c^Abdullāh Khān's death the following year enabled Hājam Khān to return to Khwarazm and re-establish his rule in independence from Bukhara.[6]

Although the Turkmens supported the Uzbek khans in the struggle against Bukhara, they frequently refused to pay them regular tribute. The opposition to this was especially great from the Khurasan and Balkhan Turkmens, who paid taxes on land and cattle. Under Sufyā Khān in the first half of the sixteenth century there was a clash with the Balkhan Turkmens, namely the Ersari and the Sālor (Sālar) tribes, who killed 40 of the khan's tax-collectors. The rebels went into hiding in an inaccessible natural fortress, north of Balkhan, where the scarcity of water obliged them to send elders (*aq-saqal*s) to negotiate with Sufyā Khān. It was agreed that the Turkmens should give 1,000 rams for each tax-collector killed. The 40,000 rams were brought by the Ersaris and the Khurasan Sālors, and also by the Teke, Yomut (Yamut) and Saryk (Sāriq) tribes, who were collectively known as the 'Outer' Sālors. Thereafter the Khwarazm khans began to exact 40,000 rams annually, calling them

[3] Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 876, 879–80.

[4] *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1955, pp. 388–9, 421–2.

[5] For the two incidents see Iskandar Munshī, 1350/1971, Vol. 1, pp. 104–5, 468. On Dīn Muhammad, see Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 882–4, 886–7; and on Hājam Khān, see ibid., pp. 890–1. On ^c^Abdullāh Khān's annexation of Khwarazm, see Burton, 1997, pp. 73–6.

[6] Iskandar Munshī, 1350/1971, Vol. 1, pp. 522–3; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 891–2; Burton, 1997, pp. 83–6, 104.

a *barāt* (authorized privilege), and another 4,000 rams for the khan's *qazan* (cauldron, that is, the khan's kitchen).

Such taxes in the form of cattle were also paid by other Turkmen clans and tribes – Chaudurs, Igdirs, Arabachis (Arrābechis), Goklens, Ādāqli- Khizir-elis, Āl-elis and Devejis (Devyājis). Abū'l Ghāzī gives precise figures for the apportioning of taxes in cattle among individual tribes.[7] In addition, the Ādāqli-Khizir-eli Turkmens had to serve as bodyguards in the khan's horse guards. In this way, the Turkmens were gradually converted into the main military class in the Khwarazm khanate, and they played a significant part both in internal strife and in the foreign wars of the Khwarazm khans. Divided into numerous clans and tribes, however, the Turkmens were frequently at odds among themselves, with the result that they could be largely kept under control by the khans of Khwarazm in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Control of large landed estates, along with the farmers living on them and the nomadic population (the 'Black Clan', that is 'commoners'), was concentrated in the hands of the upper ruling stratum of the Uzbek clans (the 'White Clan'). Their lands were cultivated by peasants tied to the land and by Persian slaves sold in the slave markets by Khurasanian Turkmens, as well as Russians captured by the Noghays, Kalmuks (Qalmāqs) and Kazakhs. In the course of time the slaves could obtain manumission, becoming *āzād kerde* (freed), once they had met the master's price put on their freedom and so worked their way out of captivity.

At this time, urban life and handicrafts do not seem to have been greatly developed in Khwarazm. The English merchant Anthony Jenkinson, who visited the capital Urgench in 1558, was far from impressed. The city was surrounded, he says, by earthen walls about 4 miles (6.5 km) long. He adds:

> The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is covered above, which is the place of their Market. It hath beene wonne and lost foure times within seven yeeres by civill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few Merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that Towne I could not sell above foure Kerseys. The chiefest commodities there sold are such wares as come from Boghar [Bukhara], and out of Persia, but in most small quantitie not worth the writing.[8]

Only the resources obtained from military spoils in Khurasan and Astarabad, and also in Bukharan territory, sustained the Uzbek aristocracy of Khwarazm.

Significant changes took place in the life of Khwarazm as a consequence of the gradual drying out of the Daryalik (Daryārliq), one of the most important delta arms of the

[7] Barthold, 1963, pp. 597–8; Guli, 1988, pp. 85–6.

[8] Jenkinson, 1906, pp. 14–15. This may be contrasted with Jenkinson's fairly favourable notice of Bukhara (ibid., p. 21).

Amu Darya, and of Lake Sarikamish (Sarykamysh, Sarīqamīsh), where Turkmens lived. Urgench (now called Kunya Urgench, or Kuhna-Urgench, 'Old Urgench'), Vazir and Adaq were thereby deprived of water for irrigation. As a result, the capital was moved to Khiva under the khan Arap (ᶜArab) Muhammad (1602–23). Henceforth the territorial name Khwarazm tended to be replaced by Khiva, after the name of the new capital.

The seventeenth century

During the seventeenth century the Khiva khanate passed through a period of internal strife and political instability. In the time of Arap Muhammad severe strife broke out among his sons. Aided by the Turkmens, Isfandiyār overcame his brother Ilbārs and ruled as khan from 1623 to 1642. Having been placed on the throne by the Turkmens, Isfandiyār had to oblige them; he began to oppress the Uzbeks and was especially active against the Uighurs and the Naimans, many of whom sought refuge in Transoxania. The feuds within the khan's family continued[9] until Isfandiyār's brother Abū'l Ghāzī, who had been repeatedly sent into exile (in Tashkent, 1623–5; in Persia, 1629–39; and then at the Kalmuk court, 1639–42), was able to return and seize power. Abū'l Ghāzī Khan (1643–63) deprived the Turkmens of many of their lands and sources of water after a fierce conflict, and conducted a regime of repression of the Turkmen tribes, taking their women and children captive and destroying their villages. He even tried to drive the Turkmens out of Khurasan (the Murghab oasis) for a while. All land in Khwarazm was divided up between 4 groups of Uzbek tribes; 360 members of the Uzbek gentry were appointed to various posts; and 32 of the upper stratum became advisers to the khan.

Abū'l Ghāzī is remembered both for his military exploits and for his scholarly activities.[10] His 20-year rule saw many external conflicts – with the Kalmuks in 1649, 1653 and 1656 and with Bukhara in 1655, 1656 and 1662. As might be expected, he was not always successful in these. His years in exile had given him a familiarity with the oral traditions of the Turks and Mongols as well as with Persian literature and culture. But he found Khiva culturally very backward, none of his subjects being able to produce a historical work on his own race and dynasty. He therefore proceeded to undertake the task himself and produced in Chaghatay Turki his *Shajara-i Terākime* on the early traditional history of the Mongols and Turks (1659), supplemented by *Shajaratu'l Atrāk*, which is basically a

[9] Iskandar Munshī, 1350/1971, Vol. 2, pp. 977, 988, 994; see also Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 894–900. See an interesting reference in Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, pp. 435–6, for a temporary transfer of allegiance of Khwarazm to Bukhara, in 1642–3, a measure taken to prevent Abūl Ghā zī's return.

[10] On Abū'l Ghāzī, see Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 900–3.

history of the Shaybanids and the khanate of Khiva, down to 1644; it was continued down to 1663 by his son and successor Anūsha Muhammad (khan, 1663–85) in 1665.

Anūsha rebuilt Kath (Kat), the ancient Khwarazmian capital on the left bank of the Amu Darya, just below the recently founded New Urgench (Yangi Urgench). Thus a fresh spurt of urban growth began in a territory whose cultural level had so far been perceptibly on the decline. The Khiva rulers now recognized the value of a more Persianized title for themselves, and Anūsha and his successors began to call themselves shahs. Their operations against Bukhara were marked by some successes, but there were also times when the Bukhara rulers pressed hard upon Khiva. Anūsha himself was deposed and blinded not long after his large-scale but unsuccessful invasion of Bukhara in 1684.[11]

Anūsha's overthrow weakened the Khiva khanate, though his son Erenk (Arang, Aurang) (1688–94) twice invaded the Bukhara khanate (in 1689 and again in 1694). Erenk's mother, Takhta Kh ānum, a Dargana Turkmen herself, is said to have exercised considerable influence at the court. Erenk's death was followed by a succession of khans, the weakness of the khanate being shown by an open acknowledgement of vassalage made to Subhān Qulī, the khan of Bukhara, in 1695. The latter in fact appointed the next two khans, Shāh Niyāz in 1697 and Musī in 1700–1.[12]

The eighteenth century

Within the Khiva khanate the conflict between the sedentary Uzbeks and the Turkmens continued into the eighteenth century. Court historians referred to the Turkmens as'enemies of the state' *(a*^{c}*dā-i daulat*). During the reign of Shīr Ghāzī Khān (1715–28), Russia began to interfere in the affairs of the Khiva khanate, seeking to take advantage of its internal weaknesses. In 1717 Peter I sent a military expedition of 5,000 men with cannon under the command of A. Bekovich-Cherkasski. Shīr Ghāzī massacred almost the entire detachment and beheaded Bekovich-Cherkasski and his immediate retinue. He thereafter lived for a long time in fear of Russian reprisals.[13]

The next khan of Khiva was Ilbārs (1728–40), a member of the Kazakh ruling dynasty, the Chinggisids. Attracted by the weakness of Persia, Ilbārs aspired to secure parts of Khurasan. This brought upon him the wrath of Nādir Shāh (1736–47), the Persian

[11] *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1967, pp. 599–601; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, p. 904; Burton, 1997, pp. 331–6, 339–40. From the Bukharan side, these invasions are described by Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fols. 60b–61a, 92a–94b. See also Part Three of the present chapter.

[12] Burton, 1997, pp. 343–4, 351–3, 355, 358, 360, for relations between Khiva and Bukhara during this period.

[13] Annanepesov, 1981, pp. 18–37; Popov, 1853, pp. 374–80; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 906–12.

conqueror. Following the subjugation of Bukhara in October 1740, Nādir Shāh advanced against Khwarazm. The Khivans, especially the Turkmens, fought several battles near Charju, Hazarasp, Pitnek and Khanqah, but were defeated. Nādir had brought large quantities of artillery and supplies to Khiva in a fleet of 1,100 river craft, and succeeded in crushing the resistance of the Khivans. He beheaded Ilbārs and 20 of his great lords, despite a promise of safety. He found in Khiva some 12,000 or 20,000 Persian slaves, whom he liberated.

Nādir Shāh then installed a subordinate khan (Tāhir Beg) in Khiva and levied a special tax on the population called *māl-i amān* (protection money). After Nādir Shāh's back was turned, however, the Khivans rose against the Persians in 1741, and Tāhir Beg and the supporting garrison were slaughtered. Though this uprising was promptly suppressed and another khan, Abū'l Ghāzī (a son of Ilbārs), was imposed on Khiva by Nādir Shāh, the latter's attempts to move the Turkmen Yomuts from Khwarazm to Khurasan ended in failure.[14]

Nādir Shāh's assassination in 1747 put an end to Persian pretensions to paramountcy over Khiva. Yet an internal struggle for power continued in Khiva throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, in which Kazakhs and Karakalpaks were involved as well as the Turkmens. The clan of Kongrat (Qonqrāt) ultimately gained ascendancy and its *ināq* (chief minister) practically governed the khanate in the name of the Chinggisid khan.[15] In 1770 Muhammad Amīn (*ināq* from 1770 to 1790) defeated the Turkmens in a decisive struggle and marked his success by rebuilding Khiva.

The nineteenth century

At the close of the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth century the population in the Khiva khanate consisted of Uzbeks, leading a settled life in the centre of the oasis at the head of the main irrigation channels; semi-nomadic Turkmens, occupying the tail-ends of the main channels along the south-western fringes of the oasis, the so-called 'old irrigated lands'; and Kazakhs (in the north) and Karakalpaks in a segregated area along the shores of the Aral Sea and in the Amu Darya river delta. The fact that too little of the water used for irrigating the fields reached the Turkmens aggravated relations between them and the Uzbeks. The peasants built dams over the Daryalik to take advantage of every flood.

[14] See Lockhart, 1938, pp. 189–96, 211, and notes, 240–1, 245. The information on Persian slaves is in ibid., p. 194; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 912–14.

[15] Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 27–48; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 916–17.

Ploughing was carried out by a wooden plough (*omach*) drawn by oxen, horses and camels; the harvest was gathered by hand sickles; grain was threshed by driving round draught animals over the sheaves; and, finally, the grain was ground in both water-mills and hand-mills. Use was made of waterlifting devices (*chigir*s); and presses (*juvaz*s) were used to extract sesame oil. The crops grown, in addition to cereals (wheat, barley, *joughara* [Middle Asian sorghum]), included squashes (melons, water melons, pumpkins), vegetables (onions, carrots, red peppers), pulses (mung beans, or *noyba*), oil crops (sesame, or *zigir*), cash crops (cotton, tobacco) and fruit, including grapes; also cultivated were rice, oats and lucerne. The soil was manured and carefully cultivated. 'In Germany itself I have never seen such careful tending of the fields as in Khiva', wrote Muravyev in 1819.[16] The Turkmens of Khwarazm grew the same annual and perennial crops as the Uzbeks and Karakalpaks.

The Khiva khans granted allotments of land (*atlek*s) for military service, that is each cavalryman was allotted an *atlek-er*. The allotments varied in size between 5 and 50 ha, depending on local conditions, and they were gradually transformed into private holdings. The Uzbeks in Khiva cultivated various categories of land (*amlāk, pādshāh, moluk* or *milk*, and charitable bequest, or *waqf*, lands). In 1819 there were up to 3,000 peasant homesteads in Khiva with 10,000 inhabitants each. At towns like New Urgench, Hazarasp, Kongrat, Khwajili, Old Urgench, Tash-Hauz, Gurlen and Khanqah there were communities of weavers, potters, smiths, jewellers, bakers, confectioners and other craftspeople and traders. The outer garment known as the Khivan *dona* and the Urgench *chapan*, manufactured in the khanate, were well reputed.[17] Taxes were paid in kind as well as in money; there were also obligations concerned with the cleaning of canals and irrigation ditches (*kazu, kachi, bigār, ābkhur*).

The early decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a gradual strengthening of the central authority in Khiva. The rule of the Uzbek Kongrat dynasty ceased to be merely de facto and was formally asserted in 1804 under the *ināq* Iltuzer (Ilt Nazar Khān), who declared himself shah. He even proclaimed himself the 'heir of the Khwārazm Shāhs', that great dynasty of earlier times. Although he perished in a conflict with Bukhara,[18] his successor, Muhammad Rahīm Khān (1806–25), completed the unification of the khanate and brought order to administrative, financial and military affairs. He set up customs offices, minted gold coins (*tillia*s*, tallā*s) and paid attention to irrigation work. In 1811 he

[16] Muravyev, 1822, p. 88.

[17] *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1967, pp. 590–629; Bregel, 1961, pp. 91–7; Annanepesov, 1972, pp. 133–44, 163–70.

[18] See Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 918–20.

terminated the independent status of the Aral lands and subjugated the Karakalpaks. He conducted frequent campaigns against Khurasan, resettled some of the Goklens in Khiva, and devastated the Teke, Yomut, Saryk and other Turkmen tribes. At the very beginning of the nineteenth century the Emreli, Āl-eli and Qaradāshli tribes were resettled in Khiva and some of the Chaudur and Igdir tribes went to Mangishlaq. In 1819 Muhammad Rahīm attempted to subjugate the Kazakhs to the west of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes), who had already accepted for themselves the status of Russian subjects; and he also waged war against Bukhara over Merv, the population of which was exposed to plunder from all sides.[19]

It was probably in the time of Muhammad Rahīm's successor, Allāh Qulī Khān (1825–40), that the city of Khiva flourished most. Truly significant monuments were built such as the Tash-Khawus palace (1832), the mausoleum of Pahlavān Shāhtuda (1835) and the *madrasa* of Allāh Qulī Khān (1835).

About the middle of the nineteenth century, the Khiva khanate went into a decline. In 1855 the Sarakhs defeated the Khivan forces and beheaded the khan Muhammad Amīn (1846–55). Thereafter the annual raids of the Khiva khans against the Khurasan Turkmens ceased. There was also now much popular unrest within the khanate, leading to a long-drawn-out Turkmen uprising of 1855–67. The Turkmens were the cause of the death of three Khiva khans in two years (1855–6).[20]

Russian intervention and European exploration

From the time of Peter I onwards, Russia began to explore the eastern shores of the Caspian and the routes to Khiva and Bukhara, and to develop commercial, economic and diplomatic relations with those areas. After the previously mentioned ill-fated expedition of Bekovich-Cherkasski in 1717, Khiva was visited by various European travellers, such as Florio Beneveni (1722), Muravin (1740), Blankennagels (1793), Muravyev (1819), Danilevsky (1842) and Vambéry (1863).[21] At the same time, tsarist Russia did not abandon its desire to subdue Khiva by military means. In the winter of 1839–40 the military governor of Orenburg, Perovsky, undertook a campaign against Khiva which ended in total failure. The detachment of 5,000 troops and a baggage train of 10,000 camels advanced in bitter frost

[19] On Muhammad Rahīm Khān, see ibid., pp. 920–41.

[20] *Istoriya Turkmenskoy SSR*, 1957, pp. 65–89; Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 128–49; Bregel, 1961, pp. 197–225; see also Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 941–3.

[21] Vambéry, 1865, gives a good description of Khiva and provides valuable information on that khanate. O'Donovan, 1882, Vol. 2, offers a most interesting narrative of his five-months' residence among the Tekes and in Merv. Both sources also provide detailed descriptions of the nomadic way of life of the Turkmens.

over deep snow, many soldiers died of starvation and frost-bite, and camels fell sick, so that Perovsky was obliged to withdraw. He lost a fifth of his men and many camels.[22] Finally in 1873 Russia subjugated Khiva without a blow being struck, annexing all territory on the right bank of the Amu Darya and making the khan a vassal of the tsar.

Part Two

FERGHANA AND THE KHANATE OF KOKAND

(*H. N. Bababekov*)

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

The khanate of Kokand (Khoqand) had as its core the territory of Ferghana, which comprises the upper basin of the Syr Darya and is now shared between the Republics of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. A vivid description of the region as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century is given in the memoirs of the famous Timurid prince Zahīru'ddīn Muhammad Bābur. Bābur's father ᶜUmar Shaykh Mīrzā had succeeded as ruler of Ferghana after the death in 1469 of his own father Abū Saᶜīd Mīrzā, who had headed a large empire embracing Khurasan and Transoxania from his court at Herat. When he died in 1494, ᶜUmar Shaykh Mīrzā was succeeded by Bābur. After an abortive attempt to seize and hold Samarkand (1500–2), Bābur was compelled in 1503–4 to flee Ferghana as well, mainly due to the enmity of his own former noble, Sultān Ahmad Tambal. The latter was overthrown and killed by Shaybānī Khān (1500–10), the great Uzbek leader, who in 1504 joined Ferghana to his rapidly expanding dominions in Central Asia.

Bābur, recalling in his memoirs the Ferghana that he knew, tells us that there were seven main towns including Andijan, the capital. Next in size was Akhsi, which had been the main seat of his father, ᶜUmar Shaykh Mīrzā. Osh to the east, Marghilan to the west and Khujand to the south were three of the other important towns. Andijan had a Turkish-speaking population, and Bābur proudly remarks that its dialect was identical with the standard Turki that the poet ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī (and presumably Bābur himself) wrote. But this was not true of Ferghana as a whole. Bābur notes that the people of Marghilan and of

[22] *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1967, p. 673; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 941–9.

the Isfara district were 'Sarts and Persian-speaking'. The territory was thus linguistically diverse, with Turki far from being the only major language.

Ferghana was mainly an agricultural region. The peasants irrigated their fields and orchards with water from streams (*āqār-sū*s) and public canals (*shāh-jūy*s). The orchards produced fine melons and pomegranates and other fruit; a village called Kand-i Badam near Khujand exported its almonds to Hormuz on the Persian Gulf and to India. There were good pastures, and the mountains around had turquoise and iron mines. Bābur concludes his description by noting that Ferghana could yield sufficient income to maintain an army of 3–4,000 men.[23]

The Chaghatay khans of Moghulistan (northern Xinjiang) harboured traditional claims over Ferghana. Bābur's own mother was a sister of the then khan, Mahmūd, and this procured him the latter's protection and assistance. After Shaybānī Khān's conquest of Ferghana, the Chaghatay khans might have revived their claims, and Shaybānī sought to secure himself against any such contingency by massacring Mahmūd Khan and his sons when they arrived to seek temporary refuge in Ferghana in 1508. After Shaybānī Khān himself perished at the battle of Merv in 1510, Mahmūd Khan's nephew Sa^{c}īd Khan took possession of Ferghana, while Bābur established himself in Samarkand. But with the overthrow of the Safavid army of Najm-i Sānī and Bābur's fresh expulsion from Transoxania, Sa^{c}īd Khan's position in Ferghana became untenable, and in 1514 he abandoned it to the Uzbeks, who had now recovered some of their power under ^{c}Ubaydallāh Khān.[24]

Hereafter Ferghana was subsumed in the Uzbek khanate and had little independent political history of its own. It was only after the Shaybanid dynasty ended in 1598, and the Janids (Astarkhanids) were installed in Bukhara, that the authority of Bukhara over Ferghana began to weaken. Chadak (Chalak), north of the Syr Darya, became the capital of the territory, owing nominal allegiance to Bukhara. The region itself was divided up among several *khwāja* families.

The eighteenth century

In 1709 the *khwāja*s of Chadak rose against the emirate of Bukhara. Shāhrukh Bī became the local ruler, though he and his immediate successors refrained from claiming the title of khan. Initially, the new state comprised the town of Kokand, the new capital, and Namangan, Marghilan, Kand-i Badam, Isfara and surrounding areas. The dynasty is known as the Ming dynasty (no relation to the Chinese Ming!).

[23] For his description of Ferghana, see Bābur, 1995, pp. 3–9; 1922, pp. 1–12.

[24] Our main source for these events is Haydar Dughlāt, 1898 (written *c.* 1545).

Shāhrukh died at the age of 40 in 1721. His elder son, ᶜAbdu'l Rahīm Bī, who succeeded to the throne, subjugated Khujand, Andijan, Samarkand, Kattakurgan and Jizak (Jizāq). His reign, which lasted for 12 years, ended with his death at the age of 33. Although he was survived by a son, Irdāna (Erdeni) Beg, and three daughters, the throne was occupied by a brother of his, ᶜAbdu'l Karīm Bī.

According to Mullā Mīrzā ᶜAlīm (Rahīm Tāshkandī), author of the *Ansāb al-salātīn wa tawārīkh al-khawāqīn*, ᶜAbdu'l Karīm Bī set about regulating and reorganizing his cavalry. During his rule the Kalmuks, or Dzungars, seized Osh, Andijan and Marghilan and approached Kokand. The defence of the city was organized by its inhabitants. With the assistance of Fāzi Beg (Fāzil Bī), ruler of Ura-tepe, who arrived hurriedly with an army, the invaders were defeated.[25] Confirmation of these events can be found in archival materials.[26] Kokand was now the established capital, and ᶜAbdu'l Karīm added another citadel to the one that Shāhrukh Bī had built here.

ᶜAbdu'l Karīm Bī died in 1746 at the age of 40. Although his son succeeded to the throne, he was removed within six months and reduced to the status of a ruler of Marghilan, while power passed into the hands of Irdāna, who was also rapidly removed. Bābā Beg took the throne and had ruled for about a year when he was lured to Besh-Ariq, where he was murdered. Irdāna was then restored to the throne in 1751. Irdāna's reign (1751–70) saw two foreign invasions. After the Dzungar empire had been destroyed by the Chinese in 1758, the Chinese advanced up to Ferghana and extorted an acknowledgement of Chinese sovereignty from Irdāna Beg. The Afghan ruler, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, arrived in 1763 and occupied the stretch between Tashkent and Kokand, but he soon retired.[27]

After Irdāna's death, Sulaymān Beg, son of Shādī Beg, was proclaimed ruler of Kokand, but he was killed as a result of a conspiracy after a reign of only three months. The conspirators, led by ᶜAbdullāh Qush Beg (Qush-Begī) and Utau Bakaul (Baqqāl), *hākim* (governor) of Gurumsaray, joined the nobility of Kokand in inviting Nārbūta and proclaimed him khan. From the very beginning of his rule (*c*. 1774–98) Nārbūta Beg tried to impose his authority on the rulers of Chust and Namangan. He subjugated Khujand. The Chinese recognized him as khan, and he found himself in alliance with them and in conflict with

[25] Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek Republic (IOSASU), MS no. 3753, pp. 19–20. On the genealogy of the khans of Kokand, see Howorth, 1882– 1927, Vol. 2, p. 875; and on their early history, ibid., pp. 816–17.

[26] *Arkhiv Geograficheskogo Obshchestva Rossii*, fol. 65, op. 1, pp. 60–1, 417.

[27] This campaign is noted in the article on the Ming dynasty of Kokand by Barthold and Bosworth in *EI*², Vol. 5, pp. 29–31, but it is not mentioned in Singh, 1956, the most comprehensive biography of the shah.

Bukhara.[28] The khanate enjoyed abundance and low prices during his reign. He put into circulation the *fals* (pl. *fulūs*; copper coin), the smallest coin in the currency.

The nineteenth century

After his death in 1798, Nārbūta was succeeded by his eldest son, ^{c}Ālīm Beg, who built the chief mosque, the Madrasa-i Jāmi^{c}, at Kokand in 1816; and created an army of mercenaries made up mainly of Tajik highlanders. He subdued the Angren valley, Chimkent, Sayram, Turkestan and the whole of the Tashkent region – the most important points along the caravan routes to Russia. ^{c}Ālīm Beg officially took the title of khan in 1805, and from now on we can properly speak of the state as the Kokand khanate. In 1810, when he was in Tashkent, the rumour was spread that he had been killed, and his brother, ^{c}Umar Beg, was raised to the throne. On learning of the betrayal, ^{c}Ālīm Khān set out for Kokand, but he was killed in the vicinity of Alti-Qush some time between 1810 and 1813.[29]

^{c}Umar Beg conquered Ura-tepe and retook Turkestan (Yasi) and a number of other small towns to the north of Tashkent. Life in the khanate was noticeably improved by the order he brought to the affairs of state during his reign (1810–22), which also witnessed improvements in agriculture, handicrafts and trade. ^{c}Umar Beg founded the town of Shahrikhan, west of Andijan, and cut a great canal, the Nahr-i Khan Say, leading to that town from the Kara Darya. Another distinguishing feature of ^{c}Umar's rule was the marked development of literature, art and education.

In the autumn of 1822 ^{c}Umar Khān fell ill and died.[30] His son, Muhammad ^{c}Alī (Madalī), who succeeded to the throne, continued to expand the territory. In 1834 the *qush-begī* (lit. 'chief of birds', 'commander of falconers') of Tashkent wrote to Russia: 'Muhammad ^{c}Alī Khān… has taken the cities of Ura-tepe, Karategin [Qarategin], Kulab and Darwaz and, having subjected their peoples, has appointed a commander of his own choosing to each of them, and has further conquered many towns and peoples.'[31] Expeditions into Kashghar territory were organized during the years 1826–31, for which Muhammad ^{c}Alī took the title of *ghāzī* (fighter for the faith). China even granted him the right to collect taxes in Akhsi, Osh, Turfan, Kashghar, Yangi Shahr, Yarkand (Yārqand) and Khotan. Muhammad ^{c}Alī built a large *madrasa* at Kokand; and the Beglarbegi *madrasa* at Tashkent was built

[28] On Nārbūta and his relations with China, see Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 817–19.

[29] Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek Republic (IOSASU), MS no. 9841, p. 8; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 819–21.

[30] Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 821–3.

[31] *Tsentral'nye Gosudarstvennye Arkhivy*, fol. 1265, op. 1, pp. 123 recto–verso.

in his reign. The Khan Harik canal in the Tashkent region was also excavated during this period.

Relations between Kokand and Bukhara deteriorated sharply during the reign of Muhammad ᶜAlī, who had himself become quite unpopular owing to his harsh rule. His abdication in 1841 in favour of his younger brother, Sultān Mahmūd, did not greatly improve matters. In April 1842 Amīr Nasrullāh of Bukhara seized Kokand and executed Sultān Mahmūd, Muhammad ᶜAlī and others. The emir appointed Ibrāhīm Dād-khwāh as governor-general of Kokand and departed for Bukhara.[32] The people of Kokand, however, were unhappy with the change of power and called in Shīr (Sher) ᶜAlī (a cousin of the previous rulers, ᶜĀlim and ᶜUmar), whom they proclaimed as khan. Ibrāhīm fled to Khujand. Amīr Nasrullāh undertook a new expedition against Kokand, but it failed and he returned to Bukhara.

The reign of Shīr ᶜAlī Khān (1842–5) was marked by severe exactions inflicted on the population, as a result of which there were disturbances and uprisings. The *ming-bāshī* (or *amīr lashkar*, commander of '1,000' [troops]), Musulmān Qul, an Uzbek from the Kipchaks, was sent to Osh with an army in 1845 to put down a revolt. Taking advantage of his absence, Murād, the son of ᶜĀlim Khān, put Shīr ᶜAlī to death and proclaimed himself khan. Musulmān Qul arrived in Namangan, gave his daughter in marriage to the young Khudāyār, son of Shīr ᶜAlī, accompanied him to Kokand, and seized and executed Murād Khān. He then proclaimed Khudāyār, still a minor, as khan, while he himself became regent.[33]

The first period of Khudāyār's reign lasted from 1845 to 1853. Differences arose soon enough between the young khan and his domineering father-in law, who was dismissed in 1852. Meanwhile, in 1853, Russian troops seized the Kokand fortress of Ak-Mechet (Āq-Masjid, or White Mosque) and a Russian official, Velyaminov-Zernov, secretly met Musulmān Qul.[34] On learning of this, Khudāyār Khān and his entourage suspected a Kipchak conspiracy and carried out a bloody massacre. More than 20,000 Kipchaks, including Musulmān Qul, were slaughtered.

There then followed the independent rule of Khudāyār Khān (1853–8). This period was significant mainly because of the activities of Mīrzā Ahmad, *beglar-begī* of Tashkent (1853–8), who had irrigation works laid out from Turkestan to the Chu valley. In 1858 Mallā Beg (Mallā Khān), the khan's brother, asserted his claim to the khanate, assembled an army, defeated Khudāyār and occupied Kokand. Khudāyār fled to Bukhara.

[32] Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 823–8.
[33] Ibid., pp. 828–9.
[34] See Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 832–5.

The leader of the Kipchaks, ᶜAlīm Qul, son of the former *ming-bāshī* Musulmān Qul, now appeared on the scene and threw his weight behind Mallā. However, on 25 February 1862 conspirators headed by *Qush-begī* Nūr Muhammad and *Dād-khoka* (*Dād-khwāh*) Shādmān Khwāja entered the palace and killed Mallā Khān. On 26 February in the morning they proclaimed his son, Shāh Murād, as khan of Kokand.[35]

In May the following year, Khudāyār returned to Kokand with a Tashkent army and recovered the throne.[36] But on 9 July 1863 ᶜAlīm Qul again proclaimed Shāh Murād as khan of Kokand and Khudāyār had to flee back to Bukhara.[37]

Relations between Russia and Kokand took a sharp turn for the worse during the reign of Shāh Murād. Russian troops captured Turkestan and Chimkent in 1864, and Tashkent in 1865, on which occasion ᶜAlīm Qul was killed.

The Kipchaks and the Kyrgyz now proclaimed Khudā Qul as khan, but he reigned for only 14 days, after which he gathered up all the state's valuables and fled to Kashghar. Shortly afterwards Khudāyār occupied Kokand without difficulty, ruling until 1875. He was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the emir of Bukhara, who had invaded Ferghana; but then in 1866 General Romanovski occupied the tract lying between the two khanates and thus isolated Ferghana completely from Bukhara.

Khudāyār Khān was a despotic ruler: 'He began a decade of despoliation of his own people, a decade filled with plundering and murder of all kinds.'[38] On the other hand, he was compelled by Russia to acknowledge the paramountcy of the tsar and pay an indemnity. This provoked a rebellion led by ᶜAbdurrahmān Avtobachī (Aftābah-chī), which grew into a movement for liberation from Russian dominance. This uprising was suppressed by Russian troops, under von Kaufman, who installed Khudāyār's son Nasru'ddīn as khan and annexed to Russia all territory on the right bank of the Syr Darya.

If Russia for the moment held back from annexing Kokand outright, it was owing to the British opposition to its obtaining a common frontier with Afghanistan. What the British wanted was a 'buffer zone' between Russia and Afghanistan, consisting of the emirate of Bukhara and the Kokand and Khiva khanates, which might even be turned against Russia.[39] However, Britain was satisfied when early in 1876 Russia disclaimed all pretensions to

[35] Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek Republic (IOSASU), MS no. 3753, p. 129; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, p. 835.

[36] Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek Republic (IOSASU), MS no. 3753, pp. 130–4.

[37] Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 835–6.

[38] Cf. Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, p. 836.

[39] Terentev, 1875, p. 213.

seeking any influence over Afghanistan.[40] Thereupon, the tsarist government felt free, in the same year, to declare an end to the Kokand khanate and annex its entire territory, making Ferghana an ordinary *oblast* (district) under the Turkistan governor-generalship.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND POPULATION OF THE KOKAND KHANATE

In the first half of the nineteenth century the Kokand khanate occupied the easternmost part of Turkistan, bordering on the territories of outer Siberia in the north (from which it was separated by a stretch of barren steppe); Khiva and Bukhara in the west; Karategin (Qarategin), Darwaz and Kulab in the south; and the region of Kashghar (in East Turkistan, Xinjiang) in the east. Once Russia had seized a large part of the khanate, its territory became con- fined mainly to the Ferghana valley. In 1871 the Kokand khanate consisted of the following *beylik*s (areas each ruled by a *bey*): Kokand, Marghilan, Shahrikhan, Andijan, Namangan, Sokh, Mahrām, Bulāq-Bāshī, Arabansk, Bāliqchi, Chāhār-tāq, Naukat, Kasan, Chust and Bābā-darkhān.

The khanate of Kokand was a typical 'oriental' state headed by a khan wielding absolute power. There was a rough division of functions in the government under him. Judicial authority was in the hands of a *qāzī* (judge). The army had its own *qāzī* known as the *qāzī-i ᶜaskar*.[41] The *ming-bāshī* occupied a position equivalent to the minister of war. He was also responsible for other state business, in particular foreign affairs. Next in line came the *qush-begī*, who was in constant attendance on the khan as an adviser or was sent to govern one of the large cities, usually Tashkent. The third-ranking official was the *parvānachī* (state finance secretary).[42] The title *atālīq* (tutor, regent) was awarded to such of the khan's viziers as were older than the khan. Their seal had the same authority as that of the khan himself.[43] The titles of *khwāja-kalān, naqīb, mīr-asad, sadr* (pl. *sudūr*) and *uraq*, awarded for services rendered, were the exclusive prerogative of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad and the four 'Rightly Guided' caliphs.[44]

The khanate of Kokand had a population of about 3 million, but after Russia's conquest of some of the territory, the population of the remaining part, mainly in the Ferghana valley, was reduced to around 1 million. The population of the khanate consisted of Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kyrgyz and Kazakhs, subdivided into numerous tribes and clans. The

[40] See Kaushik, 1970, pp. 54–5.
[41] *Zapiski Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva*, bk 3, 1849, p. 200.
[42] *Tarikh-i Turkestan*, 1915, pp. 168–70.
[43] Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek Republic (IOSASU), MS no. 10117, p. 56.
[44] *Voenniy sbornik*, 1876, p. 52.

Uzbeks included those who were already Turkish-speaking in Bābur's time *(c*. 1500), and the Tajiks similarly included the Persian-speaking Sarts. The Kyrgyz and the Kazakhs had made their appearance in the territory largely since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their intrusions are mentioned in Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (*c*. 1545).[45] There is no doubt that Turki, whose predominance in and around Andijan had been noted by Bābur as a special phenomenon, became the common speech over the larger part of Ferghana, a fact reflected in the Soviet-period delimitation of the boundaries between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. A few Afghans, Uighurs, Persians, Indians, Turks, Arabs, Jews and Tatars also lived in the Kokand khanate.

It was typical of the Kokand khanate that peoples of diverse ethnic origins and languages should live together in many of the towns and villages. The Uzbeks and Tajiks led a sedentary life and were called Sarts; the Kipchaks, some of the Kyrgyz and a few Kazakhs were semi-nomadic, while most Kazakhs and Kyrgyz and some Kipchaks were fully nomadic in their way of life.

THE ECONOMY

The nineteenth-century German scholar Middendorf wrote that all the wondrous gifts of heaven and earth would have been of no avail, had Ferghana not been occupied from time immemorial by an industrious people with a love of a settled existence. It was owing to their labours, he said, that Ferghana had risen to the ranks of the most fortunate of cultivated countries.[46]

Wheat, barley, oats, *joughara* (sorghum), maize, rice, *māsh* (a pulse), sesame, flax, hemp, cotton, lucerne and other crops were grown in the Kokand khanate; the gourds grown included melons, water melons, cucumbers and squashes. In the orchards grew grapes, apricots, peaches, apples, pears, quinces, walnuts, plums and cherries; and kitchen gardens provided onions, carrots, beetroot, turnips, etc. Wheat was the main cereal crop. The cultivation of cotton was to expand greatly after the Russian annexation in 1876 owing to the demand from the Russian textile industry. Sericulture was widely practised in Namangan, Andijan and Kokand provinces, and also around Marghilan.

Nomads provided the sedentary population with the products of animal husbandry. Working from February until autumn, the Uzbeks and Tajiks obtained high yields from their fields. With the extension of artificial irrigation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, much virgin land was brought under cultivation, and new towns and villages sprang up. One may here recall the famous Russian historian Barthold's statement that the khans

[45] This information is conveniently summarized in Barthold, 1956, pp. 152–5.
[46] Middendorf, 1882, pp. 11–12.

of Kokand 'developed vast irrigation plans utilizing the waters of the Kara Darya and the Naryn, such as Ferghana had never had even at the zenith of Turkistan's cultural past.'[47] And Barthold was always very cautious in his judgements.

The land-owning system and practices in the irrigated districts of the Kokand khanate were not very different from those current in the agricultural regions of the neighbouring Bukhara emirate. Much of the land belonged to the khan, and the bulk of the income from it went to the khan and his *bey*s as land tax – *kharāj* (tax on crops) and *tanābāna* (levy on measured land, from *tanāb* = approx. 40 m). The nineteenth century witnessed a growing concentration of land in the hands of the khan, at the very time that the irrigated area was undergoing considerable expansion.[48] Land occupied by nomads was held to be available for their use in perpetuity, but they, in their turn, equated this with clan ownership. The system of land rights was largely based on *ᶜādat* (customary law). Poor people whose herds were too small to make a success of stockbreeding had to work as labourers on the land of others.[49]

Certain mineral resources were exploited in the khanate. The major minerals were gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, turquoise, emeralds, sapphires, rubies, lapis lazuli and cornelian.[50] Saltpetre, sulphur, salt, building-stones and other materials were also mined and quarried. Coal had been mined in Ferghana since early times.[51] Mineral oil, too, had been known earlier and asphalt (pitch) used by boot-makers was extracted from it. Ozocerite (*sariq mum*) was also mined. There was an iron foundry in Chust and as many as 20 copper workings in the Kurama mountains, 32 km from Samgara.[52] The inhabitants of Ay-Kent 'were engaged, in particular, in the smelting of the excellent iron ore to be found in the Temirur mountains'. They produced steel and were skilled gunsmiths.[53] Kokand, Andijan and Tashkent had foundries and armouries where muskets were made and cannon pieces cast.[54]

Trades and handicrafts were a feature of all the towns in the khanate, each town boasting wares of different repute. Fabrics woven in Kokand, for example, were said to be superior to those from Tashkent.[55] The khanate of Kokand was renowned for its pottery,

[47] Barthold, 1956, p. 67.
[48] Nabiev, 1973, p. 131.
[49] *Tsentral'nye Gosudarstvennye Arkhivy Rossii*, fol. 1291, op. 82, d. 3, pp. 11–13.
[50] Terentev, 1874, p. 24.
[51] See Le Strange, 1905, p. 488, for 'stone-coal' mined in Ferghana 'for burning' in accounts of early medieval Arabic sources.
[52] *Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo Rossii*, fol. 74, op. 1, d. 1, p. 1, verso.
[53] Ibid., fol. 87, op. 1, d. 1, p. 32.
[54] *Tsentral'nye Gosudarstvennye Arkhivy Respubliki Uzbekistana*, fols. 1–715, op. 1, d. 11, p. 249.
[55] *Vestnik IRGO*, 1885, Vol. 18, p. 276.

elegant bronze water jugs and solid silver open bracelets, without clasps and decorated with exquisite enamelled work. Villagers spun cotton thread, wove cloth and carpets, stitched clothes, and embroidered sashes and caps. They also made ribbons and shrouds, wove baskets and *charkhī*s (spherical hanging supports for earthenware vessels) out of withy, and carved wooden handles for spades, picks and hoes.

There were bazaars in all the towns and large villages. In the nineteenth century the Kokand bazaar was reputed to be the best, although there was also a large one at Tashkent. A major role in economic life was played by the trade with Bukhara and Kashghar. Trade with Russia began to grow in later years. Trade was carried on all year round between Kokand and Bukhara, but was on a very limited scale with Khiva, the caravans going there only in small groups.

The main imports from Russia in later years were iron, copper, steel, cast iron, factory-made metal goods, cotton and woollen cloth, velvet, sugar, porcelain, mirrors and tanned leather. Kokand merchants sent silk and cotton textiles, carpets, dried fruit, rice, etc. in return; cotton and silk were, however, the mainstay of the khanate's export trade. The Kokand khanate was gradually converted into a region supplying raw materials to the Russian textile industry and serving as a market for the sale of its products.

EDUCATION

There were several types of educational establishment in the Kokand khanate in the nineteenth century: the *madrasa* (religious college), the *maktab-khāna* (elementary school) and the *qārī-khāna* (Qur'an-recitation school). The *madrasa* was regarded as an Islamic institute of higher education, whereas the *maktab-khāna* could be either in a private house or in a mosque. The funding for all schools, apart from those opened by teachers in their own homes, came from incomes of *waqf*s – endowments that could be made at any time by an individual to a charitable institution. There were always schools attached to mosques.[56]

Some statistics are available on educational establishments in the Kokand khanate in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the districts of Kokand, Marghilan, Namangan, Andijan and Osh, for example, there were 182 *madrasa*s (10,391 students), 1,709 *maktab-khāna*s (28,288 pupils), 235 *qārī-khāna*s (1,699 pupils) and 6,154 mosques (each of which had a school with some pupils). There were 6 Jewish schools with a total of 220 pupils in the districts of Marghilan, Kokand and Andijan.[57]

There was a certain revival of Persian learning in the Kokand khanate. This is shown by the large number of histories of Ferghana written in Persian in the later days of the

[56] *Tsentral'nye Gosudarstvennye Arkhivy Rossii*, fol. 954, op. 1, ed. Khr., 134, pp. 9–10.
[57] *Kokandskiy kraevedcheskiy muzey*, Inv. No. 995 N. V., p. 116.

khanate. These include Hakīm Khān's *Muntakhab altawārīkh* (1843), Niyāz Muhammad's *Tawārīkh-i Shāhrukhīya* (1871–2; printed in Kazan in 1885) and ᶜAlīm Rahīm Tāshkandī's *Ansāb al-salātīn wa tawārīkh al-khawāqīn*, cited above.[58]

Part Three

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KHANATES AND WITH OTHER POWERS

(*M. Annanepesov*)

The sixteenth century

In the sixteenth century the two khanates of Bukhara and Khwarazm were often torn apart by wars among the Uzbek rulers which also involved the Tajiks, Turkmens, Kazakhs and other ethnic groups. The Shaybanid state was looked upon as the property of the khan's entire clan, whose members were known as sultans (princes or chiefs), the khan being their chief. The sultans ruled over appanages, nominally assigned to them by the khan. The khan himself was often under the control of a senior member of his clan, whom he would designate as *atālīq*. The most powerful sultans tended to take for themselves the title of khan, and to rule independently of their former sovereign. This tendency was naturally a persistent source of division and conflict in the khanate. Samarkand was initially looked upon as a capital city where, in accordance with ancient tradition, the khan was enthroned by being raised three times on white felt, to the loud proclamation '*Allāhu-akbar*' (God is great). But Bukhara gradually became the state capital.[59]

The khanate of Khiva was also divided up into a loosely knit group of appanages. The struggle between the Shaybanids and the Safavids diverted the attention of both powers from Khwarazm. It was only in 1538 that the Shaybanid ᶜUbaydullāh Khān (1512–39) tried to conquer Khwarazm. Anūsha (Yavaneh, Avanash), khan of Khwarazm, was killed and ᶜUbaydullāh installed his son ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz as his vicegerent. Many of the Uzbek

[58] See Storey, 1936, pp. 388–92, for these works and other histories of Ferghana written in this period.
[59] *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1955, pp. 398–401; Barthold, 1963, p. 596. On the Uzbek political system, see Dickson, 1958, Ch. 2B, pp. 24–37.

tribes of Khwarazm were resettled in Transoxania, while the surviving relatives of the dead khan fled to Darun, where they were given refuge by the Khurasan Turkmens.

Dīn Muhammad, ruler of the appanage principality of Darun, who came from the same family as Anūsha, invaded Khwarazm with the assistance of the Turkmens, seized Khiva in 1539 and killed the Shaybanid *darūgha* (superintendent); ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz fled from Urgench to Bukhara. An army sent by ᶜUbaydullāh was defeated by Dīn Muhammad, who established friendly relations with the Persian Shāh Tahmāsp, from whom he obtained Nisa and Abivard as vassaldoms. Thus he extended his authority into northern Khurasan. Leaving Khwarazm to his kinsmen, he captured Akhāl and Atek, and then took Merv, while his adopted son Nūrum (Nūr Muhammad) Khān and his brother ᶜAlī Sultān even sought to subjugate the Astarābād Turkmens.[60]

ᶜABDULLĀH KHĀN

The khans of Bukhara continued their attempts to subdue Khwarazm. In 1575 ᶜAbdullāh Khān attacked Urgench while Hājam Khān was away on a campaign against Khurasan. However, having learned of the return of Hājam Khān, ᶜAbdullāh Khān withdrew to Bukhara.[61] In 1593 he once again occupied Khwarazm and installed his own governors and garrisons there. Hājam Khān was obliged to flee to Darun and seek succour from Shāh ᶜAbbās I of Persia (1587–1629).

In 1595 the sultans of Khiva attempted to overthrow Uzbek rule in Khwarazm. Assisted by the Turkmen tribes and the town-dwellers, they succeeded in taking the main towns of the khanate. This resulted in a new campaign led by ᶜAbdullāh in person – it ended with the taking of Hazarasp and the execution of the rebel leaders. Hājam Khān once again fled to Khurasan, along with the Turkmens (his mother was a Turkmen), and it was only the death of ᶜAbdullāh in 1598, and the consequential disturbance in the Shaybanid state, that enabled him to return to Khwarazm.[62]

The attempt to create a strong unified state in Transoxania is associated with the name of ᶜAbdullāh Khān, who spent his whole life striving for the unification of an Uzbek state within the boundaries that had been established by Shaybānī Khān. ᶜAbdullāh Khān campaigned aggressively in the north-east and in the south-west against Khwarazm, the Kazakhs, the Tajiks, the Turkmens and Persia. These campaigns were facilitated by the struggle

[60] *Istoriya Turkmenskoy SSR*, 1957, pp. 384–7; *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1955, p. 422; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 740–4, 882–4.

[61] Cf. Burton, 1997, pp. 26–7, where the preferred date for the event is 1576.

[62] *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1955, p. 422; Barthold, 1963, p. 600; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 733–8, 886–94.

within the reigning dynasty of the Safavids. After Balkh fell to him in 1573, ᶜAbdullāh Khān took Herat, the capital of Khurasan, and carried off large numbers of the inhabitants into captivity in Bukhara; in 1589 his son ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min took Mashhad. It was also around this time that Merv, Nishapur and Sabzevar came under the sway of the Shaybanids. The taking of Mashhad involved unbelievable carnage and the plundering of the city's rich treasures and well-stocked bazaars. The remains of Shāh Tahmāsp were exhumed from his tomb (close to the shrine of Imām Rizā), cremated and scattered in the wind. The Uzbeks might have continued their advance into Persia, but ᶜAbdullāh Khān died in 1598, and his son ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min was murdered soon afterwards. Under these circumstances, the Uzbeks were unable to stop Shāh ᶜAbbās from reoccupying Khurasan in the same year.[63]

The seventeenth century

The Janid dynasty may be deemed to have been founded in 1599 in Bukhara after the death of ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min, when the Shaybanid emirs elected Jānī Beg, the son-in-law of ᶜAbdullāh Khān and one of the sons of the exiled prince of Astrakhan who had immigrated to Bukhara, to be their khan. Although in the time of ᶜAbdullāh the khanate was a strong power, with which the Indian Mughals and the Ottoman rulers sought alliances, mainly directed against the Safavids, these relations weakened somewhat under the first Janids. Nevertheless, Indian, Persian and Russian merchants continued to visit Bukhara during the reigns of Imām Qulī Khān (1611–41) and ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān (1645–80). Nor did the Indian emperor Shāh Jahān's unsuccessful attempt in 1646–7 to occupy Balkh and Badakhshan cause any long interruption in trade. Many Indian and Russian merchants lived in Bukhara, where there was an Indian quarter in the seventeenth century, and Indian and Chinese goods were transported from Bukhara to Moscow and beyond, into western Europe.[64]

The enmity between Bukhara and Khiva persisted into the seventeenth century. Under Abū'l Ghāzī Khān (1643–63), for example, the Khivans subjected Transoxania to a devastating incursion. These incursions were often repeated in later years. The Khivan forces devastated and plundered Charju, Qaraqul and Vardanzi, advanced to Bukhara and Kermine (Carmina), and penetrated deep into the country in 1656 and again in 1662. The attacks continued under later khans, and in 1684 Anūsha Khān of Khiva even took Samarkand. The lengthy war with Khiva led to a deterioration of the situation in Transoxania and to a

63 Barthold, 1963, p. 600; *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1955, pp. 406–7.
64 *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1955, pp. 397, 409–10.

crisis in Bukhara. ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz, unable in his old age to defend his subjects, abdicated and went into exile at Mecca.

The next khan of Bukhara, Subhān Qulī (1680–1702), was also engaged in settling differences between his sons in Balkh, and it was only with the assistance of the ruler of Badakhshan that he was able to expel the Khivans from Samarkand in 1684, following which he levied an extremely harsh indemnity on the city's inhabitants for having recognized Anūsha as their khan. Shortly afterwards a plot was hatched at Khiva against Anūsha, who was seized and blinded. The Bukharans led a campaign against the Khivan territories in Khurasan and took the fortress of Val-Murghab (Bālā-Murghāb). In 1695 Khiva was seized by an Uzbek, Qul Muhammad, who declared himself a vassal of Subhān Qulī, and Khiva passed temporarily under the rule of Bukhara. In 1597 and 1700–1 Subhān Qulī actually nominated the persons (Shāh Niyāz and Musī) who successively occupied the khan's seat at Khiva.[65]

Bukhara, Khiva and Persia frequently clashed in Khurasan and Astarabad. Shāh ᶜAbbās I had mounted a campaign early on with the aim of subduing the Turkmens and expelling the Bukharans with their assistance. The Turkmen gentry 'gave the shah an expression of their feelings of devotion and cordial relations', but the nomadic and semi-nomadic Turkmen clans and tribes were opposed to submission to Persia. These clans and tribes – the Eymurs, Okhlus, Sālors and Goklens – were mercilessly crushed by Shāh ᶜAbbās: 'The men were killed, the women and children were taken captive, and their property, horses and flocks were dissipated in a welter of plunder and depredation.'[66] Shāh ᶜAbbās commanded that fortifications be erected at Astarabad and elsewhere in Khurasan and he moved some Kurds to settle on the frontier with the Turkmens, and the Khazars similarly to settle at Merv and the banks of the Gurgan river. There were frequent clashes between the newcomers and the Turkmens.

When a Russian envoy, Gribov, passed through Merv in 1647 he noted: 'Many Turkmens, numbering some 60,000, and under the same lord, are nomadic in the vicinity of Mary [Merv] and those Turkmens who are nomadic there wish to depart from the vicinity of Mary.'[67] It is highly probable that these Turkmens were attempting to abandon their familiar encampments on account of the enmity of the Khazars who had been forced into the area.

[65] Burton, 1997, pp. 355, 358, 360.

[66] Iskandar Munshi, 1350/1971, Vol. 1, pp. 530–1, 565, 579–81.

[67] *Materialy po istorii Uzbekskoy, Tajikskoy i Turkmenskoy SSR (MIUTT)*, 1932, pp. 322–3. This brief quotation also shows that the modern Turkish pronunciation of the name Mary was already in existence in the spoken language in the middle of the seventeenth century, if not before.

The eighteenth century and the rise of Nādir Shāh

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the simultaneous decline of the Safavids in Persia and the Janids in Bukhara had become apparent, and interminable clashes between the Uzbeks and the Turkmens also led to a decline in the authority of the Khiva khanate. In this situation Nadr Qulī (b. 1688) of the Afshār tribe rapidly came to the fore. In his youth, he and his mother may have been taken captive by neighbouring Turkmens and sold into slavery in Khiva. He is supposed to have escaped in 1708 and entered the service of the Afshars of the town of Abivard. He entered the service of Shāh Tahmāsp II in 1726, then took Mashhad, subjugated the whole of Khurasan, expelled the Afghans from Persia in 1729 and forced the Ottomans out of western Persia the following year. He deposed Shāh Tahmāsp II in 1732 and initially ruled as regent to ᶜAbbās III, Shāh Tahmāsp's son, but he ended up by deposing him too. Around Nawruz (the Persian New Year festival) in 1736 he convened an assembly in the Mughan steppe and on 8 March he had himself proclaimed king of Persia under the title of Nādir Shāh.[68]

Nādir Shāh immediately engaged in campaigns of conquest: he subdued the area of present-day Afghanistan, defeated the army of the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shāh (1719–48) and occupied and pillaged Delhi in March 1739. He then invaded Transoxania, and conquered Bukhara and Khiva in 1740. Subsequently, he was engaged in military campaigns in Transcaucasia, Daghestan and Iraq. The explanation for the phenomenon of Nādir Shāh lies not only in the weakness of the state in those countries that he conquered, but also in his extraordinary military abilities. Nevertheless, unrest soon broke out in his empire. Nādir Shāh found it difficult to maintain his vast army without heavy exactions and repression and himself became a hunted man, suffering from melancholia. He was ultimately killed by his generals in June 1747 and his empire immediately collapsed. His own successors were able barely to rule over Khurasan, while the Zand dynasty (1747–94) established itself over the rest of Persia.[69]

THE EMIRATE OF BUKHARA

State power in Bukhara was wholly concentrated in the hands of Nādir's appointee, Muhammad Hakīm the *atālīq*, who bore the title *amīr-i kabīr* (great emir). After his death in 1743 the Uzbek emirs rebelled and appeared suddenly in Bukhara during Gul-i Surkh (the Festival of Red Roses). Hakīm's young son, Muhammad Rahīm, who was in Mashhad, returned to Bukhara with Persian troops. ᶜIbādullāh Khān Khitā'ī (an Uzbek), who had rebelled

[68] On these events, see Lockhart, 1958; 1938; Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 22–7.
[69] Lockhart, 1958; 1938; Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 27–43.

with other emirs and was besieging the city, was forced to retreat to Tashkent. Muhammad Rahīm was awarded by Nādir Shāh with the title of *amīr al-umarā* (emir of emirs). With the backing of a detachment of Qizilbāsh (Persian troops, especially the Shi[c]ite elite troops, lit. Red-Heads), Chārjū Turkmens and his own supporters, Muhammad Rahīm was able to put down the uprising and create a strong army. Soon afterwards (1747) he killed the khan, Abū'l Fayz, and also disposed of his son, 'casting him into the well of oblivion', and took the throne with the title of 'emir'. This was the end of the epoch of the Janid dynasty and the beginning of the Manghīt emirate.

Muhammad Rahīm and the succeeding emirs of Bukhara endeavoured to strengthen their authority within the emirate while extending its limits: they attempted to subordinate all the 92 Uzbek clans and the Turkmens of Lebāb (Lab-i āb) who lived on the middle reaches of the Amu Darya between Charju and Karki. Amīr Ma[c]sum Shāh Murād (1785–1800) mounted a series of campaigns against Merv, killed the ruler Bayrām [c]Alī Khān in 1785, plundered the oasis, destroyed the Sultanbent (Sultān-band) dam and deprived the crop-producing fields of irrigation water for a long time. During the rule of Amīr Haydar (1800–26) there were mass uprisings and much popular unrest. The Turkmens of Merv, brought to desperate straits, rebelled in 1800, followed by the Turkmens of Lebāb, who fought stubbornly against the emir for many years.[70]

THE KHANATE OF KHIVA

Events in the khanate of Khiva followed roughly the same course as in Bukhara; there was a power struggle involving the Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kazakhs and Karakalpaks.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Merv oasis became a scene of the rivalry between Bukhara and Khiva and of their plundering forays. The two khanates attempted to use the Khurasan Turkmens against each other by giving bribes and presents to the Turkmen elders, and so frequently setting some tribes against others. This situation continued until midway through the nineteenth century, when in 1855 the Teke Turkmens defeated Muhammad Amīn Khān (1846–55) near Sarakhs and beheaded him, while in 1860 the Teke Turkmens defeated the Persian forces led by Hamza Mīrzā Hashmatu'l Dauwla near Merv. After these battles the Khiva khans and the Mashhad vicegerents never

[70] On the history of the Manghīt emirs, see Mīrzā [c]Abd al-[c]Azīm Jāmī, 1962; *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1967, pp. 563–6, 649–655; Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 52–4, 134–8; see also Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 762–87.

again penetrated into southern Turkmen lands. In fact, the Khiva Turkmens also rebelled against the Khiva khans and killed two of them in less than one year (1855–6).[71]

THE KHANATE OF KOKAND

Until the beginning of the eighteenth century Bukhara and Khiva were the two major khanates in Transoxania. It was early in the eighteenth century that the Ming dynasty established itself in Ferghana, giving rise to the Kokand khanate, named after its capital. In the relatively short period of its existence, it was under pressure not only from Bukhara, which wished to assert claims over it on grounds of previous suzerainty, but also from the powerful Dzungar empire on the east, followed by the Qing empire of China. It was fortunate enough to survive the pressure from these neighbours and, indeed, prosper, as we have seen in Part Two of this chapter. But it could not survive the Russian expansion eastwards in the nineteenth century, and was put an end to in 1876.

RUSSIAN EXPANSION

In the epoch of Peter I, Russia began to take an active interest in the eastern seaboard of the Caspian, Khiva and Bukhara. There was a succession of Russian expeditions, both exploratory and commercial. In the first half of the nineteenth century, following the subjugation of the Kazakh ‘hordes’ and Transcaucasia, Russia intensified its expansionist policy towards the Transcaspian steppes, Khiva and Bukhara.[72] The culmination came in the latter half of the century – the Russian subjugation of Transoxania and the lands of the Turkmen tribes was completed by 1885.

[71] Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 43–51, 138–50; *Istoriya Turkmenskoy SSR*, 1957, pp. 65–92; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 941–2, 918–20, 941–3.
[72] Annanepesov, 1981.

3

THE KAZAKHS*

K. M. Baipakov and B. E. Kumekov

Contents

Origins of the Kazakhs

Two of the central problems of the history of the Kazakh people concern, first, their origins and, second, the formation of Kazakh statehood and culture. Kazakh (Qazāq, Qazzāq in Turkic and Persian; Kazak, whence Cossack, in western languages) is a Turkic word. Some scholars assume that this term originally bore the sense of a free person, a wanderer.[1] It gradually acquired a social content, defining the status of an individual or a group that had cut itself off from its clan or tribe.

* See Map 2, pp. 923–4.
[1] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 273. It was, therefore, apt that peasants fleeing enserfed communities in Russia should have been called 'Cossacks'.

A distinction should be drawn between the history and time of formation of the Kazakh people and the appearance of the ethnonym in our sources. This is all the more important because other names (Uzbek, Uzbek-Qazāq) were used concurrently with the name Kazakh in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān (writing *c.* 1508–9) included 'three peoples' among the Uzbeks, these more probably being three groups of tribes. The first group was that of the Shaybāns – a part of the Kipchak (Qipchāq) tribes or a lesser division of them under Muhammad Shaybānī. The second were the Kazakhs, by which Fazlullāh meant the subjects of the first Kazakh khans, who had wandered over the vast expanses between the Itil (Volga) and the Syr Darya (Jaxartes). And the third were the Manghīts, a group that included a part of the population of the Noghay Horde.[2]

As the Kazakh entity took shape, the collective ethnic and political term Uzbek altered in meaning. The entity that developed was initially referred to in the sources as Uzbek-Qazāqs,[3] and thereafter as Kazakhs. Kazakh became an ethnonym denoting the people who had settled in the territory of Kazakhstan.

After the collapse of the khanate of Moghulistan and the Noghay Horde, the ethnonym 'Kazakh' took in the population of Semirechye (Jeti-su) and the western part of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchaq (Kipchak steppes). The ethnonym Kazakh now became firmly established as the name of the people, and Kazakhstan (Qazāqstān) as the name of the territory inhabited by them. The people expressed their consciousness of their new ethnic unity in a shared heritage of epic tales.

The formation of a nation is a lengthy process and it is sometimes difficult to ascribe any precisely dated period to it. Even so, it is evident from an overall consideration of the historical, ethnographic and linguistic materials that the formation of the Kazakh nationality had been largely completed by the close of the fifteenth century.

Formation of the Kazakh khanate

The rise of the Kazakh khanate was an important formative element in what we have just ventured to refer to as the Kazakh nationality. The establishment of the khanate is dated from the departure of a part of the nomadic tribes of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchaq into the valley of the rivers Chu and Talas under the leadership of Karay (Qarāy/Gerāy) Khan and Jānī Beg Khan, of the House of Jōhi, in the latter half of the fifteenth century. As the khanate of the Uzbek Abū'l Khayr (1428–69) was weakened by internecine strife

[2] Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān Isfahān', 1962, p. 4; Ibragimov, 1960, pp. 152–7.
[3] See Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 82, for the use of the name Uzbeg-Qazāq. Haydar was writing c. 1545.

among the Chinggisids and by his harsh reprisals against his opponents, Jānī Beg, the greatgrandson of Urus Khan and son of Baraq (Barakeh) Khan, ruler of the White Horde, and his kinsman Karay, having united their dependent tribal groups of nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples, migrated to the territory of south-western Semirechye in what was then Moghulistan.

Mīrzā Muhammad Haydar Dughlāt gives an account of these events in his *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (*c*. 1545):

> At that time Abūl Khayr Khan exercised full power in the Kipchak steppes. He had been at war with the Jöhid sultans, Jānī Beg Khan and Karay Khan, who fled from him into Moghulistan. Isān Buqā Khan [Esān Buqā, khan of Moghulistan, d. 1462] received them with great honour and made over to them Kuzi Bashi near the river Chu on the western limit of Moghulistan, where they dwelt in peace and content.[4]

The migration of the bulk of the Kazakh population throughout an entire decade – from the late 1450s to the end of the 1460s – was an unusual nomadic event, involving not only the chiefs with their closest subordinates, but thousands of ordinary herdsmen, numbering perhaps some 200,000 persons.

In essence, the ruler of Moghulistan did not have the strength to halt the incoming Kazakhs. The Kazakh khans were able to make use of the struggle between Isān Buqā and his brother Yūnus (d. 1487) for their own ends. Isān Buqā, in his turn, readily entered into an alliance with the Kazakh rulers in an attempt to secure the western frontiers of Moghulistan in his struggle against Abū'l Khayr Khan and the Timurids, who supported the claims of Yūnus.[5]

The attempt by Abū'l Khayr Khan to prevent the separation of the Kazakh tribes under Jānī Beg and Karay proved futile. His campaign in Semirechye in the winter of 1468 was cut short by his death.[6] Jānī Beg and Karay engaged in a successful struggle for the unification of the entire territory peopled by the Kazakhs. From an analysis of the information contained in the written sources on the events of these years, it is possible to date the formation of the Kazakh khanate to around 1470.[7]

The Kazakh hordes (*zhuz*s)

The consolidation of the Kazakh people was accompanied by the formation of their ethnic territory. Under conditions of a largely nomadic way of life with extensive cattle-herding,

[4] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 272–3; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, p. 627.
[5] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 83–91.
[6] Ibid., pp. 82, 92.
[7] Klyashtorny and Sultanov, 1992, p. 240. In the *Tārī kh-i Rashī dī*, Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 82, puts the beginning of the reign of the 'Kazakh sultans' in 1465–6.

the boundaries of the areas occupied by clans and tribes were not clearly defined, but they nevertheless became increasingly definite and comparatively stable in the course of ethnic integration. Three main groupings were ultimately formed: Ulu Zhuz (the Great Group or Elder Horde), Orta Zhuz (the Middle Group or Horde) and Kichi (Kichik) Zhuz (the Little Group or Younger Horde).[8]

The term *zhuz*, or *zhus* (pl. *shuzder*, *zhuzler*) is usually applied to large groupings or alliances of tribes occupying a territory that is more or less traditionally defined. When and how the Great, Middle and Little Hordes were formed remains uncertain; the legends on their origins are highly contradictory, while information from written sources is indirect and relates to a later era. Some assume that *zhuz* comes from the Arabic *juz* ^{c} and so means a 'part' or a 'branch', while others consider that it derives from Turkic and stands for 100 (*yuz* in Turkic).[9]

One document dated 1616 states that the Kalmuks (Qalmāqs) were the overlords of the Cossack (Kazakh) Great Horde.[10] It seems obvious that a Great Horde could exist only in relation to a Little Horde or, in other words, the Younger Zhuz. Manuscript maps produced in the seventeenth century also make quite explicit references to Kazakh *zhuz*s (groups or hordes). Facts from Kazakh history recorded in the eastern chronicles of the sixteenth century suggest the existence of *zhuz*s at a still earlier time.[11]

The main area of the nomadic wanderings of the people of the Great Zhuz in the fifteenth century was connected politically and economically with the territory of Moghulistan. The tribes and clans of the Great Zhuz evidently formed the core of the Kazakh khanate that emerged around 1470. The tribes of central and north-eastern Kazakhstan (the Middle Zhuz) often tended to gravitate towards the Central Asian states, those of western Kazakhstan (the Little Zhuz) towards the khanates of the Volga region and later the Russian state.

The Great Zhuz largely occupied the territory stretching from the Syr Darya through Semirechye; the Middle Zhuz, mainly the areas of central Kazakhstan and, in part, north-eastern Kazakhstan; and the Little Zhuz, the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, the shores of the Aral Sea and the northern area of the Caspian lowlands. The Little Zhuz was divided into two branches – the Alimuls and the Bayuls – with a third element, the Yetiru

[8] See also on this division, Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, p. 641.
[9] See *Istoriya Kazakskoy SSR*, 1957, pp. 148–9; Amanzholov, 1959, p. 111.
[10] *Materialy po istorii russko-mongolskikh otnosheniy*, 1607–36, 1959, p. 53.
[11] *MIKKh*, 1968, pp. 242–3.

(Yediru) branch, apparently emerging later. The Alimuls included tribes such as the Keraits (Kereyids) and the Noghays alongside many others.[12]

There were also many ancient tribes in the Middle Zhuz – the Kipchaks, Arghins, Naimans, Kongrats (Qonqrāts) and Keraits – while on the Irtysh the clan names found among the Basentin (Basetein) tribe include the Qoghanchureks, Boras, Shujes (Chuges) and Aqteles, i.e. descendants of the tribes that had inhabited the West Turkic khanate, one of which, the Ongits, was incorporated in the Uaq clan. The names of the Karluk (Qarluq) tribes (Aq-Marqas, Qara-Marqas) have been preserved in the Altai region, while around Lake Zaysan there are the tribal names of the Oghuz (probably Yemeneys or Jebeneys).

The main elements making up the population of the Great Zhuz included tribes such as the Usuns (Uisuns), Dulats (Dughlats) and Jalairs (Jalāyers), some of which are already mentioned among the confederation of ten tribes of the West Turkic khanate. The composite character of the three hordes reflected the complexity of the formation of the Kazakh people out of the many Turkic (and Mongol) nomad tribes that had continuously migrated into the steppes and settled there.

The Kazakh khanate from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century

Over the last three decades of the fifteenth century, the Kazakh khanate constantly increased in strength while the Moghul khanate in Moghulistan grew weaker. The Timurids also entered a period of decline towards the close of the century.

The Kazakh khans, who entered into a struggle for power in Kazakhstan against the newly risen Shaybanids, had some real strength, in that they had with them considerable numbers of nomads and also had a stable rear in Semirechye. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, Abūl Khayr's grandson, Muhammad Shaybānī (1500–10), succeeded in retaining his position in the towns of Otrar, Turkestan (Yasi), Arquq and Uzgend. The rest of the territory – Sighnak (Saqnāq), Sauran (Surān, Subrām) and Suzak (Suzāq) – remained under the control of the Kazakhs. The Moghul khan Sultān Mahmūd (1487–1506) was in possession of Tashkent and Sayram (Sirām).

More and more clans and tribes came under the authority of Jānī Beg and Karay, and thereafter of Karay Khan's successor, Burunduq Khan.[13] The latter's successor, Qāsim, the son of Jānī Beg, proved to be one of the most outstanding of the Kazakh khans and the

[12] The Bayuls included the Aday, Alash, Baybakt, Berish, Alshin, Jappas, Maskar, Tazlar, Esen-temir,cherkesh, Tana and Kzil-Kurt tribes; the Alimuls consisted of the Kara-Sakal, Kara- Kesek, Kete, Shomekey, Shokt and Torkara, Kerder, Jagalbayl, Tibin, Tama, Ramazan (Ramadan), Kerait and Teleut tribes.
[13] Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 628–9.

'gathering together of the lands' proceeded rapidly during his reign. Qāsim Khan's main objective at the beginning of the sixteenth century was to secure control of the towns of the Syr Darya, over which there arose a protracted war.

Late in 1510 Muhammad Shaybānī Khān was defeated and killed in the vicinity of Merv by Shāh Ismā^{c}īl I of Persia. Qāsim Khan did not fail to take advantage of this to consolidate his authority, and in the following decade he established his dominion over a very large expanse of the Kazakh steppes (Dasht-i Qazāq). At that time the boundaries of the khanate extended to the right bank of the Syr Darya in the south and included most of the towns of West Turkistan; in the south-east they took in the foothills and valleys of a considerable part of Semirechye; in the north and north-east they extended into the area of the mountainous Ulutau district and Lake Balkhash, reaching the spurs of the Karkaralinsk mountains; and in the north-west they reached the Yaik (Ural) river basin. Haydar Dughlāt estimated that Qāsim Khan had 1 million people under his authority,[14] and, according to Bābur, who praises his keeping'the horde in such good order', he had 300,000 troops under him.[15] Grand Prince Vassily III (1503–33) of Moscow recognized the rising star by sending an embassy to the Kazakh khanate.

The Kazakh khanate had not, however, become a stable centralized state, as was apparent immediately after the death of Qāsim Khan in 1518, when there were acute manifestations of dissension among the khans and sultans. At the same time, the khanate was faced by the united hostility of the Moghul and Uzbek khans. Mamash (Muhammad Husayn), the son and heir of Qāsim, was killed, and Tāhir became khan (1523–33). But he too proved unequal to the task of keeping his subjects together. His horde of 400,000 is said to have suddenly deserted him. He had to seek the assistance of the Kyrgyz of Moghulistan, among whom he died.[16]

Internal discord and wars continued in the reign of Tāhir's brother, Birilash (Buydash) Khan (1533–4), so much so that only 20,000 Kazakhs are said to have remained under his control.[17] The next khan, Tughum, another brother of Tāhir Khan, suffered a shattering defeat at the hands of the Moghul khan, Abdu'l Rashīd (1533–60), in which Tughum

[14] This figure is given for 'the army', not for the people (Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 82, 273). We may assume with Barthold, 1956, p. 153, that Haydar Dughlāt meant to give the number of all the people (Kazakhs) under Qāsim.
[15] Bābur, 1995, p. 18; 1922, pp. 23–4; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 631–2; Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 273.
[16] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 82, 273, 373, 374, 377, 379, 386.
[17] Ibid., p. 82, where Birilash appears as Buldash.

himself, along with 37 'sultans' of the Kazakhs, were killed and the rumour even spread in remote areas that the Kazakhs had been annihilated as a people.[18]

But a revival of Kazakh power seems thereafter to have taken place under Qāsim Khan's son, Haqq Nazar Khan (1538–80).[19] The English merchant, Anthony Jenkinson, who visited Bukhara in 1558–9, heard reports of'the Cossacks of the law of Mahomet' – that is, the Kazakhs – threatening Tashkent, an Uzbek possession. Together with the Kyrgyz, who were similarly threatening Kashghar, these were held to be 'two barbarous Nations… of great force, living in the fields without House or Towne.'[20] These events probably had some connection with an invasion of Moghulistan that Haqq Nazar Khan undertook some time before 1560, defeating and killing ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan's son, Abdu'l Latīf.[21]

Exploiting internal strife within the Noghay Horde, Haqq Nazar won over many of the Noghay *mīrzās* (in Persian, sons, descendants of *amīr*s and rulers, hence princes, nobles) to his side and annexed the territory along the left bank of the River Yaik. In 1580 Sayfī, the author of a Turkish work, held the Kazakhs to number 200,000 families. He described them as Hanafite Muslims (as were most of the Muslims in Transoxania). They had sheep and camels, and exported to Bukhara coats made of very fine wool. They were nomads and had their dwellings on carts.[22]

The aged Shighay Khan (1580–2), a grandson of Jānī Beg, succeeded Haqq Nazar, and the next khan was his son, Tevke (Tevekkel, Tevkel, possibly a Turkic form of Tavakkul, 1582–98). Tevke Khan succeeded gradually in consolidating his authority in the khanate. He sent an embassy to Tsar Feodor in 1594 seeking support against the Uzbek ruler ᶜAbdullāh Khān (1557–98) and the Siberian khan Küchüm.[23] The Russian documents refer to him as the 'Kazakh and Kalmuk king', which suggests that he also had some Kalmuks as his subjects or chiefs. This might have been the result of an earlier conflict with the Kalmuks in which Tevke had carried out a raid into Kalmuk (Oirat) territory, which had in return brought upon the Kazakhs 'a devastating irruption of the infidels'.[24]

In their conflicts with the Uzbeks, the Kazakhs felt at a particular disadvantage in having to rely on bows and arrows alone, whereas the Uzbeks also had firearms. One objective

[18] Barthold, 1956, p. 157. Here Barthold must have had in mind statements in Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 82, 273, about the total disappearance of the Kazakhs by the year 1537–8.

[19] Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 632–40, calls him Ak (Āq) Nazar.

[20] Jenkinson, 1906, p. 25.

[21] Churās, 1976, Persian text, pp. 10–11, where we are told that ᶜAbdu'l Rash'd Khān took severe vengeance and drove out the invaders; but the statement that he captured and killed Haqq Nazar Khan is palpably wrong.

[22] Barthold, 1956, p. 159.

[23] Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 636–9.

[24] Barthold, 1956, pp. 159–60. If the 'irruption' led to Tevke seeking refuge with the Uzbek khan Nauroz (d. 1556) at Tashkent, this must have occurred long before Tevke became the khan of the Kazakhs.

behind the embassy to Moscow in 1594 was to secure these weapons even at the cost of accepting vassalage to the tsar.[25]

Just before ᶜAbdullāh Khān's death in 1598, Tevke launched an invasion of the Uzbek dominions and defeated, at a place between Tashkent and Samarkand, a large army that ᶜAbdullāh Khān had sent against him. In 1598, after ᶜAbdullāh Khān's death, Tevke raised 'an immense host from among the tribes of West Turkistan and steppe-inhabiting Uzbeks' and seized 'Aksi, Andijan, Tashkent and Samarkand'. His army of '70–80,000', however, suffered a setback at Bukhara – which was nominally under the last Shaybanid khan, Pīr Muhammad – and he retreated to Tashkent, where he died after an illness.[26] Tevke's conquests were soon retaken by the Uzbeks, but Tashkent and Turkestan remained with the Kazakhs until 1723.[27]

In the seventeenth century Kazakhstan presented the picture of a politically fragmented country. No stable economic and political ties could be formed between the Kazakh *zhuz*s. The difficulties standing in the way of uniting the Kazakh lands into a stable centralized state may be attributed to the economic backwardness of the Kazakh khanate and the predominance of a natural economy, marked by the decline of the towns in southern Kazakhstan.

Feuding increased in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, when Ishim (Esim) Khan (1598–1628) succeeded his brother Tevke. Some of the more powerful Kazakh sultans became virtually independent of the khan. Prominent among them was Tursūn Muhammad, who, installed by Imām Qulī, the Uzbek ruler of Bukhara, proclaimed himself khan at Tashkent (1614–27) while Ishim ruled in Turkestan.[28] After Ishim Khan, the situation of the Kazakh khanate deteriorated even further; the Dzungars[29] seized part of Semirechye, subjugating the Kazakh nomads in the area. Ishim's son Jahāngīr (1630–80) won a great victory against the Dzungars in the early 1640s but ultimately lost his life in a battle with the Dzungar ruler Galdan (1671–97).[30] When the throne passed in 1680 to Tauke (or Tauka) Khan (1680–1718), he took up the cudgels against the old nobility, and brought in new nobles, *bī*s or *beg*s (lords), of his own, to play a major role in the khan's councils.[31] How far this improved matters is difficult to say.

[25] Burton, 1997, p. 80.
[26] Iskandar Munsh', 1350/1971, Vol. 1, pp. 553, 591–2; cf. Burton, 1997, pp. 95, 102–3.
[27] Barthold, 1956, p. 160.
[28] *MIKKh*, 1968, p. 315; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 639–40, calls him Ishim Khan.
[29] Howorth and some other historians write Sungar, but it designates the same people. See Grousset, 1964, p. 605, note 1.
[30] Burton, 1997, pp. 219–20, 126. Jahāng'īr could not have been killed by Galdan in 1652, because Galdan (b. 1644) only became the Dzungar ruler in 1671.
[31] Tauke is called Tiavka in Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 640–2. He was a son of Jahāngīr.

The Dzungar invasion

The situation on the eastern frontiers of the Kazakh khanate grew worse at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Whereas a relatively strong Kazakh khanate had been faced, in the late sixteenth–early seventeenth century, by disunited Oirat (Kalmuk) tribes, the balance began to shift in the second quarter of the seventeenth century in favour of the Dzungar *taiji*s (*taishi*s, nobles, chiefs) within the Oirat fold. The Dzungar chief Khara Khula (d. 1634) made a prolonged effort to unite the Oirats. Under his son Baatur (1634–53), the Dzungar empire may be deemed to have been fully established: he took the imperial title of *khongtaiji* (*khongtaishi*).[32] Ba'atur persistently made war against the Kazakhs from bases in Dzungaria (northern Xinjiang, China), comprising most of Moghulistan. His son, Galdan Boshoghtu (1671–97), continuing the wars, seized practically all of Semirechye from the Kazakh khan Tauke in the early 1680s.[33] However, his preoccupation with a campaign against China in his later years somewhat weakened the pressure on the Kazakhs.

Relations between the Kazakhs and the Dzungars deteriorated sharply after the accession of Cewang Arabtan (Tsewangraptan) as Dzungar chief (1688–1727), when a fresh series of military conflicts began. The Dzungars inflicted defeat after defeat on the Kazakhs, making off with captives and cattle, seizing pastures and property, and slaughtering entire clans and villages.

This is how Valikhanov described the situation of the Kazakhs early in the eighteenth century: 'Their lands were threatened from all sides, their cattle were driven away and entire families were taken captive by the Dzungars, Volga Kalmuks, Yaik Cossacks and Bashkirs.'[34] In 1717 Kaip (Ghāyb) Khan and Abūl Khayr conducted a major campaign with a force of 30,000 men against the Dzungar khanate, but the Kazakh levies suffered a crushing defeat on the River Ayaguz.[35]

In 1723 the Dzungar rulers suddenly moved their armies into Kazakhstan. This is the year of the beginning of the 'great calamity' in the traditional Kazakh oral tales called the *Aqtaban-shubirindi* and the *Alqaqol-sulama*. Taken unawares, the Kazakhs were obliged to retreat, abandoning cattle, covered wagons and other possessions. Many were killed by the Dzungar invaders, and many more perished while crossing the rivers Talas, Borolday,

[32] Pelliot, 1930, p. 44, writes that *Khongtaiji* is derived from the Chinese *houang t'ai-tseu*, meaning 'imperial prince'.
[33] Barthold, 1956, pp. 160–2; Burton, 1997, pp. 336–7.
[34] Valikhanov, 1961, Vol. 1, p. 426.
[35] *Kazaksko-russkie otnosheniya v XVI–XVIII vv*., 1961, pp. 22–4.

Arys, Chirchik and Syr Darya.[36] Sayram, Turkestan and Tashkent were occupied by the invaders.

Most of the clans of the Middle Zhuz migrated to Samarkand, while the Little Zhuz retreated into the territories of Khiva and Bukhara. The only way out of the situation was through an effort to expel the enemy; the uprising was led by the *batir*s (*bahādur*s, intrepid warriors, troop-leaders) Bugenbay, Raimbek (Rahīm Beg), Tailaq, Saureq, Malaisare and Jānī Beg. The organized struggle began in 1726, when the troops of all the three *zhuz*s began to act together. In the south-eastern area of the Turgay steppe, on the banks of the rivers Bulanti and Beleutti, in the locality of Qara-syr, which subsequently acquired the name of *Qalmāq kirilgan* ('the place where the Kalmuks perished'), there was a major battle between the Kazakhs and the Dzungars, in which the latter were defeated.

The serious situation on the eastern frontier having made it imperative for the three *zhuz*s to join forces, Abūl Khayr, khan of the Little Zhuz, was chosen to command the troops. The victory gained by the Kazakhs in the locality of Anrakay in 1730 came about because the Kazakh troops of all three *zhuz*s fought side by side. The Dzungar forces were obliged to retreat eastwards back into the territory of the Dzungar khanate itself.

The unity of the Kazakh hordes did not, however, last long. The ties between the hordes, especially those of the Little and Middle Zhuzs with the Great Zhuz, were not strong enough to sustain the alliance. Moreover, the Little and Middle Zhuzs were now themselves broken up into separate domains. The threat of a new attack by the Dzungar khanate was not eliminated by the success of 1730. Although the Dzungar empire was much weakened by a large cession of territory to the Chinese in 1732, the Dzungar ruler Galdan Cering (Galdan Tseren) (1727–45) continued to press hard upon the Kazakhs.[37] But the overthrow of the Dzungar empire by the Chinese enabled the Kazakhs, under Khan Ablai of the Middle Horde, to drive out the Dzungars from Kazakh lands in 1758.

Kazakhstan as a part of Russia; the struggle for independence

The Kazakh khanate was obliged to accept the suzerainty of Russia partly because of the military and political situation that had developed owing to the Dzungar excursions and the consequential economic difficulties, the fragmentation of the khanate and civil strife. There was also, of course, the threat of the use of force by tsarist Russia. In 1726 there was a meeting in the Karakalpak steppes between a Russian envoy, Mullā Maksyuta Yunusov

[36] See also Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, p. 642.
[37] Barthold, 1956, p. 164.

(Mullā Maqsūd b. Yūnus), and Abū'l Khayr Khan, then leader of the Little Horde. Following the negotiations, Abū'l Khayr sent a mission to St Petersburg headed by Koybagar Kobekov for the purpose of gaining the 'protection' of Russia.

On 8 September 1730 a mission from Abū'l Khayr headed by Seitkul (Seyed-Qul) Koydagulov and Kutlumbet Koshtaev came to Ufa and petitioned Empress Anna Ivanovna (1730–40) for the incorporation of the Little Zhuz into the Russian empire.[38] On 19 February 1731 the empress signed a deed addressed to Abū'l Khayr Khan and'the whole of the Kazakh people' on their voluntary acceptance of Russian nationality.[39] A special mission headed by A. I. Tevkelev was dispatched to the Kazakh steppes on 30 April 1731 to inform the Kazakhs of the deed and to administer the oath of allegiance to them. On 10 October Tevkelev summoned the Kazakh leaders to a meeting at which the legal act on the voluntary incorporation of the Little Horde into Russia was signed by Abū'l Khayr, followed by Bukenbay, Iset and his brother Mīrzā Khudāy Nazar, and a further 27 Kazakh chiefs.

On 15 December 1731 Tevkelev, Abū'l Khayr and Bukenbay sent emissaries to Semeke Khan of the Middle Zhuz with the proposal that he should accept subjection to Russia. Semeke expressed the willingness of his Horde to enter the Russian empire, the oath of allegiance was administered to him and he àffixed his seal.[40]

The sultans and *beg*s of the Great Zhuz, Qodar and Tole, and *batir*s Satay, Qangeldy and Bolek then approached the empress herself directly with a request for admission to the Russian empire. On 19 September 1738 Empress Anna confirmed by deed to Jolbarys Khan that the Great Horde had been admitted into Russia. However, such was the remoteness of the Great Horde from Russia, and so vulnerable was it to pressure from Dzungaria, that it was difficult to give effect to the incorporation of these Kazakh lands into Russia. It was, indeed, not until 1846 that the Kazakhs of the Great Horde actually accepted Russian suzerainty.

Meanwhile, from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, Russia began to build lines of defence in Kazakhstan, along the rivers Yaik, Irtysh and Ishim. The defence works afforded great scope for the Russians to colonize Kazakhstan. They acquired the best and most fertile land, with the result that the area of grazing land was reduced and traditional migrations were disrupted. The tsarist government also issued a number of decrees restricting the movements of the Kazakhs. These measures caused unrest in the steppes which developed into serious disturbances and revolts.

[38] *Arkhiv vneshney politiki Rossii*, fol. Kirgiz-kaysatskie dela, 1730–1.
[39] *Kazaksko-russkie otnosheniya v XVI–XVIII vv*., 1961, pp. 40–1.
[40] *Kazaksko-russkie otnosheniya v XVI–XVIII vv*., 1961, pp. 60–1, 101–3.

This explains the active participation of the Kazakhs in the peasant war of 1773–5 led by Pugachev. From 1783 to 1797, half a century after the Kazakhs of the Little Zhuz had accepted tsarist-Russian tutelage, a resistance movement became active under the leadership of Srym Datov. Between 1833 and 1838, the movement headed by Isatay Taymanov and Mahambet Utemisov was transformed into a large-scale anti-colonial uprising of the Kazakhs of the Bukey khanate.

These uprisings compelled the tsarist government to take new administrative measures. The Regulations governing the Siberian Kazakhs' were adopted in 1822 and the Regulations governing the Orenburg Kazakhs' in 1824. Under these regulations a new administrative system was introduced in the Middle and Little Hordes. The rule of the khan was abolished. Administrative districts (*okrug*s) were established and *okrug* authorities set up, each headed by an elder sultan. Their orders had to be approved by the Russian authorities. Village elders were, however, to be elected by the local population.

The new system of government, which strengthened the authority of Russian officials, caused much dissatisfaction among the people, especially the clan nobles – the aristocrats of the steppe. This led to the most extensive Kazakh uprising against tsarist Russia. The uprising of Khan Kenesari Kasymov and his intrepid lieutenant Naurazbey began in 1824 and lasted until 1847, when both Kenesari and Naurazbey were captured and tortured to death by Kyrgyz chiefs. All the three Hordes were involved in this rebellion, and Kenesari had aspired to create a united Kazakh khanate.

The incorporation of Kazakhstan into Russia was largely completed by the middle of the nineteenth century. The final touches were added in 1863–4, when Russian troops occupied the towns of Suzaq, Chulaq-Kurgan, Aulie-Ata, Chimkent and Turkestan.

Herding, farming and urban life

Nomadic and semi-nomadic herding was the principal economic activity of the Kazakhs. The animals reared were mainly sheep, horses, camels and cattle. The meat and milk of sheep served as food, and their skins and wool were used in making clothes, footwear, vessels and many other objects of daily use. Horse-breeding was no less important. Haydar Dughlāt aptly quotes the Kazakh khan Qāsim's words: 'We are men of the desert, and here there is nothing in the way of riches or formalities. Our most costly possessions are our horses, our favourite food their flesh, our most enjoyable drink their milk and the products of it. '[41] Kazakh pastoralists often moved seasonally with their herds of animals from

[41] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 276.

one location to another to make the best use of available pastures. Wheeled transport was widely used, though horseback was the normal mode of travel.[42]

Because fodder was not usually put by for the winter, there were mass deaths of animals (known as *zhut*s) if deep snow covered the steppes for too long or there was a prolonged drought. Nomadic life was thus even more subject to natural disasters than settled life. In addition to stock-breeding the Kazakhs were also involved in farming and enjoyed a settled mode of life; others lived in towns. From the late fifteenth to the seventeenth century, life in the Syr Darya region and Semirechye became largely sedentary. The development of towns and settlements, and of agriculture itself, was greatly supported by exchanges with nomads and semi-nomads.

The town of Sighnak retained its importance as the major economic and political centre of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchaq. The town finally came under the permanent authority of the Kazakh khans in 1598. Nomadic stock-breeders came to Sighnak, driving their beasts before them ('fat sheep, horses and camels', in the words of the author of the *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*) and delivering the produce of animal husbandry (meat, skins, hides, wool and woollen goods) and furs. Such valuable goods as 'fur coats of… sable and squirrel, taut bows, arrows of white birch, silk cloth and other costly wares' were also brought to Sighnak to be sold.[43]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the city of Turkestan became the most important centre of southern Kazakhstan. Ibn Ruzbihān calls Yasi 'the capital of the rulers of Turkistan'. Written sources contain references to many settlements around Yasi (modern Turkestan) that together formed a large farming oasis, especially the settlements of Iqan, Qarnaq, Qarachuq and Suri.[44] Ishim Khan made Turkestan his capital, a place at which much of the cultural and political life of the entire Syr Darya strip was centred. The Kazakh khans, like the previous rulers of West Turkistan, also attempted to maintain the role of the city as a centre of Islamic learning and rites.

Sauran retained its importance as an urban centre. It was one of the strongest fortresses of the region. To quote Ibn Ruzbihān again, 'the town is surrounded by a high wall, which cannot be rapidly taken by armed force, and around it there is an unassailable moat.'[45] Like other towns in southern Kazakhstan, Sauran was the centre of a farming district from

[42] Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān Isfahān', 1962, pp. 140–4; Russian tr., 1976, p. 94. This work describes Shaybān' Khān's campaign against the Kazakhs in 1508–9. See also Sayfi's statement (1580) that the Kazakhs had their dwelling on carts (Barthold, 1956, p. 159).
[43] Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān Isfahān', 1962, pp. 199–201; Russian tr., 1976, p. 117.
[44] *MIKKh*, 1968, pp. 269, 283; Pishulina, 1969, p. 19; Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān Isfahān', 1962, p. 256.
[45] *MIKKh*, 1968, pp. 78–81, 116; Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān Isfahān', 1962, p. 253.

which it obtained its food supplies; apart from being a grain exporter, it was reputed around 1520 for its ‘incalculable wealth’ and ‘the comforts of the *vilayet*’.[46]

During the final third of the fifteenth century and early in the sixteenth century, Otrar remained one of the region’s major administrative centres. Artefacts unearthed during excavations at Otrar in recent years point to the prosperity of the town and the surrounding farming district in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[47]

In the late Middle Ages Sayram was at the heart of a densely populated agricultural district at the junction of the trade routes from Transoxania to the Dasht-i Qipchaq and Semirechye. There are references in our texts to other towns in the Syr Darya region that were also surrounded by farming districts, such as Suzaq, Arquq, Uzgend and Aq-Kurgan.

Crafts

Written sources and archaeological finds demonstrate that the Kazakhs practised many trades, prominent among which were blacksmithing, jewellerymaking, leatherwork, tailoring and shoe-making. Woodworkers carved beautifully shaped, richly ornamented wooden bowls, elegant goblets for the drinking of *kumiss* (*qumis*, *qumiz*) (fermented mare’s milk) and large round basins. They also made wooden components for yurts, beds, chests, low round tables and children’s cots. Blacksmiths fashioned armour and weapons, such as bows, quivers, shields, knives, swords, spears and arrows, and the usual range of metal tools for farming and everyday household use. Leather-workers and saddlers made horse trappings, harness and other fittings for carriages and pack horses; and straps and fastenings for the awnings of yurts. Carpet- and rug-making were widely developed. Clothes, felt, carpets and furnishings for yurts were mainly the work of women. Master potters were renowned for their range of crockery, including glazed wares.

Craftsmen who were able to impart an artistic quality to their products were held in high esteem and addressed as *sheber* (master craftsman). Urban craftsmen were members of guilds (*risāla*s) and lived by their rules. In the course of excavations archaeologists have uncovered the workshops of potters, blacksmiths, jewellers, coppersmiths and brick-makers.

Kazakh military organization and arts

The Kazakhs did not have a standing army, but raised levies as required. A detachment was an independent military unit: the chief of the clan was its commander and each detachment

[46] Vāsifī, 1961, Vol. 1, pp. 341–3; Persian ed., 1970, Vol. 2, pp. 267–9.
[47] Akishev et al., 1972.

had its own battle flag and war cry (*urān*). A few such autonomous units formed the host of an *ulūs* (familial or tribal domain). The leader of the *ulūs* was also the leader of the host, which had its main banner and its own war cry. The khan was the commander-in-chief of all the hosts; he personally stood at the head of his troops in battle and was expected to share their hardships and dangers. Sources indicate that the Kazakh rulers had, on average, 30–50,000 mounted warriors. Mobility was a feature of the light cavalry of the steppe-dwelling nomads, who were able to assemble large forces for an attack at any time and in any place.

The main weapons of the Kazakhs during the period were the sword and the bow. Other arms mentioned are war axes, bludgeons, one-handed maces, two-handed clubs, and long spears decorated with horsehair tassels and fitted with a hook for dragging an opponent from the saddle. We have a reference to a warrior sultan from the Dasht-i Qipchaq in the following terms: 'Over his chest he wore a shirt of mail as blue as the sky, on his head there was a sparkling helmet with a helmet liner, and round his waist was a belt from which hung a sword.' Firearms were not very common, but the Kazakhs knew how to make 'good gunpowder', and also how to smelt lead and copper ore.

There is much information in the sources on the military art of the Turco-Mongol nomadic tribes and peoples. If the military commanders thought it pointless to engage in a cavalry skirmish, the warriors dismounted, and having fastened the reins of their horses to their belts, rained down arrows on the enemy and sought to prevent the opponents' advance with spear thrusts. If the enemy attacked unexpectedly, making it impossible for the defenders to form ranks, they strove to close the flanks and form a circle, wheeling round as they fought, 'in the Mongol fashion'. In attack the nomads used a method which had its own special name – *tulgama (tulgamish*). Both these words come from the Turkic verb *tulgamak* – to encircle, wind round, turn, spin, whirl. As a method of warfare, *tulgama* means to turn, make a flanking movement and attack the enemy on the flank or in the rear.

Military prowess was highly esteemed and a person who 'cut off more heads and spilled more blood' than others enjoyed general respect. We know from fifteenth-century sources that outstanding swordsmen who were repeatedly successful on the battlefield were awarded the title or style of *tolu-batir* or *tolu-bahādur* (perfect hero) or *bogatyr* (complete hero), i.e. a person of boundless courage, steadfastness and strength.

Material and spiritual culture

DWELLINGS

Most of the population of Kazakhstan, whose occupation was nomadic and semi-nomadic herding, lived in movable dwellings of various shapes, sizes and designs. In warm weather the herdsmen and their families lived in light portable dwellings, while in cold weather they lived for the most part (nomads excepted) in warm, permanent housing – dug-outs and dwellings above ground, the names for which were *zheru*, *qara-tam* and *shoshala*. The summer dwellings of the Kazakhs were of two types: the felt tent or yurt, and the covered wagon or *kuyme* (*kheyma*). The most usual form was the yurt, which is an easily assembled dwelling. It was circular in shape, outwardly resembling a rotunda (Fig. 1). The base of the yurt was formed by the wall (*kerege*), over which a dome-shaped vault of radially arranged poles was erected, with their lower ends fastened to the wall and their upper ends held by a circle of wood (*shaniraq*) forming the uppermost point of the dome. The yurts of wealthy people and nobles were noteworthy for their elegance and costly furnishings; their frames were often decorated with bone inlay, and the interior was hung with many-coloured carpets and expensive textiles (Fig. 2).

Covered wagons formed another common type of mobile home among the Kazakhs. As described by Ibn Ruzbihān:

> their homes [those of the Kazakhs] are constructed in the shape of bullock-carts (*carāba*), mounted on wheels (*garduna*) and curved like the vault of the heavens. Camels and horses



Fig. 1. A Kazakh yurt. (Photo: Courtesy of K. M. Baipakov.)



Fig. 2. Interior of a Kazakh yurt. (Photo: Courtesy of K. M. Baipakov.)

> draw them from one camp site to another, strung out one behind the other like a caravan train, and if they all start to move together in this way, the trains may extend for 100 Mongol *farsang*s (about 600 km?), with no more than a single pace between each of them.[48]

As mentioned previously, the Kazakhs also constructed permanent dwellings: dug-outs and houses. Considerable groups of Kazakhs lived in rural settlements and in winter camps (*kstau*s, *qestau*s), usually along river-banks, in mountain gorges. Permanent, settled areas were a more advanced type of rural settlement, sometimes protected by walls and ditches. They varied in size and could have as many as 500 inhabitants.

Materials from the archaeological excavations at Otrar and other settlements enable us to distinguish the traditional type of urban dwelling. The basic and most simple living unit was a room with an *aywān* (arched portal, the chamber open at the outside). Practically all domestic functions were combined in the single warmest and most comfortable room, which had a stove (*tandir*, *tanur*; Persian, *tandūr*). This room served as bedroom, dining room and kitchen. The walls of the houses were built of unbaked brick, without foundations. Frame construction was also used, usually for internal partitions. Ceilings were flat, supported on a central elm or poplar beam. The roof was made of reeds with a top coating of clay.

48 Ibragimov 1960, Vol. 8, p. 154; Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān Isfahān', 1962; Russian tr., 1976, pp. 143, 222.

ARCHITECTURE

According to the written sources, the finest architectural works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the tombs of the Kazakh khans Jānī Beg and Qāsim Khan in the necropolis of the town of Saraychik.

A clear idea of the buildings of the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries may be obtained from monuments that have survived in relatively good condition. First and foremost are the mausoleums of Karmakchi-Ata and Saraman-Ata in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya. The first is a cube-shaped building with a dome in the form of a truncated cone – one of the traditional types of tomb in Kazakhstan. Other monuments in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya take the customary form of hipped-roof buildings. They include the mausoleums of Qara-batir, Tore-batir and Tore-tam. The monuments of central Kazakhstan, in the Ulutau district, are more diversified, although retaining the principle of hipped-roof construction. Polyhedral and ellipsoid mausoleums are also found here.

Different again are the architectural monuments of the Mangishlaq (Manqeshlāq) region, in the basins of the Emba, Sagiz, Uil and Khobda rivers. The monuments there were built exclusively of white limestone, a material that is easy to work, polish and ornament.

Wall paintings in mausoleums have a special place in Kazakh folk art. Their subjects were usually domestic, hunting and military scenes and episodes from the life of the dead.

APPLIED ARTS

The Kazakhs live in a world of ornament. Their traditional domestic decor is embellished with patterns. There are no household items untouched by decorative ornamentation. Literally everything is decorated – utensils, crockery, weapons and clothing. The ornamental folk art of the Kazakhs is epitomized in the yurt. Among yurt furnishings, the highest artistic value is attributed to multicoloured woven strips (*baskur*s) on a claret-coloured ground and narrow polychrome ribbons on a milky-white ground (*bau*), used as draping on the wall and the vault.

Mats in many colours made of chee grass interwoven with variegated woollen thread or silk cord furnish striking examples of Kazakh decorative art. They usually come in soft, delicate shades. Multicoloured felt and woven rugs, carpets (*alasha*s), embroidered curtains (*shimildik*s), felt pouches for the walls of the yurt (*ayāq-qāb*s) and brightly hued and patterned chest covers (*sandiq-qāb*s) are all used in furnishing the yurt. Decorative embroidery is very popular in Kazakh folk art.

Horse harness, leather saddle-cloths, and belts worn by men and women are decorated with punch-work. Objects made of bone are frequently decorated with open-work. The



Fig. 3. Kazakh silverwork. (Photo: Courtesy of K. M. Baipakov.)

favourite motifs for bone carving are circles and spirals, and, rather less frequently, rhomboids and triangles.

Some of the finest examples of Kazakh applied art are to be found in necklaces and pectoral ornaments for women, medallions to adorn girls' braids and pendants decorated with filigree, gemstones and pearls. There is a wealth of ornamentation on bracelets, rings and silver cases decorated by carving, engraving, inlay, *cloisonné* work and enamelling. The designs are usually based on geometric and floral patterns (Fig. 3).[49]

The motifs of Kazakh decoration are many, and strict rules govern their reproduction and combination. The main elements are cosmological, zoomorphic, floral and geometric. The colour scheme of background and design is based on a rigorous system of colour composition. Black is generally used to make the decoration stand out more boldly, rather than white on a black background. Kazakhs love the combination of black and raspberry, and of blue with light shades. Some colours have a traditional symbolic significance. For example, blue is the symbol of the sky; red of fire and the sun; white of truth, joy and happiness; yellow of the mind and grief; black of earth; and green of youth and spring.[50]

RELIGION

Islam became the official religion of the Kazakhs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its main centres were Turkestan, Khwarazm, Bukhara and Astrakhan. Merchants played an important role in the spread of Islam among the Kazakhs. While describing the events of 1508–9, Ibn Ruzbihān wrote that 'Kazakh merchants study the precepts of

[49] On Kazakh dresses, jewellery and their way of life in the sixteenth century, see Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān Isfahān', 1962; Russian tr., 1976, pp. 14–15, 165, 167–8, 222–4.
[50] *Margulan*, 1986; 1987; 1994.

Mohammedanism... and now their khans and sultans are Muslims. They read the Qur'an, say their prayers and send their children to school.'[51]

Islam did not, however, strike deep roots among the ordinary people, most of whom remained unaffected by its dogma, tending instead to cling to the beliefs of the pre-Islamic period, based on the worship of Tengri. The concept of Tengri was adapted to the new conditions: the deity gradually took on a monotheistic form and began to be identified with Allāh. It is not by chance that the dual concepts of 'Tengri–Allāh', 'Tin–Aruakh' and 'Martu–Shaytan' came into popular use.

Despite the teachings of Islam, the people long continued to worship their ancestors and kept images of them. The old rites were especially observed by the nomads, who were little affected by Islam. All these beliefs were denounced by the Islamic clergy (*ᶜulamā'*). The *shaykh*s (head men, tribal leaders) and *qāzī*s (judges) of Bukhara, acting at the instigation of Shaybānī Khān, drew up a *fatwā* (legal opinion) in which it was asserted that since the Kazakhs were idolaters, the khan should proclaim a holy war against them.[52]

The Kazakhs worshipped the spirits of the earth (*Zher-ana*) and water (*Su-ana*), to whom they consecrated unusually shaped mountains and cliffs, caves, groves, lone trees and springs. They also continued to worship the tutelary spirits of sheep (*Sholpan-ata*), cows (*Zengi-ata*), horses (*Kambar-ana*) and camels (*Oysil-qara*). Offerings of mare's milk were made to the moon and sun, with prayers for obtaining the life-giving gift of water and dew. Fire worship (*Ot-ana*) played a very important part in the life of the Kazakhs. Fire was regarded as the tutelary spirit of home and hearth.

Some elements in the burial customs of the Kazakhs also dated back to ancient beliefs. On the death of a warrior, his bow, spear, saddle and the head of his favourite horse were placed beside him in his tomb, and food and drink were left for him. The custom of the wake was observed when a man died at home. On the following day the deceased was subjected to purification by fire, after which he was buried. Nobles were buried in holy places: for example, near the mausoleum of Khwāja Ahmad Yasawī in Turkestan, mausoleums called *kumbez* (Persian, *gumbad*, dome) or *sagana-tam* of richly ornamented fired brick were built for members of the nobility. In the Mangishlaq and the north Caspian regions such mausoleums were built of coquina.

[51] Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān Isfahān', 1962; Russian tr., 1976, p. 175.
[52] Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān Isfahān', 1962, pp. 43, 169, 170–83; Russian tr., 1976, pp. 105–6.

4

THE KYRGYZ*

T. Tchoroev (Chorotegin)

Contents

Diffusion of the Kyrgyz tribes

There are several differing etymological explanations, both written and oral, of the ethnonym 'Kyrgyz' (Qirghiz, Qïrqïz). It is usually considered to be derived from the sacred number 40 (*kirk/qïrq*), identified in folk tradition with the concept of 'integrality' (of a confederation, power, beauty, etc.), and the Turkic word *qïz* (meaning 'girl' in Turkic languages, but here a survival of the earlier ethnic name Ghïz or Oghuz). Incidentally, this 'numerical' interpretation was also remarked upon by Chinese and Islamic writers in medieval times. The *Yuan shi*, for example, links the origin of the Kyrgyz with 40 ancient Han maidens who found themselves in the Turkic Us (Üüs) valley. Sayfu'ddīn Akhsikandī,

* See Maps 2 and 3, pp. 923–4., 925–6.

the author of the sixteenth-century Persian work *Majmū^{c} al-tawārīkh* [Compendium of Histories], writes that the Kyrgyz of his day originated from 40 Ghuz (Oghuz) from the time of the Seljuq Sultān Sanjar who had fled to safety from Uzgend into the Khujand mountains. The differing attempts to give explanations of the ethnonym Kyrgyz have one feature in common, namely, the attempt to isolate its components (*kyr-g-yz/qïr-gh-ïz*) and to explain them on the basis of the Turkic system of word formation and onomastics.[1]

In 1207 the Kyrgyz *bek*s or *beg*s (local independent or vassal rulers) in southern Siberia were obliged to submit to Chinggis Khan. When they rose against him in 1218 their rebellion was put down by troops headed by Jöchi, the eldest son of Chinggis Khan. The groups of Kyrgyz living in the Tian Shan mountains were incorporated into Chinggis Khan's empire during his invasion of Central Asia in 1218–21. It was under Chinggisid rule that the Kyrgyz tribes began to migrate and spread out to an area extending from as far as Manchuria in the east to the Urals in the west.

Many Kyrgyz clans were incorporated into various Turkic, Mongol and other peoples. There are still place-names embodying the word Kyrgyz in Mongolia (e.g. Lake Khyrgys Noor), in the steppes of Central Asia and East Turkistan, and in the Ural and Volga regions. The generic name Kyrgyz is also to be found in the ethnonyms of the Bashkirs, Noghays, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Altaians, Kalmuks (Qalmāqs), Mongols and other peoples.[2]

Between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century the Kyrgyz, the majority of whom lived in two remote regions – southern Siberia and the Tian Shan – became increasingly segregated from each other, so that by the seventeenth century they were already two different ethnic entities with the same name, but different in culture and religion.

From the fifteenth century to the early years of the eighteenth century, the Kyrgyz of southern Siberia were a major ethnic group in the Minusinsk basin and some of the neighbouring districts. The Kyrgyz *ulūs* (the four entities of the Yenisei Kyrgyz confederation: the Yssar, Altyssar, Altyr and Tuba *ulūs*) in southern Siberia, which had periodically fallen subject to the Mongol Altan khans and Oirats, also faced Russian expansion

[1] Ligeti, 1925, pp. 369–83; Karaev and Kojobekov, 1989, pp. 41–66, 113–21; Yakhontov, 1970, pp. 110–20; Chorotegin and Ömürbektegin, 1994, pp. 3–9; Drompp, 1999, pp. 390–403; Butanaev and Khudyakov, 2000, pp. 18–48.

[2] On the history of the Kyrgyz, see the previous volumes of the *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*; *EI* [2], 'Kirgiz' (W. Barthold); Bichurin, 1950, pp. 50, 351; Kyuner, 1961, p. 55; Barthold, 1973, pp. 23–62; Chorotegin and Ömürbektegin, 1995, pp. 324–7. On the locations of the ancient Kyrgyz in the Tian Shan mountains, see Borovkova, 1989, p. 62; Khudiakov, 1995, pp. 48–56, 68; Barthold, 1963, Vol. 2, pp. 471–543; Esin, 1980, p. 51; Tabyshalieva, 2001; Tchoroev, 1995, pp. 14–16. On the early medieval history of the Kyrgyz (before the Mongol invasions), see Izgi, 1989; Juwainī, 1912–37, Vol. 2, p. 88; 1997; Karaev, 1983, pp. 168–9, 302; Lubo-Lesnichenko, 1989, pp. 4–9; Tabaldiev, 1996; Chorotegin, 1997; chorotegin and Moldokasymov, 2000; *Kyrgyzstan: Entsiklopediya*, 2001.

from the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1703 most of the members of the ruling clan of the Yenisei Kyrgyz were forced into Dzungaria by the Dzungar khanate, the nomadic state of the western Mongol tribes, the Oirats. Those Kyrgyz who remained in Siberia became a part of the ' Khoorai' ethnic complex (ancestors of the modern Khakass), and were also partly assimilated into the Turkic speaking Tuvinians, Altaians and some Mongolian-speaking peoples.[3] The Manchu (Qing) authorities resettled one group of the Siberian Kyrgyz in Manchuria, in Heilungkiang (Heilongjiang) province, in the latter half of the eighteenth century (apparently moving them from Mongolia or Dzungaria). This group, known as the Fu Yü Kyrgyz (Fu Yü Girgis), is now close to final assimilation with the Mongol and Chinese (Han) populations.[4]

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Kyrgyz in the western part of the Tian Shan mountains were incorporated in the various khanates that emerged in the territory of the former Chinggisid empire. The western Kyrgyz tribes were included largely in Moghulistan, which was the name given to the territory immediately north of the Tian Shan mountains and embracing the range itself.[5]

At the close of the fourteenth century and early in the fifteenth century, the Kyrgyz tribes east of the Tian Shan formed part of a quadripartite confederation of the Oirats and the eastern Turkic tribes (Dörbön Oirats). The Kyrgyz leader Mungke Temur (also called Ügechi Qashqa) was a khan of this confederation in the years 1399–1415. This Kyrgyz group had migrated into the mountain districts of the Tian Shan belonging to Moghulistan in the years 1469–70.[6]

The Tian Shan Kyrgyz

The Kyrgyz tribes west of the Tian Shan gradually became consolidated. Mīrzā Muhammad Haydar Dughlāt (1499–1551), the celebrated historian of Moghulistan, described the Kyrgyz of his day as the main ethnic group in the northern part of the country, especially in the territories of what is now Kyrgyzstan. According to him, the Kyrgyz were one of the Moghulistan tribes, but after several revolts against the Moghul khans, they became 'separated' from the Moghuls.[7]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Kyrgyz of eastern Ferghana became subject to the Shaybanids, the new rulers of Transoxania, whereas the Issyk-kul (Ysyq-Köl)

3 Butanaev, 1990.
4 Hu Zhen-hua and Imart, 1987; Chzhan et al., 1994, pp. 227–33.
5 EI^2, 'Mogholistan' (C. E. Bosworth), 1993, p. 218.
6 Beishenaliev, 1995*b*, pp. 20–1.
7 Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 148.

Kyrgyz found an ally in Tāhir Khan, the powerful ruler of the Kazakh khanate, and joined him to bring about the final expulsion of the Moghul khans from the Jeti-su (Yeti-su, i.e. 'Seven Valleys', or 'Semirechye' in Russian) and Kyrgyzstan. After having once been suppressed by the Moghul Mansūr Khan in *c.* 1503,[8] the Kyrgyz became dominant in this region, which today bears the name of Kyrgyzstan, and expelled the Moghul armies. Haydar Dughlāt, who himself took part in the Moghul campaigns into Kyrgyzstan, states that 'from the year 916 [A.D. 1510–11] the Kyrgyz, for the reasons mentioned above, have rendered it impossible for any Moghul to live in Moghulistan'.[9] But in fact attempts by the Moghul khans (based in Kashghar) to recover Moghulistan continued until at least 1526–7, when the Moghul khan Sultān Sa^{c}īd seized 100,000 sheep from the Kyrgyz (sheep being the principal item of the nomads' wealth) though he was forced once again to withdraw from Moghulistan.[10]

The sixteenth-century Kyrgyz–Kazakh alliance, a continuation of the historical Kyrgyz–Kipchak (Qipchāq) contacts of the pre-Mongol epoch, became an important factor in the history of the Kyrgyz people in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. This fact is also reflected in Kyrgyz folklore. Kazakh rulers consistently feature in Kyrgyz epic literature as allies of the Kyrgyz khans in their struggle against foreign conquerors.

In his *Majmū ^{c}al-tawārīkh*, Sayfu'dd īn Akhsikandī – a local genealogist from Ferghana – makes a connection between the origin of the right and left wings (*on qanat* and *sol qanat*) of the Kyrgyz and a certain Imām Ibrāhīm, who is said to have lived in the first half of the twelfth century and to have relied upon the armies of the Kyrgyz from Ferghana.[11] This work, which is part legend, contains the first mention of the name of Manas, the main hero of the eponymous Kyrgyz epic work.

In late versions of the *Manas* epic, the khan of Bukhara (here used collectively as a term applying to all the historical dynasties of Transoxania from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century – Timurids, Shaybanids and Janids [Astarkhanids]) also appears as the father-in-law of Manas himself, the chief khan of the Kyrgyz. Place-names preserved in the hilly areas of Jizak (Jizāq) and Tashkent, as well as Ferghana, include Kyrgyz or Manas in their composition and the places themselves are still quite frequently inhabited by groups of Kyrgyz. The geographic names reveal the presence of the Kyrgyz in Transoxania. Some Kyrgyz had in fact already established themselves in Karategin (Qarategin) in the sixteenth century.

8 Ibid., p. 125.
9 Ibid., p. 367.
10 Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 378–9; see Barthold, 1956, pp. 156–7.
11 Urstanbekov and Tchoroev, 1990, pp. 111–282; *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, 1973, p. 280.

The growing strength of The Kyrgyz *bek*s in Kyrgyzstan in the sixteenth century attracted into the region more groups of the eastern Kyrgyz who had previously been vassals of the Oirat confederation. Their merging with the Kyrgyz of the central Tian Shan affected not only the ethnic situation, but also the religious situation in the region. The newly arrived groups of Kyrgyz at the close of the fifteenth century were shamanists, whereas the local Kyrgyz and the nomadic tribes bordering on them had become Muslim.

Religion and beliefs of the Kyrgyz

The fourteenth to the seventeenth century are the concluding stages in the conversion of the Kyrgyz to Islam. Some important early sources date the beginning of the conversion of a number of Kyrgyz groups to the period before the Mongol invasions.[12] The very name of Muhammad Kyrgyz (Qirghiz, late fifteenth–early sixteenth century), a powerful *bek* of northern Kyrgyzstan,[13] is an indication that many Kyrgyz were already Muslims in the fifteenth century.

We know from written sources from Moghulistan that from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century the Moghul khans attempted to win over some of the Kyrgyz tribes, but other Kyrgyz tribes either sided with the opposition or pursued an independent policy. These tribes were described by the Moghul court historians as *kāfir*s, or unbelievers. Thus Haydar Dughlāt, a witness to the events in which he took part, wrote in *c.* 1545 that the animosity of the Kyrgyz to the Moghuls lay in the fact that the Kyrgyz were (for the most part?) non-Muslims, while the Moghuls had long been converted to Islam.[14] This is supported by the report of Anthony Jenkinson, the English merchant who was in Bukhara from December 1558 to March 1559. He heard of ‘two barbarous nations’ closing the road to China. One of them, the Muslim Kazakhs (‘ Cossacks of the law of Mahomet’), were pressing upon Tashkent; the other was attacking Kashghar (‘Caskar’), the capital of the Moghul khans, and ‘are called Kings [misprint for Kirgis?], Gentiles and Idolaters’. Both peoples were nomads ‘living in the fields without House or Towne’.[15]

A statement confirming both Haydar Dughlāt and Jenkinson comes from an Ottoman historian Sayfī Chelebī, writing in 1528:

[12] See Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazi’s *Tabāī al-Haiwān* [The Nature of Animals] written c. 1120; Ibn al-Athīr’s *al-Kāmil fi al-tārīkh* [The Perfect Compendium on History], a history of the Muslim world written in the early years of the Chinggisid invasions into Central Asia and the Middle East (see its story concerning the Ghaznavid Amir Khirkhiz, i.e. Kyrgyz; Sayfu’lddīn Akhsikandī’s *Majmū^c al-tawārīkh*, etc.).

[13] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 134, 141–2, 349–51.

[14] Ibid., pp. 134, 148.

[15] Jenkinson, 1906, p. 25; see also Barthold, 1956, p. 158.

> A tribe bearing the name Kyrgyz lives on this side of Kashghar. They are nomads of the same race as the Moghuls... They do not have a khan, but only *bek*s, the term for which is *qashqa.* They are neither *kāfir*s [infidels, here meaning non-Muslims] nor Muslims.

The author adds that the Kyrgyz lived among steep mountains, into which they sent their families while the men barred the passes in case of an enemy attack. They did not bury their dead, but placed their coffins on tall trees.[16]

This clearly illustrates the situation of the Kyrgyz: they were either not converted in their entire body to Islam, or were only nominally Muslims. The main reasons why the Islamic faith was more of a convention than a reality in many Kyrgyz tribes included *inter alia* frequent military campaigns and enforced migrations, the extreme curtailment of a settled existence and the impossibility of building permanent mosques in a nomadic existence. Even when nominally Muslims, they continued with a number of earlier practices derived from shamanism or naturalistic beliefs.

Some shamanist customs were certainly retained. Belief in Allāh (who was also referred to by the Turkic word Tengir/Tengri and the Persian word Khudā) was combined in a particular way with a traditional Central Asian and Turkic pantheon. Kök/Kök Tengir (the sky), Jer/Yer (the earth), Suu/Suw (water) and Umai-Ene (the mother-protectress of women and children) were all held to be of divine origin. The totemistic beliefs of the Kyrgyz (the 'masters' of the various kinds of cattle and game, and the totems of the various tribes – leopard, reindeer, wolf, etc.) were interwoven with figures from the new Turco-Islamic Sufi tradition (e.g. Khizr/Qïdïr Ata).

Whether or not some Kyrgyz were Buddhists remains an open question. There are some ethno-cultural traces of Kyrgyz-Tibetan and Kyrgyz-Chinese links in the eighth and ninth centuries. There is a reference to a Kyrgyz ruler of the early Middle Ages who ordered the copying of a Buddhist work (discovered in Dunhuang, Gansu province, China).[17] Mention is made in the epic poem *Manas* of a group of Kyrgyz who adopted the Manchu (Manchurian and Chinese) traditions. There was, in fact, a Kalmuk-Kyrgyz ethnic group in the twentieth century (in Dörböljin district, Emil Göl Mongol Autonomous Region) who were Lamaists.[18] Those Kyrgyz groups who had been assimilated among the Mongols

[16] *Vostochnye avtory o kyrgyzakh*, 1994, p. 74. Barthold believed that this was not the current situation among the Kyrgyz, and that Sayfī was relying on earlier written sources about them (Barthold, 1956, pp. 159 et seq.). He has, however, made a slip here, because Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 148, writing some 20 years after Sayfī, says of the Kyrgyz that they 'are still infidels', and Haydar was a person who ought to have known the Kyrgyz from close at hand.

[17] Khudiakov, 1995, p. 152. On religions in Turkistan, see Tabyshalieva, 1993.

[18] Urstanbekov and Tchoroev, 1990, p. 70.

(Shara-Khirgis, Khara-Khirgis, Mödön-Khirgis, etc.) were, like the Fu-Yü-Khirgiz, also followers of Buddhism.

The Kyrgyz in Transoxania and northern Afghanistan

The Kyrgyz were politically disunited in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, as was noted by the Bukharan historian and poet Hāfiz-i Tanish (Hāfiz b. Muhammad Bukhārī, b. 1549, d. some time after 1588), the Kyrgyz had not submitted either to the rulers of Transoxania or to any of the sultans.[19] This author was the first to note that groups of Kyrgyz had penetrated towards Hisar and Dih-i Nau in 1575.

Some of the Kyrgyz tribes took part in the military campaigns of the Kazakh Tevke (Tavakkul) Khan (1582–98) and other sultans against the Bukhara khanate (in 1598, 1603, 1606 and 1610). Their struggle against the Janids met with varying success. As reported by Mahmūd b. Walī in the *Bahr al-asrār* (1641), the Janid ruler Imām Qulī Khān (1611–41) was obliged to negotiate with the various groups of Kazakh sultans and Kyrgyz *bek*s who had taken the Tashkent oasis. Only the constant dissension among them (1626–27) enabled Imām Qulī Khān to re-establish his authority in Tashkent and Andijan.[20]

The next major migration of a group of Kyrgyz in the neighbourhood of Hisar also took place during Imām Qulī Khān's reign. The migrants numbered 12,000 Kyrgyz families from the East (according to Mahmūd b. Walī, their migration occurred in Rajab 1045, i.e. 12 December 1635 to 9 January 1636). The migrants, wishing to remain in the Balkh area, were granted permission to do so by Imām Qulī Khān. This report by Mahmūd b. Walī may be compared with the later information of Hājī Mīr Muhammad Salim Khwāja, the author of *Silsilat al-salātīn* [The Genealogical Tree of the Sultans] (1730–1), which notes the service rendered by the Burut ('Qirghiz' in the Oirat language) military commanders Nazar Bī and his son, Khusrau Bek, under the Janids.[21]

The Kyrgyz in East Turkistan

Those Kyrgyz tribes that inhabited East Turkistan and the neighbouring districts of Kyrgyzstan played an active role in events in the region in the seventeenth century. Every

[19] *Istoriya Kirgizskoy SSR s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney*, 1984, p. 448; Urstanbekov and Tchoroev, 1990, pp. 190–1. Since 1983 volumes containing a facsimile text and a Russian translation of Tanish's history, *Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī*, prepared by Salakhdin, are being printed in Moscow.

[20] *Istoriya Kirgizskoy SSR* . . . , 1984, pp. 451–2.

[21] Akhmedov, 1985, p. 263. *Biy* meant ruler of several tribes, but in Turkic usage (as in Bābur's memoirs), there seems to be no distinction between *bek* or *beg* and *biy* or *bī*.

Moghul ruler was obliged, once having achieved the position of khan, to take the Kyrgyz military factor into consideration. Even ᶜAbdullāh Khan (1636–67) of Yarkand (Yārqand), who succeeded for a short time in controlling the whole of Xinjiang, had to look for support among the Kyrgyz *bek*s.[22] Koisary (Qoysāra) Bek was appointed by him as ruler of the Kyrgyz Chon-Baghysh tribe.

The Kyrgyz *bek*s were made rulers of several districts. Thus Oljotay Bī became the *hākim* (ruler) of Ak-Su. Alty Kurtka Bī was appointed as *hākim* of Uch-Turfan. The Kyrgyz *bek*s actively participated in politics during the reigns of ᶜAbdullāh Khan's successors, Yolbārs Khan (1667–70) and Ismāᶜīl Khan (1670–80). At this time the two Sufi sects of East Turkistan – the Is'hāqiyya, established by Is'hāq Khwāja, the youngest son of Makhdum-i Aᶜzam, who died in 1542, and the other, established by Muhammad Amīn Khwāja, the eldest son of Makhdum-i Aᶜzam – were engaged in a struggle for supremacy. The Is'hāqiyya sect was also known as 'the White Mountaineers' while their foes were known as 'the Black Mountaineers'. This last sect was crushed by Koysary Bī in 1670, and Ismāᶜīl Khan, supported by Koysary, became the khan of Yarkand. Koysary Bī was appointed the *hākim* (governor) of Kashghar again. The Kyrgyz *hākim* was, however, murdered during a plot by the local chieftains.

At the end of the seventeenth century the Kyrgyz-Kipchak leader, Arzu Muhammad Bek, united the main military groups and installed Muhammad Mu'min Sultān (Āq-Bāsh Khan) as the khan of Yarkand in 1696. In reality, however, Arzu Muhammad Bek was the chief ruler of the state of East Turkistan. When Muhammad Mu'min Sultān wanted to assert his independence, he was murdered by Arzu Muhammad Bek who set up the last of the Chaghatayids, Ahmad Sultān, as khan of Yarkand. The Kyrgyz commander-in-chief had the support of such local Kyrgyz tribes as the Töölös, Keseks, Chongbagyshs, Kipchaks, Kushchus and Naimans.[23] However, some Kyrgyz tribes had been backing the oppositional Sufi sect all the time. In any event, the territory of the Yarkand khanate had by now passed under the control of the Dzungars, who subordinated to themselves all the local potentates (see Chapter 7).

War against the Dzungar khanate

During the seventeenth century and down to the middle of the eighteenth century, Kyrgyzstan became an important goal for the Oirat (Kalmuk, Dzungar) rulers. Once the Dzungar ruler B'aatur Khongtaiji (1634–53) had completed the process of unification of the lands

[22] Churās, 1976, pp. 214–39, fols. 70a et seq.; *Tārīkh-i Kashghar*, 1996, p. 195.
[23] Chorotegin and Moldokasymov, 2000, pp. 63–4.

of the Oirats into a unified Dzungar khanate (lasting until 1758), he turned his attention to the mountain valleys and rich oases of Central Asia.

In 1643 a Dzungar army succeeded in penetrating all the way to the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan (Yasi). This was the start of a lengthy and exhausting war between the Kyrgyz and the Dzungar khanate for the Issyk-kul region, the central Tian Shan and other lands of Kyrgyzstan, in which both the Kazakhs and the Uzbek and Tajik populations of Ferghana emerged as allies of the Kyrgyz.

The war waged by the Kyrgyz against the Dzungars is reflected in a series of heroic epics of the Kyrgyz people such as *Manas*, *Qurmanbek*, *Janish and Bayish*, *Jangil Mīrzā* and *Er-Qoshoy*. The Kyrgyz epics reflect the entire spectrum of the historical relations between the Kyrgyz and their eastern neighbours. In particular, there are episodes in the epic *Manas* concerning the celebration of funerals of the Kyrgyz khan, in which exhibitions of the martial arts, sporting contests (archery matches, wrestling, horse races, etc.) and entertainment play an integral part.[24]

One particular personality in *Manas* is Almambet (a short form of ᶜAlī Muhammad), a Kalmuk in origin, who is invariably depicted as a faithful companion-in-arms of the Kyrgyz khan and of the military commander Manas, renowned for his bravery and wisdom. The composite image of Almambet appears to be an artistic expression of two historical phenomena: first, the reunification with the Kyrgyz from Tian Shan of those Kyrgyz tribes which had previously formed part of the Dörbön Oirat confederation (in the fifteenth century); and, second, the good-neighbourly relations between a number of Oirat tribes and the Kyrgyz in a peaceful interlude (in the seventeenth century). Kyrgyz folklore therefore enables us to establish some details of the life of Kyrgyz society of which otherwise we have no written record.

This was a period in which the Dzungar khanate was attempting to gain control of the lands not only of the Kyrgyz of the Yenisei area (Siberia) but also of Kyrgyzstan to the west of the Tian Shan range. However, whereas the Dzungars did succeed in putting an end to the Kyrgyz *ulūs* to the east (the four Siberian Kyrgyz entities), they were faced in East Turkistan, the Semirechye (Jeti-su) and West Turkistan with a struggle against not only the Kyrgyz, but also a number of other Central Asian ethnic groups and states.

The 1680s and the 1720s–1740s were especially difficult times for the Kyrgyz; during these years the Dzungar onslaught obliged some of the Kyrgyz to migrate to other regions such as Yarkand, Khotan, Ferghana and even northern Afghanistan. This was a period during which, according to Kyrgyz folklore, 'the Kazakhs [out of hunger] tapped birch sap, and the Kyrgyz migrated to Hisar and Kuliab'.

[24] Moldobaev, 1985; 1995. On the Kyrgyz games, see Simakov, 1984.

Some of the Kyrgyz of the Issyk-kul and Tekes regions became dependent on the Dzungar khanate, while others continued to resist. Such resistance flared up particularly in the 1740s, when the Dzungars suffered a number of defeats in both parts of Turkistan. Many Kyrgyz tribes that had been driven into Ferghana, the Pamirs and East Turkistan gradually returned to Kyrgyzstan. Their combined forces expelled the Dzungars, who had also begun to weaken because of internal dissension. This internal political strife among the Dzungars was exploited by the Manchu (Qing) armies, which overthrew the khanate in 1758. The attempts by the Chinese troops to penetrate from East Turkistan (called Xinjiang, i.e. 'New Border', by the Chinese from that time) into Ferghana in 1759 were, however, unsuccessful.

The Kyrgyz after the fall of the Dzungar khanate

By the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Kyrgyz were not confined to Kyrgyzstan, but had also settled in such regions as Tashkent, Jizak, Ferghana, Badakhshan, the Pamirs and northern Afghanistan as well as Kashghar, the eastern part of the Tian Shan region and the area west of Tibet. Each of these groups of Kyrgyz subsequently had a local political history of its own because of different relations with the various independent states of Central Asia.

Kyrgyzstan, which contained the ethnic nucleus of the Kyrgyz in the west of the Tian Shan region, was subdivided in the nineteenth century into two political entities: southern Kyrgyzstan (the present-day Osh, Jalalabad and Batken regions) and northern Kyrgyzstan (the Talas, Chu, Naryn, Issyk-kul regions and the Ketmen-Töbö valley). Southern Kyrgyzstan maintained close economic, trading and political links with the Kokand (Khoqand) khanate (1720–1876). The Kyrgyz in Ferghana naturally gravitated towards a settled way of life, and Islam had a stronger influence on them than on the mountain-dwellers of the Chatkal, Alaiku (Alaiqū), Alai and northern Kyrgyzstan. The Arabic alphabet and the Persian language, along with their own Turkic language, were widely used by the Kyrgyz in Ferghana from the Middle Ages until 1928–9.

Attempts by the Kokand khanate to seize southern Kyrgyzstan, which began in 1762 during the reign of Irdāna (Erdeni) Beg (1751–70), were unsuccessful for some 60 years. Kyrgyz leaders, including Mamatkul (Muhammad Qulī) Bī, Arzymat Bī, Hājī Bī, Nārbūta Bī and Satyke, fought against the Kokand forces. The Kyrgyz Kipchaks and some other Ferghana tribes, on the other hand, threw in their lot with the khanate. In 1821, for example, ᶜUmar Khān of Kokand sent Bek Nazar Bī, the ruler of the Kyrgyz tribe of Kutlugh Seyit

(Qutlugh Sayyid), against the Kyrgyz nomadic tribes in Kasan and he plundered them mercilessly.[25]

The Kokand conquest of southern Kyrgyzstan was completed during the reign of Madalī (Muhammad ᶜAlī) Khan (1822–42). Between 1825 and the early 1830s his commanders made a number of incursions into northern Kyrgyzstan, with the result that the whole of Kyrgyzstan became part of the Kokand khanate. Madalī Khan introduced a new system of government, and his reign saw the construction of fortified citadels, including Bishkek, Tokmok (Toqmoq), Jumghal (Imghal), Chaldybar, Toghuz-Toro, Kurtka (Qurtqa), Karakol (Qaraqol), Barskoon, Qongur-Ölön, Kochkor (Qochqor) and At- Bashy.[26] Apart from being administrative centres, these fortresses served as permanent urban settlements that played a positive role in the development of culture and the economy.

It was on account of the rise of educated strata in society during the Kokand period that a Kyrgyz literature in the Arabic alphabet developed out of the mainstream literature in Chaghatay Turki. One prominent Kyrgyz poet who wrote verses and historical poems in his native Kyrgyz language was Moldo (Mullā) Niyāz (1820–96).

During the period of domination by Kokand, the Kyrgyz *bī*s and *manap*s (*manap* being a title of the local powerful lords in northern Kyrgyzstan in the nineteenth century) pursued a dual policy towards the khanate. Some of the Ferghana and Alai Kyrgyz leaders such as Hājī Datka, Yusup (Yūsuf) Mingbāshī, Seydalī (Sayyid ᶜAlī) Bī, Musulman Kul Atalik (Qul Atāliq) and Alim Bek Datka managed to occupy key positions at the court in Kokand. They succeeded on occasion in having puppet khans, but they never advocated a Kyrgyz state separate from Kokand.

The northern Kyrgyz in the nineteenth century

The northern Kyrgyz, who had not become reconciled to a subordinate status, rose against the Kokand khanate on several occasions (as during the rebellion of Atantai and Tailaq in Naryn in the 1830s) and resisted the collection of taxes. In the 1840s Ormon Niyāzbek Uulu (Ormon, son of Niyāz Bek),[27] the Sarybaghysh tribe's senior *manap* (1791/2–1854), proclaimed himself the khan of a number of the northern Kyrgyz tribes. He appointed Jantai as his adviser and Törögeldi as his commander-in-chief. Both *manap*s were from the same tribe of Sarybaghysh, which explains why the *manap*s from the other northern Kyrgyz tribes proved unwilling to accept the rule of Ormon Khan.

[25] Ömürbekov and Chorotegin, 1995, pp. 35–8; Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 816–17, 821–3.
[26] *Istoriya Kirgizskoy SSR . . .*, 1984, pp. 503–7.
[27] Uulu (Turkish Oghlu).

Northern Kyrgyzstan had also attracted the attention of the Kazakh khan, Ablai Khan (1771–81).[28] Now Kenesari, the leader of the Kazakh revolt against Russia, intruded into northern Kyrgyz lands (1845–7). The Kyrgyz, however, succeeded in defeating Kenesari's forces, and Ormon Khan and other Kyrgyz *manap*s surrounded Kenesari and put him to death in 1847.

The political disunity of the northern Kyrgyz increased towards the middle of the nineteenth century. Attempts by Ormon Khan to compel the Bughu and Sayak (Sayaq) tribes in the Issyk-kul and partly in the Naryn regions to acknowledge his authority were unsuccessful. Ormon Khan was slain in 1854 during a punitive attack against the Bughu tribe living in the Issyk-kul region; their leaders wanted to sign an agreement with Russia against both the Kokand khanate and Ormon Khan.

An early attempt by some Kyrgyz leaders to establish close relations with Russia occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. Atake Bī, chief of the Sarybaghysh tribe, sent his ambassador Abdurahman (ᶜAbdu'l Rahmān) Quchaq Uulu to Russia in 1785. The ambassador met Catherine the Great, empress of Russia. However, his mission failed because the Russian Siberian authorities suspected that the Kyrgyz had robbed their caravan from East Turkistan. Abdurahman was detained in Omsk, where he died on 20 June 1789. It was too late for the Russians to rectify their mistake and Atake Bīnever forgave the death of his wise and well-educated ambassador. Other attempts by the Kyrgyz to establish diplomatic and trade relations with Russia were made by rulers of the other northern Kyrgyz tribes. In fact, these efforts by some of the Kyrgyz rulers from the second decade of the nineteenth century were often in response to Russian initiatives.[29]

Kyrgyz culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Kyrgyz culture throughout the period from the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century witnessed considerable change. Under the Kokand khanate, several Kyrgyz groups of the Ferghana and Osh regions developed closer ties with the sedentary culture of Ferghana. Many of the Kyrgyz began to settle in towns and villages, and several villages named after ethnic groups, such as Kyrgyz-kishlak ('the Kyrgyz village'), are found in the region. The construction of castles in the northern part of Kyrgyzstan by the Kokand khanate's local authorities provided the stimulus for Kyrgyz communities to erect permanent dwellings

[28] Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 2, pp. 646–56.
[29] Umurzakov, 1959, pp. 95–103; Ploskikh, 1970, pp. 42–83; Saparaliev, 1995, pp. 117–20; Koichiev, 1994, pp. 133–8; Kenensariev, 1997*b*, pp. 48–51; Koichiev, 1996.



Fig. 1. Bishkek. Two yurts in a valley near the town. (Photo: Courtesy of I. Iskender-Mochiri.)

and religious and educational buildings (mosques and *madrasa*s). Some northern Kyrgyz also began to build mud-wall houses for their winter residence.

In the main part, the Kyrgyz undoubtedly remained nomads. They preserved many characteristics of their nomadic culture and they continued to live in yurts which were easy to assemble and fold up. The yurt was very important for their seasonal movement from one grazing-ground to another,[30] as well as for a quick movement of the tribes in accordance with political need. Local materials were used for the construction of parts of the yurt (Fig. 1). The mountain forests of Kyrgyzstan provided wood for the yurt frame, for example. Wool was in abundant supply for all the nomads, who made felted material to cover the frame. Both the wooden and the felt parts of a yurt were favourite places for decoration and embellishment according to the local tradition (Fig. 2). The nomads did not need many fuel resources for this kind of dwelling. It was enough to have some wood and dried sheep or cow dung.

The craft for producing the parts of the yurt was specialized. The yurt frames were usually built by men, while the felt was made by women. Each tribe had its own recognized master and craftsperson. The types of yurts were subdivided according to principles of social hierarchy. The higher a nomad's status, the bigger was his yurt. The poor could also make beautiful yurts for themselves, but the frame had to be smaller. The women prepared

[30] The vertical type of Kyrgyz nomadic life (seasonal movement from the valley to the mountain pastures and vice versa) was customarily fixed and the Kyrgyz avoided moving towards unknown and remote places.



Fig. 2. Kyrgyzstan. Inside a yurt. (Photo: © UNESCO/T. Molenaar.)

different patterns for felts and carpets. Some dyes for felt-making and frame painting were imported from the sedentary regions of Ferghana and Kashghar. The furniture of yurts of the semi-sedentary Kyrgyz had close similarities with the traditional furniture of the nomads.

Thus the applied arts of the Kyrgyz were connected with their conditions of life. The Kyrgyz, nomad or semi-sedentary, had to be warriors and hunters at the same time. Blacksmiths had to make pastoral and agricultural tools in addition to warrior's weapons.

Jewellers mainly used gold, silver, copper, iron and imported precious stones. Leather-makers made both shoes and horse saddles. Some house utensils were made of leather. For example, the big vessel (*sabaa*) for brewing *kumiss* (*qumis*, *qumiz*) (fermented mare's milk), the container to transport *kumiss* (*chanach*) and the small pitcher for the drink (*köökör*) were all made of leather.

The spinning of cotton, carpet-making and weaving were domestic occupations of the Kyrgyz in Ferghana and neighbouring lands.

The goods exported by the Kyrgyz to Ferghana, Tashkent, Kashghar and Turfan were mainly horses and other domestic animals. Kyrgyz furs, leather, wool, felt and different products of stock-breeding and agriculture were sold at every large bazaar, notably those of Andijan and Kashghar. The Kyrgyz, in return, bought various goods produced by the sedentary craftsmen, including traditional adornments, as well as fruit, dried apricots, sweets, rice, toys, and so on.

In the Kokand khanate, the Kyrgyz began to have mobile schools. The hired teachers would move together with the tribe from one seasonal encampment to another. They might be paid in horses and sheep instead of money. The rich sometimes sent not only their own children, but also some intelligent children of poor tribesmen to these itinerant schools so that they could use their skills and education for the future good of the tribe. There was a need for the tribe to have its own educated people (called in Kyrgyz 'Moldo', i.e. Mullā) not only for religious purposes, but also for education, accounting, collecting and recording taxes, and diplomatic relations. Kyrgyz history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries records the names of many educated individuals, including ambassadors (Abdurrahman Kuchak Uulu), statesmen (Alimkul, Alimbek, Polot Khan), Muslim scholars (Kyrgyz Moldo) and poets (Niyāz Moldo, Kylych Moldo, Nūr Moldo, Togolok Moldo).

The oral traditions of the Kyrgyz continued to play an important role in preserving the literary heritage of past generations. The poet-improvisers (*akyn*s) and the tellers of the so-called 'big and small epics' developed their genres to the highest level during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Among them were Nooruz, Balyk, Muzooke, Jöjö (the Kazakhs traditionally called him 'Shözhe'), Arstanbek, Naimanbay, Tynybek, Jengijok, Toktogul and Barpy. The case of Kalygul Bay Uulu (1785–1855) was different. He was a thinker, who did not write or sing, and his sayings subsequently became proverbs. His words were a synthesis of the religious beliefs of Islamic Sufism and popular Kyrgyz wisdom.

Popular knowledge included both the empirical knowledge of the Kyrgyz themselves and what was adopted from the neighbouring peoples. The Kyrgyz had their own names for the 12 months, which were connected with the 12-year cycle of the so-called 'Inner Asian animal calendar'. The beginning of the first month, namely Jalgan Kuran ('False Month of the Male Roe Deer'), corresponded to the vernal equinox in March.[31] Some of their medical knowledge was recorded in the epic *Janish and Bayish.* According to this and other sources, the Kyrgyz used juniper and various medicinal herbs such as mint, plantain and aconitum (*Aconitum kirghisorum*), as well as medical minerals. Their doctors treated the wounded with different tools, including the *tintüür*, the special surgical instrument to take bullets out of the body.[32] if the wounded bone healed in the wrong way, the doctors broke it again, put it in the correct position and splinted it. Innoculation against smallpox, a practice found in some other parts of Asia, remained unknown among the Kyrgyz. They first learnt from Russian doctors how to prevent smallpox by means of vaccination in the late nineteenth century.

[31] Urstanbekov and Tchoroev, 1990, pp. 99–100; *Kyrgyzstan: Entsiklopediya*, 2001.
[32] See Moldobaev, 1985.

The Russian conquest of Kyrgyzstan

Having penetrated deep into Central Asia, the Russian tsarist regime attempted to carry out campaigns of conquest in the region. Their aim was to do so in such a way as 'not to give rise to any unease over the matter, especially in Europe',[33] according to the instructions of the Russian foreign minister, Prince Gorchakov, to Duhamel, the governor-general of western Siberia (23 May 1863). Some Muslims from the Russian Volga (Itil) region served as tsarist agents in the lands of the Kyrgyz tribes. One of them, Faizullāh Noghayev, managed to persuade some Bughu tribal leaders to write a letter on behalf of the entire tribe to the Russian colonial administration in western Siberia, asking for the Bughus to be allowed to join the Russian state. Noghayev was later rewarded and decorated by the Russian authorities for his activities in Kyrgyzstan. Some scientific expeditions by Russian geographers, topographers and ethnographers (e.g. Valikhanov and Semyonov-T'ian-Shanskiy) were used not only by the Russian academic institutions, but also by the Russian military authorities which financed them.

The conquest of northern Kyrgyzstan was carried out between 1855 and 1868. It was achieved by the combined approach of obtaining 'unsolicited letters' from some Kyrgyz *bek*s seeking Russian citizenship and undertaking military (including punitive) operations. For example, the leaders of the Bughu, Sayaq and Sarybaghysh tribes had been divided into pro-Russian and anti-Russian political wings during the Russian invasion of the region in 1855– 68 and some prominent anti-Russian leaders like Balbai Ba'atir, Umötaali Ormon Uulu (Oghlu) and Osmon Tailaq Uulu (Usmān Dailāq Oghlu) were punished by the Russian authorities. (Balbai B'aatir was arrested by a special Russian detachment while he was living in exile in the Tekes mountain valley and died in the Verny-Almaty prison in the early 1860s.)[34]

Southern Kyrgyzstan was conquered as a result of Russia's seizure of the Kokand khanate. When the khanate became a vassal of Russia, the southern Kyrgyz tribes were among active supporters of the anti-Russian rebellion of the false 'Pulat Khan' (Pulād Khan). Iskak Asan Uulu (Is'hāq Hasan Oghlu), the Kyrgyz *mullā* who took the name of Pulat (1844–76), and a member of the Kokand (Ming) dynasty, raised the banner of revolt in 1873–6 against Khudāyār, the puppet Kokand khan. Iskak Asan Uulu was the last independent ruler of the Ferghana valley, and is notable for having spearheaded the opposition to the Russian invasion of Central Asia.[35]

[33] Jamgerchinov, 1966, pp. 217–18.

[34] Urstanbekov and Tchoroev, 1990, pp. 23, 175–6, 197; Ömürbektegin and Chorotegin, 1992, pp. 9–22; Tchoroev, 1994, p. 107.

[35] Kenensariev, 1997*a*; Ploskikh, 1977, p. 311; Usenbaev, 1960, pp. 66–7.

The Kyrgyz from the Pamirs inhabiting the mountainous Badakhshan region were not conquered by Russia until the mid-1890s. The Kyrgyz of the Afghan Pamirs remained subject to Afghanistan.[36] By this period the non-Muslim Kyrgyz tribes of Mongolia and China, such as the Mongol Khara- Khirghis, Shara-Khirghis, Mödön-Khirgis and the Fu-Yü Qirghis, had gradually merged into the Mongolian- or Chinese-speaking communities, among whom they lived. Some of the Kyrgyz tribes were similarly absorbed within the Turkic-speaking Bashkirs, Noghays, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Uighurs and the Sayan-Altaipeoples.

[36] Dor, 1993, p. 11; also on the history of the Kyrgyz living in East Turkistan, see Baytur, 1992; Chorotegin and Moldokasymov, 2000, pp. 126–32, 158–9.

5

THE TURKMENS*

M. Annanepesov

Contents

Origins and early history

One may begin by reminding the reader that 'Turkmān' and 'Turkmen' are two forms of the same name, corresponding to two different etymologies. 'Turkmān', which appears frequently in Persian writing, was derived since as early as al-Bīrūnī in the eleventh century from a supposed original Turk-*mānind* (lit. 'like a Turk'), the suffix being a Persian word; 'Turkmen', on the other hand, comes from Turk-*men*, the suffix a Turkic one for emphasis. The latter etymology has now generally been accepted.[1]

* See Map 2, pp. 923–4...
[1] See Kellner-Heinkele, 2000, p. 682, for the two etymologies. The change in scholarly opinion is reflected in the fact that the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* in its first edition had the entry on 'Turkmān', written by V. V. Barthold; in the second edition (2000) the entry is entitled 'Turkmen'.

In the Mongol and post-Mongol periods the so-called Oghuz Turkmen (Ghuz) tribes settled in several countries of Central Asia, Persia, the Caucasus, Asia Minor and some other parts of the Middle East.[2] Sections of the medieval Turkmen tribes settled in Persia, present-day Afghanistan, Mesopotamia, Syria, Rum (Asia Minor), Daghestan, Russia (the Turkmens of Astrakhan and Stavropol) and China (the Sālors, or Sālars), not to mention Khurasan, Khwarazm and Transoxania (the Chandirs). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Turkmens of Central Asia began to form tribal alliances (the Turkmen *il, boy* and *qabila*) called the Yazirs, Sālors, Khizir-elis, Üchilis (formed by the following tribes: the Devejis [Devyājis], Eskis and Alilis [ᶜAlī-ilīs]), Esenilis, Soyunkhāns (Sāyen Khāns), Yaka (Yaqa) Turkmens, Teke-Yomuts (Yamuts), etc. These gave rise to a recognizable community of Turkmens, now living in Central Asia, Persia and Afghanistan, with a distinct ethnic composition. This long process of the cultural development of the Turkmens can thus be divided into two main stages, marking the formation of the ancient Oghuz Turkmen community and of the modern Turkmens.[3]

For some 800 years the Turkmens were unable to create their own state and remained fragmented and divided, constantly waging internecine warfare in the territories they inhabited within Khiva, Bukhara, Persia and Afghanistan. Barthold notes that in Central Asia the Turkmens, unlike many other Turkic nations, failed to improve their position in the course of the formation of new states and were unable to create their own state, although their independence was brought to an end only by the Russian conquest. In the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the Turkmens suffered attacks from the north first by Kalmuk (Qalmāq) and Noghay tribes, then by the Aday Qazāqs, in the Mangishlaq (Manqeshlāq) region. Barthold also points out that the 'Turkmāns' (the form of the name by which they are usually known), who had set out westwards as the original core of the Ottoman and Anatolian Turks, played a prominent role in the political history not only of Asia Minor but of the Middle East as well. In the fifteenth century the Turkmāns created two states, the Qara Qoyūnlū (Black Sheep) and the Āq Qoyūnlū (White Sheep), as well as several vassal domains (ruled by *ātābeg*s) in West Asia.[4] By the sixteenth century, however, all ethnic links between the Turkmens of Central Asia and the Turkmāns of eastern Anatolia, western Persia and beyond had been lost.

[2] Barthold, 1968, p. 436.
[3] Annanepesov and Atagarryev, 1995, pp. 35–9.
[4] Barthold, 1968, pp. 592–3.

The sixteenth century

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Turkmens occupied a large area bounded by the river Amu Darya (Oxus) to the east and the Caspian Sea to the west, Mangishlaq and Khwarazm to the north and the eastern section of the Alborz mountains, i.e. the Kopet Dagh (Kupet-Dāgh) mountains, to the south. These lands, taken together, were called 'the country of the Turkmens'.[5] At that time the Turkmens did not inhabit the Kara Kum (Qara Qum) proper, but occupied the cultivated oases across this territory: the north-western part of Khwarazm together with the rivers Daryalik (Daryāliq) and Uzboy, the middle reaches of the Amu Darya called Lebap (Lab-i Āb), the Murghab and Tejen oases, the Kopet Dagh foothills (Akhal and Atek), the oases of the Atrek river and Gorgan, etc. European travellers remarked that these oases presented 'such a remarkable contrast with the rest of Turkmenia'[6] that:

> the received opinion, that the Turkmen clans are scattered across the whole broad and sandy plain lying between the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea and the Amu Darya, gives a false impression of the true location of their nomadic territory. The Turkmen *aul*s or *īl*s, *ayl*s (villages) lie along the fringes, so to speak, of this territory, but never permanently occupy its interior, which consists mostly of salt lakes and infertile sands.[7]

Lieutenant Richmond Shakespear, who visited the Murghab valley in 1840, said:

> All the books I have read about Turkistan picture it as a land of desert and the population as a miserable people living in tents and possessing few livestock; but as soon as I set out. I entered a valley almost all of which was irrigated by the waters of the Murghab. Cultivated fields extend quite far into the country. The settlements are situated close to one another. The place we are in is like a garden.[8]

The virgin nature of the south-western mountain and steppe regions of Turkmenistan could also stir the traveller's imagination:

> At length we cleared the valley of the Goorgan river [wrote Lieutenant Alexander Burnes of his journey in 1832]... The landscape was very imposing. To our left, the hills, now running in a range, rose up to a great height, clad to the summit with forest trees and foliage. To our right, the extensive plains, which are watered by the rivers Atruk and Goorgan, and richly verdant, were studded with innumerable encampments of Toorkmuns, and diversified by flocks and herds.[9]

[5] Annanepesov, 1972, pp. 29–38.
[6] *Puteshestvie v Bukharu leytenanta Ost-Indskoy kompaneyskoy sluzhby Aleksandra Burnesa v 1831 i 1833 godakh*, 1850, pp. 358–9.
[7] Danilevsky, 1851, pp. 93–4. See Annanepesov, 1972, pp. 31–7.
[8] Quoted in Simonich, 1968, p. 111 (retranslated here from Russian).
[9] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, p. 114.

Wherever the Turkmens lived, they took account of the local natural and climatic conditions and tried to integrate their farming methods with them – in the steppe zone, they combined livestock herding with crop cultivation; in the cultivated oases, crop cultivation with livestock herding, home crafts and handicrafts production; and along the sea coast, fishing, extraction of oil, ozocerite (fossil paraffin), salt, etc. One and the same person could be both a farmer and a herder, and could change from a settled way of life (*chomri*) to a nomadic one (*charva*). Through centuries of selection they bred the famous local Akhal-Teke horses, dromedaries (*arwana*s) and the big white saracen (*sarajin*) sheep. Herding of livestock was extensively carried out though subject to the caprices of nature.

Cultivation was based on artificial irrigation. The Turkmens were skilled at building hydraulic structures and water-lifting equipment (dams, waterwheels and dykes), and digging canals and irrigation ditches, carefully using the features of landscape and relief. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century the main crops grown were grain, market-garden crops, oil-yielding plants, gourds, fruit and some industrial crops (cotton and sesame); by traditional selection methods they grew local varieties of wheat, maize, melons (some 200 varieties), grapes, etc. A three-field (fallow) system was applied on communal land, while intensive farming, including the application of organic fertilizer, was followed on privately owned land (*milk, moluk*), allotments (*iqtā*^{c}), state land (*amlāk* and *khāss*) and *waqf* (charitable endowment) land. Cultivation and harvesting were done with primitive tools made in domestic workshops.[10] The Turkmens engaged essentially in subsistence farming, but they enjoyed trading and would barter goods at almost all of Central Asia's bazaars.

For the next 350 years following the establishment of the Safavid dynasty in Persia and the khanates of Khiva and Bukhara in the sixteenth century, the history of the Turkmens was linked indissolubly with these three states. In the markets of Khwarazm and the northern provinces of Persia, Turkmens were always to be seen, trading in a lively way, bartering their livestock and farm produce for grain and various handicrafts. Unlike other Turkmens, the Turkmens of Khwarazm held leading positions in the khanate, performing military (*naukar*, soldier, retainer) service for which they received large allotments of land. Conflicts often arose, however, leading to sharp clashes over the land and water policies of the khans of Khiva.[11]

In the sixteenth century, the Caspian and southern Turkmens, in their turn, were subjected by the khans of Khiva to an alms-tax (*zakāt*) on cattle – that is a tax levied for the khan's *qazan* (cauldron, here meaning the khan's kitchen) – obliging them to supply some 60,000 sheep annually to the khan's court; the Ersari and both the 'Outer' Sālor (from

[10] Annanepesov, 1972, pp. 75–223, 239–58; Bregel, 1961, pp. 45–70.
[11] Bregel, 1961, pp. 100–3, 197–226.

Khurasan) and 'Inner' Sālor (from Mangishlaq) tribes had to drive in 16,000 head each, while the Tekes, Saryks (Sāriqs) and Yomuts provided a total of 8,000.[12] This suggests that the Ersari and Sālor tribes bore a particularly heavy burden of taxation while the latter three tribes were less heavily pressed. At that time in the towns of Khurasan a prominent role was played by the Bayāts, who had become the rulers of Nishapur, Sabzevar, Merv, etc. On the present territory of Turkmenistan and adjacent lands, the ancient Oghuz tribes (the Sālors, Yazirs, Bayāts, Qaraevlis, Chaudurs, Igdirs, Dodurgas, Bāyandurs, Eymirs [Eymurs], Afshārs, etc.) had varied fortunes: some became famous, while others declined in importance or were even destroyed or swallowed up by new ethnic groups (the Ersaris, Tekes, Yomuts, Goklens, etc.). A comparative study of the composition by clan and tribe of the medieval and modern Turkmens shows that the names of 18 of the 24 Oghuz clans have been preserved in one form or another in the present ethnic nomenclature.[13]

From the sixteenth century, the territory of Turkmenistan, particularly of the Turkmens of Khurasan, was turned into a battlefield by Persia and the khanates of Khiva and Bukhara. The khans of Khiva took up residence in the Kopet Dagh foothills at the fortress of Darun, whence the khans' viceroys extended their power over all the southern Turkmens.[14] In 1510 the founder of the Safavid dynasty, Shāh Ismā^cīl I (1501–24), defeated Shaybānī Khān Uzbek at Merv and the whole of Khurasan and the left bank of the Amu Darya came into his possession. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, however, under ᶜAbdullāh Khān II (1557–98), the khanate of Bukhara grew very powerful and not only laid claim to Khurasan but also occupied the northern parts of modern Afghanistan, even holding the territory of Khwarazm itself for some time. The Safavid rulers Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76) and Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629) found it hard to prevent the encroachments of the khans of Khiva and Bukhara into Khurasan and Astarabad, but as a protective measure settled Kurds and Qajars in the disputed territory. Henceforth they lived among the Turkmens or as their neighbours in Astarabad, Atrek, Merv and elsewhere.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Atrek- Gorgan Yaqa Turkmens, the Soyunkhāns, also came under pressure both from the Safavid viceroys of Astarabad and from the Khivan rulers of Darun. In 1550 the shah's new governor, Shāhverdi Sultān (Shāh Berdi Zik), arrived in Astarabad. The Oklu (Okhlu)-Goklen Turkmens headed by Abā-Sardār rose in revolt against the Persians, killed the governor and occupied Astarabad. Their revolt continued until 1558, and they were supported by ᶜAlī Sultān, the Khivagovernor of Darun.

[12] Barthold, 1963, pp. 597–8; *Materialy po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, 1938, p. 324.
[13] Dzhikiev, 1981, pp. 68–9.
[14] Barthold, 1963, pp. 600–4. He considers that the mother of the Khivan khan, Qayim Khān, was a Turkmen of the Chākirlar clan from the Goklen tribe.

Abā-Sardār became the leader of all the Turkmens of Astarabad and beat off several forces sent by Shāh Tahmāsp from Qazvin. After one of his victories Abā-Sardār married the daughter of an influential religious leader, but in 1558 he fell victim to a plot in which his young wife helped to kill him. Shāh ᶜAbbās appointed as a subordinate ruler Allāh-Yār Khān of the Eymir Turkmens, who made peace with their neighbours, the Siyāhpūshes of Astarabad. However, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century the Oklu Turkmens, headed by Karry (Qārī) Khān, rejected Persian hegemony, and the governor of Astarabad, Faridūn Mīrzā, had to launch as many as 17 campaigns against them.[15]

According to the English merchant Anthony Jenkinson, who travelled in Central Asia in 1558–9, 'All the Land from the Caspian Sea to the Citie of Urgence [Urgench] is called the Land of Turkeman.' He provides two descriptions of the Turkmens. As he arrived at an unnamed place on the Caspian coast to travel to Urgench, 'the Customers of the King of Turkeman met us, who tooke custome of every five and twentie one, and seven ninths for the said King and his brethren'. He describes the people of the 'Land of Turkeman' as living 'without Towne or habitation removing from one place to another in great companies with their Cattell, whereof they have great store, as Camels, Horses and Sheepe both tame and wilde.' There were so many horses that the herds had gone wild and the horses had turned into mustangs. Jenkinson was very surprised when he had to pay for drinking water *en route*.[16] Except for some incidents, the Turkmens behaved peacefully and did not harass him at all.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the flow of water from the Amu Darya into the Daryalik and Uzboy channels ceased, changing the natural and economic conditions of the north-western regions of Turkmenistan. Jenkinson noted in 1558 that the Daryalik had run dry.[17] This was, perhaps, one reason why the Turkmens began their migration to the cultivated oases in Khwarazm and Khurasan. This continued throughout the seventeenth century. The first to leave were the Alilis, who settled around Darun, Nisa, Bagabad (Bāghābād), Abivard and Merv. The Khizir-elis and Chandirs made their way to Khwarazm, and thence to Bukhara and Samarkand. The Ersaris, Teke-Yomuts, Saryks and other tribes left the Balkhan mountains.[18] The Esenkhān Turkmens of Mangishlaq also made for Khwarazm because of raids by the Noghays, then by the Kalmuks and Kazakhs from the banks of the Volga and the Yaik (Ural).

[15] *Materialy po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, 1938, pp. 60–3; Barthold, 1963, pp. 599–604.
[16] Jenkinson, 1906, pp. 15–16.
[17] Ibid., p. 14, where Jenkinson refers to what he thought was a shift of the Oxus from the Caspian Sea to the Aral.
[18] *Istoriya Turkmenskoy SSR*, 1957, p. 383.

After Russia seized the khanates of Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1557), the commercial importance of the Turkmens of Mangishlaq grew considerably. Russian merchants and envoys often visited the area. For their protection, the merchants, envoys, pilgrims and ordinary travellers always used the services of an *āshnā* (lit. 'acquaintance'), that is, a friend or acquaintance among the Turkmens. The function of the *āshnā* was instituted among the Turkmens long ago. He would help people in trouble, rescue captives and hostages, protect people from robbery and accompany them, or else spread word of the poverty-stricken state of those in his care. For a reward he would often let his clients join the caravans and accompany them as far as Darun in the south (in Khurasan) or the bay of Karagan in the north (Mangishlaq), to which place the Russian merchants travelled.

The Turkmens themselves travelled to distant countries in caravans – to China, India, Persia and the Ottoman empire (including Mecca and Medina). There were experienced caravan leaders (*kāravānbāshī*s) and armed groups to protect them on the way. Turkmen caravans were constantly arriving at the markets of such towns as Khiva, Bukhara, Samarkand, Mashhad, Astarabad, Isfahan, Tabriz and Herat. Even in time of danger some trade continued, because it was an unavoidable necessity.[19]

The seventeenth century

The seventeenth century was a time of severe trial for the Turkmens. Throughout the century the Turkmen people were drawn directly into internal wars and were harassed by the khans of Khiva. At the beginning of the century the sons of Arap (ᶜArab) Muhammad (1602–23), the Khivan khan, began an implacable struggle among themselves for possession of the khanate. In 1623 Isfandiyār returned from Persia and, with help from the Turkmens, seized power in Khiva. After Isfandiyār Khān's death in 1643, Abū'l Ghāzī, who had been in exile for 20 years, seized power and became khan of Khiva. Throughout the period of his rule (1643–63), Abū'l Ghāzī was constantly in conflict with the Turkmens.[20] He strengthened his state with help from Uzbek tribes, distributing among 392 Uzbek dignitaries the best-irrigated land in the khanate. As a result of this land and water redistribution, the Turkmens were deprived of their farmland in Khwarazm. Abū'l Ghāzī, an educated man, wrote two historical works, the *Shajara-i Tarākima* [Genealogy of the Turkmens] and *Shajaratu'l Atrak* [Genealogy of the Turks], but nonetheless he behaved with great

[19] Annanepesov, 1972, pp. 239–56; 1981, pp. 15–18.
[20] *Materialy po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, 1938, pp. 31, 325–6.

brutality towards the Turkmens, massacring them and driving their women and children into slavery.[21]

In the second half of the seventeenth century, under Abū'l Ghāzī's son Anūsha Khān (1663–87), the influence of the Turkmens in Khiva began to grow again. Anūsha's own wife Togta Khānum was from the Darganata Turkmens. She plotted with the local nobility, while her son Ereng (Awrang) plotted with the khan of Bukhara. In 1687 Anūsha Khān was seized and blinded. Subsequently, however, the Uzbeks who had fled to Aral executed Togta Khānum and killed Ereng Khān by poisoning him in 1695–6.

This period marks the beginning of the final stage in the migration of the Turkmen tribes, which continued until the middle of the nineteenth century. From Mangishlaq, Uzboy and the Balkhan mountains the Chaudur, Igdir and Soyunaji tribes set off for Astrakhan, thence to the northern Caucasus and Stavropol; the Yomuts for Khwarazm, the Atrek and Gorgan; the Tekes for Akhal and Khwarazm and thence to Merv; the Ersaris for the middle reaches of the Amu Darya, and so on. In turn, this set off a chain reaction of internal migration by the lesser tribes, the Saryks, Emrelis, Karadashlis (Qara-dāshlis), Khizir-elis, Alilis, Goklens and others into the territories of Khwarazm, Bukhara, Tejen, Sarakhs, Pende, Atrek, etc. These mass movements of the population inside and outside Turkmenistan continued for more than 200 years.[22]

Social structure

The social structure of the Turkmens had been based for centuries on *ᶜādat* (customary law) and to a lesser extent the *sharīᶜa* (Islamic religious law). Because of the clan and tribal structure of their society and its semi-nomadic lifestyle, the Turkmens were never noted for religious fanaticism or extremism. The primary units of society were the large patriarchal families, which constituted the basis of the rural community and provided stable clan and tribal leadership and economic management as well as the protection of society in the event of external threat. The communal basis has always been typical of the Turkmens. In peacetime the heads of the big families, the village elders, clan chiefs and tribal leaders (the *aksakal*s or *āq-saqāl*s, *ekābir*s, *katkhudā*s, *sālār*s, *khān*s, *beg*s, etc.) ensured compliance with the *ᶜādat* and rarely resorted to the laws of the *sharīᶜa* or the courts of the *qāzī* (judge). In wartime they all rallied around their chosen leader, the *sardār*. At such times he

[21] Barthold, 1963, pp. 610–11; *Materialy po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, 1938, pp. 328–9. During a celebration at Hazarasp, at Abū'l Ghāzī's instigation, 2,000 Turkmens were murdered, while the survivors fled.
[22] *Istoriya Turkmenskoy SSR*, 1957, pp. 375–783; Annanepesov, 1972, pp. 29–72.

became the chief public figure. As soon as the danger of war had passed, the function and importance of the *sardār* ceased.[23]

In the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, Turkmen society was full of contrasts and contradictions. The development of society was marked by catastrophic upheavals, lengthy periods of stagnation and revivals. The impression is that from generation to generation over the centuries the popular masses led a dull and miserable existence, a state from which the only change was provided by cycles of warfare, rebellion, plunder and raiding (*alamān*).

The first half of the eighteenth century: Nādir Shāh

In the political history of the peoples of Central Asia in the first half of the eighteenth century, the most dramatic event was the rise of Nādir Shāh (1736–47), a man of Turkmen origin. He was born in 1688 near the fortress of Kelat in northern Khurasan. In his *Tārīkh-i Nādir*, Mehdi Khān Astarābādī says that: 'he claimed descent from the Qara-klu [Qarakhlu] clan. The Qara-klus are from the Afshār branch, and the Afshārs are a Turkmen tribe.'[24] He put together a cavalry force, served the ruler of Abivard, campaigned against the neighbouring Turkmens and gradually gained supremacy throughout Khurasan. He then entered the service of the Safavid Shāh Tahmāsp II (1722–32), expelled the Afghans from Persia and, taking advantage of the powerlessness of the Safavids, in early 1736 seized the shah's throne.

Nādir built an army of enormous size by the standards of his day and spent all his time on campaigns of conquest. First of all he united the domains of Persia proper, then conducted campaigns against the Ottoman and Mughal empires. In 1740 he subjugated the khanates of Bukhara and Khiva, before moving his troops to the Caucasus and Daghestan. By his military victories he quickly created a vast empire, in various corners of which popular rebellions broke out now and then that Nādir could not suppress. He had to dispatch several punitive expeditions against Turkmen rebels in Khiva and Astarabad. In his later years Nādir grew mistrustful and in June 1747 died at the hands of his own kinsmen, the Afshārs. Thus the life of Nādir Shāh and his meteoric rise to power ended, and his empire immediately collapsed. After his death the Afshār dynasty (lasting until 1795) proved quite unable to rule Persia and withdrew to Khurasan.[25]

[23] Annanepesov and Atagarryev, 1995, pp. 142–3.

[24] *Materialy po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, 1938, p. 118; Mirzā Mehdi Khān Astarābādī, 1984, Vol. 1, p. 6.

[25] Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 22–43.

Whatever Nādir Shāh did, however cruelly he dealt with various parts of his empire, he always treated his fellow Turkmens with benevolence. For example, during his conquest of the khanate of Khiva, it was the Turkmens who put up the firmest resistance to his troops. Many of those captured at Hazarasp were taken to the shah's camp. Nādir displayed concern for the prisoners and showed them great kindness. When he released some of them, so that they could return to their nomadic grazing lands, they left with assurances of the shah's favour and benevolence. The shah summoned the rest to serve him at his palace, declaring: 'Whichever of the lands of Iran and Turan [the Turkic lands] they wished to settle in, he would give them the opportunity to do so, in order that they should remain loyal and obedient.'[26] Nādir was well acquainted with the courage and military skill of the Turkmen cavalry who served in the vanguard of his army.

The second half of the eighteenth century

For the whole of the second half of the eighteenth century in Persia and Khiva, there were internecine wars in which the Turkmens played an active role. The Turkmens of Atrek and Gorgan, together with the Qajars, fought against both the descendants of Nādir Shāh and the Zand. The leaders of the Qajars, Muhammad Hasan Khān and the future shahs of Persia Āghā Muhammad Khān and Fath ᶜAlī Shāh, were related to the Turkmens of Astarabad. Indeed, the Turkmens of Atrek and Gorgan played an altogether not inconsiderable role in the enthronement of the Qajar dynasty in Persia (1786). The Turkmens of Khiva also took a most active part in the struggle for power within that khanate and twice briefly seized power (in 1764 and 1770).[27]

The nineteenth century

The first half of the nineteenth century is also rich in events in the political history of the Turkmens. There was no end to the military clashes between the Turkmens and the rulers of Khiva, Bukhara and Persia. In 1813 the Yomuts and Goklens, 'unable to endure their ill treatment by Mīrzā Rāzī of Mazandaran, were stirred up' and rebelled against the governors of Astarabad.[28] The rebels twice defeated the Persian troops sent against them on the banks of the Gorgan, but their victory was exploited by Russia during the negotiations over the peace treaty with Persia in Gulistan. There, General Rtishchev used the presence of a delegation of the rebel Turkmens as a means of exerting diplomatic pressure, hinting that

[26] *Materialy po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, 1938, p. 161.
[27] Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 43–54; Zhukovsky, 1894, pp. 86–9.
[28] *Materialy po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, 1938, p. 211.

Russia would arm the Turkmens of Astarabad and open up a second front on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea. As a result, Persia was obliged to conclude a treaty favourable to Russia at the end of the Russo-Persian war of 1806–13, while the Turkmens returned empty-handed, left to face Persia once again.[29] Such situations were to recur in 1826–7 and 1841.

In the 1820s Lebap and Merv became bones of contention between Khiva and Bukhara and changed hands several times. The Turkmens of Lebap, headed by the poet Seidi (Sa^{c}īdī), rebelled against the arbitrary rule of the emir of Bukhara, Mīr Haydar, and the Turkmens of Merv rebelled against the khan of Khiva, Muhammad Rahīm. Both rebellions were suppressed, however. The Turkmens of Lebap submitted, but the Turkmens of Merv managed to defend their relative independence right up to the Russian conquest.[30]

Russian expansion

From the very beginning of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth, Russian military expansion to the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea continued. During that century and a half, the Turkmen shore of the sea was visited by dozens of military-scientific expeditions, the largest of which were those of Captains Bekovich-Cherkasski (1714–17), who met his death in Khiva, Tebelev (1741), Kopytovsky (1745), Ladyzhensky and Tokmachev (1764), Gmelin (1773), Voynovich (1781), Muravyev (1819–21), Karelin (1832–6), Putyatin (1841), Dandevil (1859), and others. They all studied the local conditions and geography and this information was undoubtedly of help in the Russian conquest of Turkmenistan.[31]

The Turkmen character and way of life

Many European travellers, including Russian explorers of the nineteenth century, remarked that the Turkmen way of life enjoyed a number of unique features. The people were brave and trustworthy, fearless and open-hearted, hospitable and never deceitful; they were very honest when buying and selling, and at the slightest sign of mistrust were deeply offended; and they behaved well towards women. Even the youngest children knew their genealogy and could name without error their own clan and tribe. They also noted that the Turkmens followed unwritten customary law (*^{c}ādat*), had no aristocracy, nor a fixed order of administration. The proverb, ‘The Turkmens need neither the shade of the tree nor the halls of

[29] Annanepesov, 1981, pp. 123–38.
[30] Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 134–51.
[31] Annanepesov, 1981, pp. 18–76, 139–66, 196–249.

power' was attributed to them. But the Turkmens often fought among themselves. The Russian envoy Florio Beneveni considered that the people populating Khiva and Bukhara 'are all generally fighting one another'.[32] Administrative organization was undoubtedly weak among the Turkmens, and sometimes the authority of their chiefs rested only on personal influence rather than any established system of power. As mentioned previously, the chief's prerogatives were powerfully strengthened only when war threatened or public works (the construction of dams, canals, fortresses, etc.) needed to be carried out.

By contrast, the Persian and Khivan chroniclers, and many European travellers after them, described the Turkmens as desperate robbers and slave-traders engaged everywhere only in raiding (*chapaw*, *alamān*), particularly in the neighbouring provinces of Persia. Beneveni, who travelled throughout the territory of Persia, Bukhara and Khiva, noted in 1723 that in the lands of Central Asia the Afghans and Turkmens were engaged in robbery on the trade routes, plundering caravans so that 'everywhere in the steppe there are Teke-Yomuts and other Turkmens like flies. Everywhere they were lying in wait by the roadside.'[33] Yet there was no slavery of the classical type in Central Asia. The Turkmens did not ordinarily kill their captives, but demanded a ransom for the men and took the women as concubines. Only if payment of a ransom was refused were the men sold in the slave markets of Khiva, Bukhara and Samarkand. The Hungarian scholar Arminius Vambéry and the Russian diplomat Baron Bode both described raiding as an incomparable scourge which reduced to naught all the good qualities of the Turkmens. Vambéry was amazed that he could find no one among the Turkmens 'who would seem to want to take command or who wished to be a subordinate.' The Turkmens say of themselves: 'We are a nation without a head and we do not want any chiefs. We are all equal, among us each is his own tsar.'[34]

Exaggerating 'the dark side of Turkmen morality' as robbers and desert predators, some writers explain their inclination towards raiding as due not to the inner motives of the Turkmens but to the severe natural conditions, pointing out that 'in their homeland nature refuses them not only bread but often water as well'. The religious feud between the Shi^{c}ites and Sunnis has also been mentioned as a reason for the raids. Many other chroniclers speak as if raiding was the basic, almost the only occupation of the Turkmens.[35] In fact, raiding was never one of their primary occupations.[36] Sometimes it was mainly in reprisal and came about as a Turkmen response to the actions of neighbouring

[32] Barthold, 1968, pp. 227, 465; Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 63–84.
[33] Popov, 1853, pp. 380–8.
[34] Vambéry, 1867, p. 257.
[35] *Materialy po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, 1938, pp. 290–1.
[36] Roslyakov, 1955, pp. 41–53.

states – Persia, Khiva and Bukhara. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the troops of Zulfiqār Khān, a Qajar commander from Damghan, crossed the Chandir and Sumbar and suddenly attacked the Tekes of Bami and Borme: 'From the very first blow a large number of men fell to the sword, and 2,000 youths, men and fine women were taken prisoner. They seized as booty over 50,000 camels, oxen, sheep, stallions, mares and other property, and set off home.'[37] There are numerous instances of the lands of Turkmen tribes being pillaged by the khans of Khiva from the north, Bukhara from the east and Persia from the south.

Bode, who knew the Turkmens well, said that 'the warfare being waged by the Turkmens against the Persians is not open war but consists of sudden raids, as quick as lightning'.[38] The tsarist General Grodekov, justifying Russia's conquest of Turkmenistan as a struggle to put an end to raiding, was obliged to admit that raiding was 'a bloody history of victories and defeats in the wars of the courageous Turkmens against their semi-civilized neighbours, the Persians and the Uzbeks, who are just as cunning and indiscriminate in their means and even more cruel than the Turkmens'. He goes on to say that the khans of Khiva and Bukhara used the Turkmens for settling accounts both inside and outside the khanates, and that the rulers of neighbouring provinces of Persia (Quchan, Bojnurd and Astarabad) would send the Turkmens off on raids, informing them of 'the time and place for successful raids and attacks in the lands entrusted to their care', from which they received their share.[39]

Couliboeuf de Blocqueville and Vambéry were witnesses to the great cruelty with which Turkmen captives were treated in Tehran, where they were used for target practice, whereas in Khiva they all had their eyes gouged out.[40] Of course, cruelty breeds cruelty. After all, raiding was not the profession of the Turkmens. It was an outcome of those cruel times, the product of a society where anarchy prevailed and which lacked a state system capable of protecting people. Moreover, raiding hindered the consolidation of the Turkmens, impoverished them, promoted economic stagnation, undermined commerce and damaged the moral fabric of society.

Yet the Turkmens have a culture of their own. The eighteenth century is considered the Golden Age of their literature. As noted by Barthold, of all the Turkic nations only the Turkmens have their own national poet, Makhtumkuli 'Fragi' (Makhdum-Qulī Ferāghī). The lexis of the Turkmen language had become so differentiated from that of other Turkic languages by his day that Makhtumkuli wrote his poetry in the colloquial language that all

[37] *Materialy po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, 1938, pp. 208, 218.
[38] Bode, 1847, pp. 221–2.
[39] Grodekov, 1883, pp. 49–56.
[40] Couliboeuf de Blocqueville, 1868, p. 44; Vambéry, 1867, pp. 72–3. (See the editorial note in the bibliography for this chapter.)



Fig. 1. Turkmenistan. Interior of a Turkmen yurt. (Photo: © Courtesy of Omar Masom, Turkmen Gallery, London.)

Turkmens could understand. He wrote fiery, patriotic verses as well as lyrical poetry and is justly considered to be the founder of a specifically Turkmen literature. The eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century gave birth to other important Turkmen poets: Āzādī (Makhtumkuli's father), ᶜAndalib, Shaydāᶜī, Shabende (Shāhbanda), Magrufī, Gaibi (Ghaybī), Kemina (Muhammad Walī Kamina), Seidi (Saᶜīdī), Zelili (Zalīlī), Mollanepes (Mullā-Nafas) and others.

The Turkmens are also famous for their wonderful carpets and jewellery, and they have their own ancient tradition of music and song with its own style of performance (Fig. 1).[41]

[41] Barthold, 1968, pp. 187, 465, 574, 587; Annanepesov, 1995, pp. 63–8.

6

THE DZUNGARS AND THE TORGUTS (KALMUKS), AND THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN SIBERIA*

J. Miyawaki, Bai Cuiqin and L. R. Kyzlasov

Contents

* See Maps 3 and 4, pp. 925–6, 927–8.

Part One

HISTORY OF THE DZUNGARS: INTRODUCTORY SURVEY

(*J. Miyawaki*)

Origins of the Oirat confederation

The earliest mention of the tribal name Dzungar (Jegün-ghar; lit. 'left wing' in Mongolian) occurs early in the seventeenth century. The tribe was then a member of the nomadic Oirat (Oyirad) confederation. The Torguts (Torghuuds), too, belonged to the Oirat confederation and the name Kalmuk (Qalmāq), used as another name for the Torguts in this chapter, was originally applied to all the Oirat tribesmen.

The tribe called Oirat was known from the early thirteenth century, the days of the Mongol empire. Rashīdu'ddīn in his *Jāmi ᶜal-tawārīkh* reports that the Oirats then occupied the land of Sekiz Müren (lit. 'Eight Rivers'), which corresponds to the present-day Tuva Autonomous Republic (Russian Federation). Their king Qutuqa Beki submitted to Chinggis Khan in 1208, and his house thereafter acquired fame by intermarrying with all four branches of the Chinggisid house, the Jöchids, Chaghatayids, Ögedeyids and Toluids.[1] In the civil war of 1260–4, fought between the brothers Qubilay (Khubilai) and Arigh Buka over the imperial succession, the Oirats sided with the latter and lost.[2] As a consequence, the Oirats and other great tribes west of the Altai never accepted the Qubilayid supremacy as long as the Yüan dynasty had China under its rule. In 1368 the Yüan were expelled from China by the Ming and returned to Karakorum in Mongolia. In 1388 Yesüder, a prince of Arigh Buka's line, killed Toquz Temür Khan, the last Yüan emperor, and occupied, with

[1] Rashīd al-Dīn, 1952, Vol. 1(1), pp. 181–21, Vol. 1(2), pp. 72–3, 118–22, 146–52; Okada, 1987.
[2] Okada, 1987, p. 186.

the backing of the Oirats, the Mongol throne. From then on, the Oirats were the real power behind the Chinggisid throne in Mongolia. Contemporary Ming sources report that they were ruled by three chiefs, indicating that it was already a confederation of tribes.[3] An analysis of eighteenth-century Volga-Kalmuk chronicles leads us to the conclusion that the Four-Oirat confederation had its origin in an anti-Yüan alliance formed by the old Oirats and three other powerful tribes of north-western Mongolia, the Naimans, Keraits (Kereyids) and Barguts (Barghuds).[4]

According to Mongol chronicles written in the seventeenth century and later, Mongol–Oirat rivalry began late in the fourteenth century. In this context, the appellation 'Mongol' refers to the tribesmen who remained loyal to the Yüan imperial tradition and were subsequently reunited under the Qubilayid prince Batu Möngke Dayan Khan (1470–1504). They are the direct ancestors of the present-day Mongols.

The Oirats in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

The Oirat chief Toghon and his son Esen, who ruled Mongolia in the fifteenth century, are listed in later genealogies as ancestors of the seventeenth-century Dzungar chiefs. Esen conquered the Jushen (Jürched) tribes beyond the Khingan mountains in the east and subdued the Chaghatayid Moghulistan khanate in the west. His empire disintegrated when he was killed in a rebellion in 1455.[5]

Throughout the sixteenth century, the only information we have on the Oirats comes from the Mongol chronicles. Altan Khan (1507–82) of the Tümed tribe, grandson of Dayan Khan (on him, see Chapter 8), led repeated campaigns against the Oirats, along with his invasions of Ming dominions in China. In the late sixteenth century the Oirat tribes were expelled from Mongolia and had to move westwards; and the Khalkhas, the frontline tribe of the Mongols, advanced as far as Tuva and brought part of the Oirats under their rule.[6] All this took place shortly before the initial contacts of the Russians with the Mongols and the Kalmuk-Oirats in Siberia early in the seventeenth century.

Russian sources call the Oirat nomads Kalmyks (Kalmuks), since they were commonly known as Qalmāqs among their western neighbours in Central Asia. The name, popularly derived from the Turkish verb *kalmak*, 'to stay, to remain', first appears in Islamic literature in the fourteenth century.[7] It is possible that the Mongols who had settled in the west in

[3] *MMM*, 1954, pp. 270–1, 275; Okada, 1987, p. 189.
[4] Okada, 1987.
[5] Miyawaki, 1995, pp. 101–8; 1997, pp. 46–50.
[6] Sagang Secen, 1958, pp. 227–9, 234; Miyawaki, 1997, pp. 50–8.
[7] Khodarkovsky, 1992, p. 5.

the days of their empire called those of their fellow tribesmen who had remained in their original home in Mongolia by the name Qalmāq.

The Oirats in the early seventeenth century

In 1616 the first Russian embassy was sent to the Kalmuks. Tomilo Petrov and Ivan Kunitsyn reported: 'The chief *taisha* in all Kalmuk land is Bogatyr Talaitaisha, and they call him tsar of all the Kalmuk country; however, he does not refer to himself as tsar.' They added that 'the chief counsellors are the *taisha*s Chugur and Urlyuk'.[8]

The Russian *bogatyr* corresponds to the Mongolian *baghatur* (lit. 'hero'), apparently the title of a confederate leader. *Taisha*, or the Mongolian *tāyishī (taiji*) borrowed from the Chinese *taishi*, was a title borne by the commander-in-chief of the Yüan imperial army and guardian of the khan. In the fifteenth century the Oirat leaders Toghon and his son Esen both styled themselves *taishi.* The word 'tsar' is nothing but the Russian equivalent of the Mongol 'khan' (*qaghan*). The Chinggisid principle, prevalent among the nomadic tribesmen in the post-imperial period, restricted the use of this title to Chinggis Khan's descendants in the male line. This explains why the Oirat ruler in 1616 did not dare style himself tsar or khan.[9]

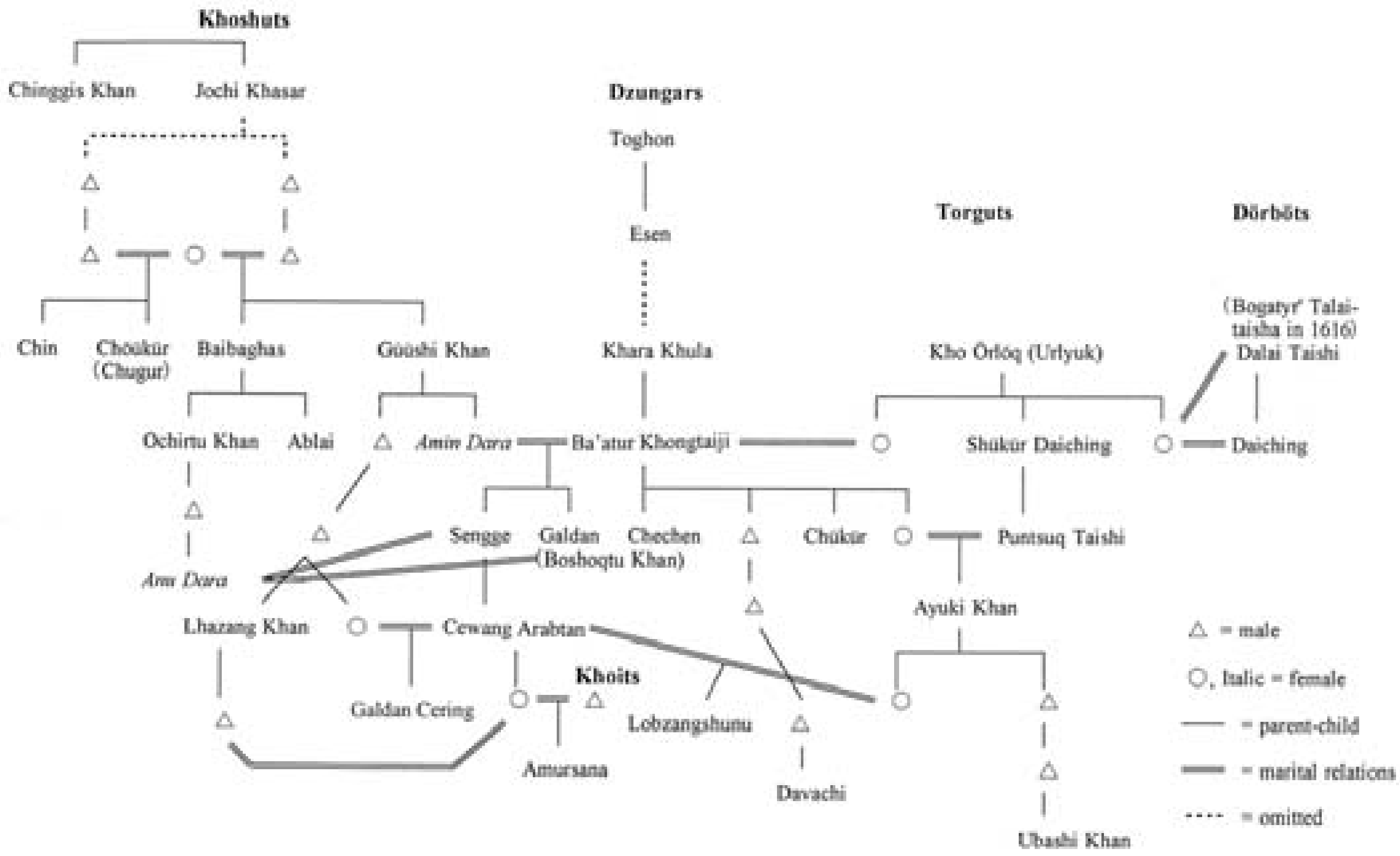
Earlier authorities on the Dzungars such as Pallas, Howorth and Baddeley incorrectly identified Bogatyr Talai-taisha of 1616 with Ba'atur Khongtaiji, the Dzungar chief, setting off a chain of errors in their interpretation of seventeenth-century Dzungar history.[10] In fact, the chief Kalmuk *taishi* in 1616 was Dalai Taishi the Dörbet chief, and his counsellors were Chöükür, the Khoshot (Qoshod) chief, and Kho Örlöq, the Torgut chief. The Khoshot chiefs claimed descent from Jöchi Khasar, a younger brother of Chinggis Khan. The tribe appears to have been originally a Mongol tribe inhabiting the Great Khingan mountains. It was incorporated into the Oirat confederation by Esen when he had Mongolia under his power; even after his fall the Khoshots remained with the Oirats.[11] (See Table 1)

Khara Khula, the first chief of the Dzungars

Sholoi Ubashi Khongtaiji (referred to in the Russian diplomatic sources as Altyn-tsar, i.e. Altan Khan) (1567–1627) of the Khalkha right wing was first visited by Russian envoys

[8] *MIRMO*, 1959, Doc. no. 18; Baddeley, 1919, Vol. 2, pp. 37–8; Miyawaki, 1987*a*.
[9] Miyawaki, 1992; 1993.
[10] Pallas, 1776, pp. 36–9; Howorth, 1882–1927, Part 1, pp. 613–14, 680; Baddeley, 1919, Vol. 2, pp. 31, 45, Table G.
[11] Okada, 1987.

Table 1. The Oirat Confederation



Note: This Table has been prepared by J. Miyawaki

in 1616.[12] He was a great-grandson of Geresenje, the youngest son of Dayan Khan and founder of the Khalkha princely house. But Ubashi Khongtaiji was himself a vassal, though nominally, of his right-wing overlord, whose descendants were later to form the Jasaghtu khanate. His title *khong tayiji* meant a viceroy of the khan, entrusted with the task of governing the Oirats. Ubashi Khongtaiji insisted on styling himself Altan Khan when addressing the Russians, and his son and grandson kept up the usage.[13]

Altan Khan was based on Lake Ubsa in the north-western corner of present-day Mongolia, from where he extended his rule over the Kyrgyz and Tuvinians in southern Siberia, who used to be Oirat subjects. He proposed to the Russian tsar an alliance directed against Khara Khula Taisha, the Kalmuk who was obstructing an exchange of missions between himself and the tsar. His proposal, however, met with a refusal in 1620.[14] This is

[12] *MIRMO*, 1959, Doc. nos. 6, 20, 22; Baddeley, 1919, Vol. 2, pp. 34, 46–62.
[13] Miyawaki, 1984; 1993.
[14] *MIRMO*, 1959, Doc. nos. 42, 43, 44; Baddeley, 1919, Vol. 2, pp. 87–9.

the first-ever historical mention of Khara Khula, the first chief of the Dzungars. His tribe, the Dzungars, seems to have been formed as the left wing of the Dörbets (who had the clan name of Choros) to cope with the Mongols to the east.

In 1620 Khara Khula and Mergen Temene, chiefs of the Dzungar and Torgut tribes respectively, jointly attacked Altan Khan but were defeated. Khara Khula lost his wife and children to the enemy. This resulted in an allout war between Altan Khan and the Four Oirats. The Oirat chiefs were attacked simultaneously by the Khalkhas and the Kazakhs and withdrew to the vicinity of the Russian fortresses in Siberia. In 1623 they joined forces in a decisive battle and succeeded in killing Altan Khan and liberating themselves from their subjection to the Mongols. Fragments of information on the circumstances leading to the battle are found in Russian diplomatic sources, while the battle itself is vividly described in the Oirat epic, the *Tale of Ubashi Khongtaiji of the Mongols.*[15]

The Torguts move to the Volga

Soon afterwards, in 1625, a conflict over inheritance arose among the Oirats. The parties to this quarrel, whom Zlatkin mistakes for the sons of Khara Khula, were actually Chöükür, the Khoshot chief, and his uterine younger brother, Baibaghas. (Chöükür, who is described as counsellor to the Dalai Taishi in the Russian report of 1616, had given his daughter in marriage to the son of his fellow counsellor, Kho Örlöq.) Baibaghas was killed, but his younger brothers Güüshi and Köndölön Ubashi pursued Chöükür from the Ishim to the Tobol, until they killed the latter's tribesmen on the Yayik in 1630.[16]

In the meanwhile the Torgut chief, Kho Örlöq, unwilling to get involved in fratricidal bloodshed, migrated westward at the head of 50,000 families of his tribesmen. Apparently he had already sent scouts to the former pastures of the Sibir khanate destroyed by the Russians. The Torguts reached the Volga in 1630, drove off some nomadic Noghays and established themselves as the new masters of the Caspian steppes.[17]

In 1644 Kho Örlöq was killed in Kabarda in the Caucasus, where he was pursuing the fleeing Noghays. His successor Daiching went further westward, and his son Puntsuq Taishi joined hands with the Russians in attacking the Crimean Tatars and the Noghays. Yet the Torguts remained members of the Four-Oirat confederation. Every time their ancestral

[15] *MIRMO*, 1959, Doc. nos. 47, 48, 50, 55, 56, 63; Baddeley, 1919, Vol. 2, pp. 90–6; Istoriya Ubashi-khuntaidzhiia, 1858; Miyawaki, 1984.
[16] *MIRMO*, 1959, Doc. nos. 70, 72, 77; Zlatkin, 1964, pp. 141, 144–7; Miyawaki, 1987*b*.
[17] Miyawaki, 1991; Khodarkovsky, 1992, pp. 74–99.

homeland held a great assembly, their representatives came to attend from the banks of the Volga; and, though living among Muslims, they retained their belief in Tibetan Buddhism.[18]

Oirat power under Güüshi Khan of the Khoshots and Ba'atur Khongtaiji of the Dzungars

Back in 1615, when the Oirats were still the subjects of Altan Khan of the Khalkhas, their ruling class had embraced Tibetan Buddhism*en masse.* At that time conflicts between the dGe-lugs-pa (Yellow Hat) sect and the Karma Zhwa-dmar-pa (Red Hat) sect were intensifying in Tibet and the Qinghai (Koko Nor) region, involving the Mongols in the conflicts. In 1632 Choghtu Khongtaiji of the Khalkhas, a Karma-pa supporter, arrived in Qinghai and suppressed the local Mongol patrons of the dGe-lugs-pas. The dGe-lugs-pas in return invited their new converts, the Oirats, to come to Qinghai and deal with Choghtu Khongtaiji.[19]

Güüshi, who had succeeded his elder brother Baibaghas as chief of the Khoshot tribe, responded to the dGe-lugs-pa invitation and in 1636, at the head of 10,000 Oirat troops, marched on Qinghai. The next year he routed a 30,000-strong enemy army, killing Choghtu Khongtaiji. He then entered central Tibet and received from the fifth Dalai Lama the title of *Bstan-'dzin Choskyi Rgyal-po* (the Dharma King Who Upholds the Religion). He was the very first native khan of the Oirats, taking the title of khan in defiance of the Chinggisid principle.[20] Güüshi Khan summoned his tribesmen to Qinghai and undertook a complete conquest of Tibet. The son of Khara Khula, the Dzungar chief, who had accompanied the khan on the Qinghai expedition, was granted the viceregal title of *khongtaiji* (Great Taiji), was married to the khan's daughter Amin Dara, and was sent back to what thereafter was to be known as Dzungaria (now in northern Xinjiang).[21] This was Erdeni Ba'atur Khongtaiji, who thus became the leader of those Oirat nomads who remained in their homeland.

Up to now no state that might be called the Dzungar khanate had existed. The Mongol-Oirat assembly of 1640, the convocation of which is sometimes ascribed to Baa'tur Khongtaiji as the alleged first step in his nation-building activities, was actually convened by Jasaghtu Khan, the overlord of the Khalkha right wing, in Khalkha territory.[22] Lingdan Khutughtu Khan of the Chahar royal family, the last legitimate successor to the Northern

[18] Miyawaki, 1991; 1992.
[19] Yamaguchi, 1963; Miyawaki, 1993; 1995; 1997; 1999; for Tibetan sources see Yamaguchi, 1963, and Miyawaki, 1993; 1995; 1997; 1999.
[20] Yamaguchi, 1963; Miyawaki, 1993; 1995; 1997; 1999.
[21] Yamaguchi, 1963; Miyawaki, 1993.
[22] Ikh Tsaaz, 1981; Miyawaki, 1984; 1995.

Yüan imperial tradition, had died in 1634, and all the Mongol tribes subject to him south of the Gobi pledged allegiance to the Manchu khan Hong Taiji, electing the latter their emperor in 1636. Gravely threatened by this development, the Khalkha Mongols north of the Gobi concluded a peace pact with their old enemy, the Oirats, at that assembly.

Ba'atur Khongtaiji (1634–53) of the Dzungars had his camp on the upper Emil south of Tarbagatay and built a monastery at Khoboq Sari. As he exchanged frequent embassies with the Russians seeking trade in Siberia, his name features prominently in the Russian sources although his power extended little beyond his own tribe.

Galdan Boshoghtu, the Dzungar khan

When Baa'tur Khongtaiji died in 1653, he was succeeded by Sengge (1653–71), his son by the daughter of Güüshi Khan the Khoshot. Sengge's elder halfbrothers were jealous of him for inheriting half of their father's subjects, and so a quarrel over inheritance broke out in 1657. The dispute grew bitter as Sengge was supported by Ochirtu, Baibaghas' son adopted by Güüshi Khan upon the latter's marriage with Ochirtu's widowed mother, while the other party was backed by Ablai, another son of Baibaghas and half-brother of Ochirtu. In 1671, before he had time to adopt his father's title of *khongtaiji*, Sengge was assassinated by his half-brothers.[23]

Galdan, Sengge's younger brother by the same mother, was born in 1644 and was immediately recognized as the rebirth of Dben-sa sprul-sku, a Tibetan high lama who had died the previous year. In 1656 Galdan went to Tibet to study for 10 years, during which he was taught personally by the first Panchen Lama and the fifth Dalai Lama. Upon Sengge's violent death, Galdan wasted no time in avenging his full brother, and in 1671 was granted the title of *khongtaiji* by the fifth Dalai Lama.[24] In the winter of 1678, as soon as Galdan had secured his headship of the Oirats, the Dalai Lama bestowed on him the title of *Bstan-'dzin Bo-shog-thu Khang* (the Mandated King Who Upholds the Religion). By this act the dGe-lugs-pa hierarch, following the precedent set by Güüshi Khan, appointed Galdan the khan of all the Oirat tribes and the patron of his sect.[25]

On becoming the chief of the Dzungars, Galdan followed the nomadic custom of marrying his elder brother's widow: she was Anu Dara, a grand-daughter of Ochirtu Khan the Khoshot. Soon afterwards, however, Galdan fell out with Ochirtu Khan and took him prisoner in 1676. Ochirtu died in captivity at Borotala in 1680.[26]

[23] *BCP*, 1967; Miyawaki, 1997, p. 66.
[24] Miyawaki, 1997, pp. 66–7; for Tibetan sources see Miyawaki 1993; 1995; 1997; 1999.
[25] Miyawaki, 1997, p. 67.
[26] *BCP*, 1967, pp. 60–3; Miyawaki, 1997, p. 67.

The first and last Oirat khan from the Dzungar tribe, Galdan (1671–97) conquered Hami and Turfan in 1679, and the following year brought Kashghar, Yarkand (Yārqand) and Khotan under his rule. Every year from 1681 he marched westward, attacking the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz. He took Tashkent and Sairam in 1684 and made war on Andijan in 1686.

Galdan Khan then turned his attention to the east. In Mongolia ever since the peace of 1640 the Khalkha tribe had been an ally of the Oirats, its right wing in particular being their old overlord and closely related to the Dzungars. When internal strife broke out between the two Khalkha wings, Galdan took the opportunity to re-establish Oirat supremacy over Mongolia. In 1688, on the pretext of supporting the Khalkha right wing, Galdan marched eastward, leading 30,000 Oirat troops over the Khangai into the Khalkha pastures. The Khalkha left-wing army commanded by Tüshiyetü Khan fought valiantly for three days but was routed. The khan and his younger brother, the first Jebzundamba Khutughtu, followed by hundreds of thousands of the Khalkha multitude, fled in panic across the Gobi into present-day Inner Mongolia to seek protection under the Manchu (Qing) emperor Kang Xi.[27]

Late in the summer of 1690, leading 20,000 cavalry troops, Galdan Khan marched south from the Kerülen and engaged the Qing army at Ulan Butung, 300 km north of Beijing. After a fierce battle Galdan withdrew to the north. Galdan's audacity gave the emperor reason for a personal campaign to eliminate him. In 1696 three Qing armies, made up of 100,000 troops in all, marched north into Mongolia. Galdan fled from the Kerulen, avoiding the Qing Middle Route Army commanded by Kang Xi himself, but was caught and routed by the Qing Western Route Army at Juun Modu (Jaghunmodo) 30 km east of present-day Ulaanbaatar. Galdan's wife Anu Dara Khatun was killed in the battle. Galdan himself escaped with a small number of men. By this time Dzungaria had fallen into the hands of Cewang Arabtan (Tsevangraptan), son of Sengge. With nowhere to go, Galdan roamed the Altai until he died on 4 April 1697.[28]

Conflict between the Torgut chief Ayuki and the Dzungar chief Cewang Arabtan

In 1689 Cewang Arabtan had revolted against his uncle Galdan and by 1691 he had brought the Ili and the Tarim basin under his control. The Tibetan regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, who had kept the death of the fifth Dalai Lama secret since 1682, opined that Galdan, now an open enemy of the Qing, had no future. Accordingly, in recognition of his Dzungar

[27] Okada, 1979*a*; 1979*b*.
[28] Ibid.

chiefdom in 1694, he bestowed on Cewang Arabtan the title of *khongtaiji*. He had bestowed on the Torgut chief Ayuki the title of *khān* early in 1697, directly before Galdan's death. (Ayuki's mother was the daughter of Ba'atur Khongtaiji, the Dzungar chief.[29])

Although in the days of Cewang Arabtan (1688–1727) and his son Galdan Cering (Galdan Tseren, 1727–45) the Dzungar state enjoyed great prosperity as a nomadic empire, their rulers only had the title *khongtaiji* but not *khān*, as the Oirat khanship had been granted to the Khoshot and Torgut chiefs on behalf of the Dalai Lama.

Ayuki Khan was the great-grandson of Kho Örlöq, who had migrated to the Volga. His 55-year reign from 1670 to 1724 marked the peak of Torgut power in the Volga region. He concluded a military alliance with Moscow and acquired great wealth in return for the services his Kalmuk cavalry rendered in the Russian army. In the early summer of 1722, we have a report that Tsar Peter I and the tsarina, on their way to Astrakhan, met Ayuki and his wife aboard a galley. As soon as Ayuki was appointed khan by the Tibetans, he aspired to unite all the Oirats, but his ambitions to conquer the Dzungars were frustrated by the revolt of his son Sanjib, who went over to the Dzungars leading 15,000 families. He subsequently returned, but after having lost all his subjects to Cewang Arabtan. Nevertheless old alliances were kept up among the Oirat tribes. Ayuki's daughter married Cewang Arabtan, while Ayuki himself married Cewang Arabtan's cousin.[30]

The Dzungar and the Qinghai Khoshot tribes, too, maintained their alliance through marriages. In 1717, however, the Dzungar army attacked Lhasa and killed Lhazang Khan, the Khoshot chief. This incident led, in 1720, to the Qing granting protection to Tibet and the establishment of Qing suzerainty over Qinghai in 1723.

Captain Ivan Unkovskiy, a Russian envoy who had stayed in Cewang Arabtan's camp in 1722–3, reported that Kyrgyz (Kazakhs), Uriankhais, Telenguts, Mingats, Kayuts, Kosheuts, Yarkandian Bukharians, Buruts (Kyrgyz) and Barabins (Baraba-Tatars) had all become subjects of the Dzungars.[31]

Galdan Cering's reign and the fall of the Dzungar empire

In 1727 Cewang Arabtan suddenly died. His son Galdan Cering, whose mother was Lhazang Khan's sister, insisted that his stepmother, the daughter of Ayuki Khan the Torgut, had assassinated his father and thus found an excuse to drive out his half-brother

[29] Miyawaki, 1997, pp. 69–72.
[30] Khodarkovsky, 1992, pp. 100–69; Miyawaki 1997, pp. 71–2.
[31] Veselovskii, 1887, pp. 741–73.

Lobzangshunu and inherit the entire Dzungar chiefdom. Galdan Cering, like his father, was an able ruler. He carried out repeated large-scale pillaging wars against the Kazakhs and continued his inroads into the Syr Darya basin, Ferghana and Badakhshan. He was, however,
unsuccessful in his wars against the Khalkha Mongols, who were under Qing protection. In 1739 he agreed to respect the boundary between the Khalkha and the Dzungar territories.[32]

The economic foundations of the Dzungar empire lay in the profits gained in the transit trade between Russia and China and the tributes paid by the peoples the Dzungars had conquered. Farmers (mainly Uighurs) from the oases under Dzungar rule, generally called Bukharans, were transplanted to the Ili to produce food for the conquerors. The Dzungars posed a great threat to the Qing empire and other neighbours with their standing cavalry of 80– 100,000 men equipped with firearms. Nevertheless, their downfall came very suddenly, caused by a quarrel over the succession, as had usually been the case with earlier nomadic empires.[33]

Galdan Cering's death in 1745 started a quarrel among his sons. In 1752 Davachi (Dawaji), the son of Galdan Cering's second cousin, took over the Dzungar chiefdom with the help of Amursana, the Khoyit (Qoyid) chief. Internal strife continued until the Dörbets revolted and went over to the Qing, followed in 1754 by Amursana, who had fallen out with Davachi after the latter's accession. The Qing emperor Qianlong took this opportunity to send in 1755 a joint Mongol–Manchu army of 50,000 men against the Dzungars by two routes, the western and the northern. The expeditionary army met almost no resistance on its way to the Ili and destroyed the Dzungar empire in an operation lasting only 100 days.[34]

After pacifying the Dzungars on the principle of divide and rule, the Qing planned to appoint a khan to each of the Four Oirat tribes, namely the Dörbets, the Khoshots, the Khoyits and the Choros (as the former Dzungars had been renamed). Amursana, however, did not agree to be installed as khan of the Khoyit tribe, but wanted rather to be *khong-taiji* over all the Four Oirat tribes. He therefore proclaimed his independence of the Qing. Unable to resist the Qing forces, however, he fled from the Kazakhs to Russia, dying of smallpox in Tobolsk in 1757. The name Dzungar thus became extinct except in the territorial name Dzungaria. The remaining Oirat tribesmen now lived separately among the Mongols under Qing rule.[35]

32 *PZF*, 1772, Qianbian Chs. 22–45; Miyawaki, 1995, pp. 216–20.
33 Saguchi Tōru, 1966, pp. 133–61; Miyawaki, 1995, pp. 220–4.
34 *PZF*, 1772; Miyawaki, 1995, pp. 226–8.
35 *HFY*, 1884, Ch. 12; Miyawaki, 1995, pp. 229–30.

The Torguts' return to the Ili and subsequent events

In the meanwhile lands along the Volga were being opened up by Russian and German settlers, causing Kalmuk pastures to diminish. Having learned of the fall of the Dzungar state and the decimation of the Oirat population on the Ili caused by an epidemic of smallpox brought in by the Qing army, the Torguts decided to return to the home of their forefathers. Led by Ubashi Khan, Ayuki's great-grandson, some 170,000 Torgut tribesmen headed east. Around 100,000 of them were lost on their way due to being pursued by the Russians and attacked by the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. After seven months of a nightmarish journey, they finally arrived at the Ili in 1771, where they were received as new subjects of the Qing emperor, Qianlong. As the winter was not cold enough for the Volga to freeze over, more than 10,000 Torgut families had been unable to cross the river to join the exodus. Those who stayed behind are the ancestors of the present-day Kalmuk population of their modern republic (Kalmykskaya Autonomous Republic).[36]

Emperor Qianlong was overjoyed at the Torguts' leaving Russia and coming back to him of their own volition, and claimed in a poem that all the Mongols had now became his vassals. Those Torguts who had lived on the banks of the Volga since 1630 referred to the newcomers who had fled to them after the destruction of the Dzungar empire as the New Torguts. The Qing accordingly divided the Old and the New Torguts, appointing *jasak*s (chief officials) from among them after the precedent of the Mongol banner commanders. Ubashi obtained the honoured title of khan and was appointed the head of the League of the Ten Old Torgut Banners, while his subordinate chiefs received such honorary titles as *qinwang, junwang*, *beile*, *beise*, *gong*, first-class *taiji*, etc.[37] All through the nineteenth century, the Torgut tribesmen had their pastures in the north of the Tian Shan mountains and, as Qing subjects, received annual subsidies. Some of them even served at the imperial court in Beijing, having few if any contacts with the Muslims in the Tarim basin to the south.

[36] Biaozhuan, 1795, Ch. 101; Khodarkovsky, 1992, pp. 207–35; Miyawaki, 1991, pp. 210–12.
[37] Biaozhuan, 1795, Ch. 101; Miyawaki, 1995, pp. 234–45.

Part Two

THE DZUNGARS AND THE TORGUTS (KALMUKS) IN CHINA

(*Bai Cuiqin*)

As we have seen in Part One, the Dzungars and the Torguts were both important subgroups of the Oirat Mongols. 'Wei-la-te' is the Chinese transliteration of the Mongolian word Oirat or Oyirad. In texts of the Mongol Yüan dynasty this was transliterated as Wo-yi-la, Wo-yi-la-ti, Wai-la or Wai-la-dai; in those of the Ming dynasty, as Wa-la; and of the Qing, as Wei-la-te or E-lu-te. In Persian texts they are usually called 'Qalmāq', in Russian 'Kalmyk', or Kalmuk. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, the Oirat tribes gained considerable political importance in Central Asia. In succession they established the Oirat, the Dzungar, the Khoshot and the Torgut 'khanates'.

Torgut migrations towards the northern Tian Shan

In the early fifteenth century, Toghon (1416?–39) and his son Esen (1440–55) of the Torgut tribes in Mobei, the region to the north of the Gobi desert, rose to power and united the Mongols, forming a new confederation under a nominal Chinggisid khan. This confederation included the Choros (who later divided into the Dzungars [Jegün-ghar, 'left wing'] and the Dörbet (Dörbed), Torgut (Torghuud), Khoshot, Khoyit, Batud (Baghatud), Tümed Bargut and Buriat tribes and also the tribes under the control of Toqtoa-buqa Khan. Esen repeatedly defeated the Chaghatayid khan, Vays Khan (d. 1428–9), in eastern Moghulistan and Turfan.[38] Thus a great power was established on the northern border of China, one that was united under the rule of the Oirats and comprised the leaders of the Eastern Mongols and the neighbouring tribes. The territory under its control stretched from the upper reaches of the River Irtysh in the west, to the area south of the River Angara and the upper

[38] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 65, 67. Haydar mentions Esen as Isan Taishi. Since Vays Khan died in 1428–9, Esen must have fought him on his father's behalf.

reaches of the River Yenisei in the north, and to the lower reaches of the River Kerulen and the grass plains of Hulun-buir in the east. It went on to link up with the *wei*s (Ming frontier posts) of the Eastern and Western Mongols (the three *wei*s in Uriangkhai: Heshazhou, Chijin and Handong), consolidating the two flanks and breaking out of the Ming court's western palisade or 'vast barrier'. In 1449 the Oirats moved south, and at Tumu inflicted a great defeat on the Ming troops, captured the emperor Ying Zong (1435–49, 1457–64) and even laid siege to Beijing, forcing the Ming court to accept peace at Jingtai in 1453. After this resounding success Esen proclaimed himself khan in 1454, but was killed in 1455 in a rebellion by his own commanders and the East-West Mongol confederation then broke up.[39]

The post-Esen period of Oirat history has received little attention from historians. It was generally believed that for two centuries following Esen's death the Oirats simply vanished from the stage of history.[40] Yet the fact is that their eclipse in the east was the result of a westward migration. Moreover for some time they retained a position of considerable strength and under the leadership of Ashitemor and Ke-she they occupied the region of Mobei and held their own against the Eastern Mongols. They maintained political and economic relations with the Ming court and constantly exchanged missives and gifts. After the death of Ke-she, his son Yang-khan became chief minister, with his younger brother A-sha-si as *taishi*. In 1486 they became embroiled in war against their youngest brother A-li-gu-duo-wang, and their power then began to decline. The Eastern Mongol Dayan Khan took the opportunity to attack them, causing their main body to abandon the eastern part of Mobei and move westwards.[41]

From the end of the fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century, the main region of Oirat activity was centred on the River Kunkui and the basin of the River Zha-bu-han, stretching in the east to the Khangai mountains, and in the west to the River Irtysh, and in the north over the Tangnu mountains to the upper reaches of the Yenisei. The Oirats led a nomadic life, moving in search of water and pastures; raising livestock was their principal source of livelihood, supplemented by hunting, handicrafts and some farming.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, during the struggle against the Tümed tribe and Yanda Khan (1507–82), the Oirats gradually lost the area of the Helin and Khangai mountains. The major part then migrated further westward and began to play an increasingly prominent role in the affairs of Central Asia. To the north-west, their pastures stretched right to the middle reaches of the River Irtysh, the River E-hua and the Kazakh pastures,

[39] For Toghon and Esen, see Pokotilov, 1976, pp. 35–60.
[40] Yakovlevich, 1834, pp. 21–3; Barthold, 1956, Vol. 1, Ch. 2, p. 87; Howorth, 1882–1927, p. 609.
[41] For details see Bai Cuiqin, 1991, pp. 145–54.

in the south-west they extended to the basins of the Ili, Chu and Talas rivers, while in the southeast they migrated towards Qinghai.

Faced with the attacks from Yanda Khan and Su-tan of Turfan, and with the Khalkhas pressing from the south, the unity of the Oirat tribes took the form of an alliance of chiefs effected for an undefined period. In Mongolian it was known as the *chighulghan* (*čuγulγan*) and it served as a mechanism for regulating relations between all the tribes and for settling mutual affairs. The leadership of the alliance was assumed by the most powerful chief. From the middle of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth, the leaders of the alliance were the Khoshot chiefs, including Bo-bei-mi-er-zi, Khanai noyon khonghor (?–1585), Boibeghus (?–1670), Güüshi Khan (1582–1655) and Uchirtu Sechen Khan (?–1677). After the rise of the Dzungars, the leadership of the alliance fell to Ba'atur Khongtaiji and others of the Choros (Dzungar) clan. This form of alliance served an important function in creating a united opposition to powerful enemies and in settling internal disputes.

In the early seventeenth century, after a long period of development and change that involved wars and migration as well as the assimilation and absorption of members of the surrounding Turkic peoples and the Eastern Mongol tribes, four major tribes of the Oirat confederation emerged, namely, the Dzungars, Khoshots, Torguts and Dörbets, with the Khoyits attached to the Dörbets. The pasturelands of each were roughly as follows: the Dzungars were initially in the area from the River Irtysh to the River Bo-ke and the Sali mountains, and were later centred on the Ili river basin; the Khoshot pastures were on both banks of the River Emin and extended south of Lake Ala to the long narrow strip of the River Talas basin, sometimes also including the Tarbagatay region; the Torgut pastures were in the Tarbagatay region and to its north (after they had migrated further northwards, the Khoyits lived here); and the main pastures of the Dörbets were on the banks of the River Irtysh. However due to migrations and wars, the areas of pastures of all the tribes changed from time to time.

In about 1628, with the agreement of the Oirat coalition,[42] Kho Örlöq (?– 1644) led the Torgut tribes and some of the Khoshots and the Dörbets, a total of about 50,000 yurts, to attack the Noghays. They crossed the Kazakh steppes and in 1630 migrated to the lower reaches of the River Volga, settling on the banks of the Lihai. On the other hand, in 1636 Töröbaikhu (Güshi Khan), leading some of the Khoshots and assisted by the united forces of Ba'atur Khongtaiji, went on an expedition to Qinghai. The following year they defeated and took control of Que-tu Khan of Qinghai (i.e. Joghtu-taiji of the Khalkha tribe). In 1640 they led an army to destroy Baili Tusi of Kang district.

[42] Hamba, 1976, p. 95; *Han-teng-ge-li*, 1983, Vol. 3.

Two years later, in the name of protecting the Yellow Hat sect of Tibetan Buddhism, they raised an army and entered Tibet, thus taking control of the Qinghai-Tibetan plateau and establishing the power of the Mongol-Tibetan Buddhist priesthood and lay nobility under the leadership of the Khoshot Khan. From Güüshi Khan to Latsang (Lhazang) Khan, through four generations and five khans, they ruled Tibet for 75 years (from 1642 to 1717). And in the region of Qinghai a hereditary domain was gradually established under the leadership of the eight sons of Güshi Khan (the eight *taiji*s of Qinghai), centred on pastures around Lake Qinghai.

At this time the most important peoples left living to the north and south of the Tian Shan were the Dzungars, the Dörbets, the Khoyits and a few clans of the Khoshots and the Torguts. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, a great power was gradually formed in the north-west of China. With the Dzungar nobility as its core, it comprised the Oirat tribes as well as other Mongol and Turkic-speaking tribes (some historical works refer to this as the Dzungar khanate, although technically it could be so-called only from 1678 when Galdan claimed the title of khan). For this reason, the word Dzungar is often used as the general term for all those Oirat tribes who remained in the region north and south of the Tian Shan.

The rise and fall of the Dzungar empire

THE RISE OF THE DZUNGARS

In discussing the history of the rise of the Dzungars, one must first mention Khara Khula (?–1634), also known as Kutughtu Khara Khula, who held the title of *dogshin noyon*. In 1587, together with the Khoshot Boibeghus and others, he repulsed an attack by the Khalkha Mongol Ubashi Khongtaiji. In the 1620s he waged several wars against the Khotokhoyit tribe; having suffered many setbacks he was finally driven, along with the Dzungar tribe, back to the area north of the Tian Shan. Thereafter his strength gradually increased and he became the leader of a new Mongol alliance. This laid the foundations for the greatness achieved by his son Khotochin, known to history as Ba'atur Khongtaiji.

Ba'atur Khongtaiji's reign lasted from 1634 to 1653. In 1635 the Dalai Lama conferred on him the title of Erdeni Baa'tur Khongtaiji. After uniting the Dzungars under his rule he became the leader of the *chighulghan* alliance together with the Khoshot ruler Uchirtu Sechen Khan. In 1640, together with the Khalkha Jasaghtu Khan, he convened a meeting of the tribal leaders of the Oirat and the Khalkha tribes at Tarbagatay (present-day Tacheng; however, one theory holds that the alliance meeting was held in the pastures of the Jasaghtu Khan) and drew up the *Oirat Mongol Legal Code*, which played an important role in

regulating relations between the tribes, consolidating the tribal system, giving strong support to the Yellow Hat sect and providing for joint resistance to external aggression. Baa'tur Khongtaiji patronized the invention of the Todo Mongol script and adopted policies to develop husbandry and handicrafts. Moreover, with Khobogh-sair, he built temples, warehouses, houses and urban centres. In the process of extending his authority towards the south-west, he clashed with the Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Noghay peoples on several occasions, forcing the Kazakhs and others to accept his suzerainty and pay tribute.

Ba'atur Khongtaiji had close relations with the Qing and in 1646 he and Güshi Khan jointly sent tribute to the Qing court. In 1650 he again sent an envoy to carry the tribute. He also exchanged envoys and trade with Russia, but resisted Russian expansion into Dzungar territory. After his death in 1653, he was succeeded by his fifth son Sengge (1653–71). Sengge continued to strengthen the relationship with the Qing court, offering tribute and maintaining friendly relations. In 1671 he was killed by his elder half-brothers and was succeeded by his younger brother Galdan, who set out to avenge his assassination.

Galdan (1671–97) was the sixth son of Baa'tur Khongtaiji. He had been sent as a lama to Tibet, serving the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–82). In 1671, hearing that his elder brother had been killed, he returned to Dzungaria, where after a violent struggle he established himself as the *khongtaiji*. In 1679, leading a force of 30,000 men, he occupied Hami and Turfan. In the same year he took the title Boshoghtu Khan. In 1680, on the orders of the Dalai Lama, he led a cavalry force of 120,000 to the south of the Tian Shan to assist the Islamic White Mountaineer faction led by Āfāq Khoja (1679–94) in their struggle against the Black Mountaineers. He led his forces through Aksu and Osh to attack Kashghar and destroy the khanate of Yarkand. From 1681 to 1684 he led expeditions to the west against the Kazakhs, the Noghays and others, and his troops penetrated as far as the area of the Black Sea. He moved the centre of government to the Ili valley (Fig. 1). The pastures of the Dzungar tribes stretched north as far as the Altai mountains, west to the south of Lake Balkhash, and east to the upper reaches of the Yenisei river; and their power extended to the borders of the Bukhara and Khiva khanates. Galdan also adopted a series of policies to conserve manpower for military service, improve military equipment and develop production. One source states that 'he encouraged allegiance, he honoured certain ministers, he was apt at appraising latent talent, he experimented with farming and herding, he favoured clear laws and regulations, he believed in reward and punishment and he refined the machinery of war'.[43] He received the Qing envoy Qi Tuote and subsequently sent tribute on many occasions.

[43] Liang Bin, 1988, p. 420.



Fig. 1. Landscape of the Ili valley. (Photo: © UNESCO/S. Simsombat.)

Conflict with the Qing was to prove his undoing. The conflict was brought about by his invasion of the territories of the Khalkha Mongols in 1688. He suffered two severe defeats at Ulan Butung (present-day Inner Mongolia, in the area of Keshenketengqi) (1690) and Jaghunmodo (present-day Zongmode to the south of Ulaanbaatar in Mongolia) (1696) and was completely overthrown and died as fugitive in 1697.

THE HEYDAY OF THE DZUNGAR EMPIRE

After Galdan's troops had been defeated, his people were scattered and the Dzungar tribes suffered a great setback. But under Cewang Arabtan (1697–1727) and his son Galdan Cering (1727–45), not only did they rapidly regain their original strength, they also embarked on the road to expansion.

Cewang Arabtan was the eldest son of Sengge. At first, together with his younger brother Sonom Arabtan, he depended on the pastures of his uncle Galdan. In 1688 his younger brother was killed by Galdan, whereupon Cewang Arabtan moved his pastures to Borotala. In order to extend his authority, he sent an envoy to the Qing court with tribute and took the opportunity of Galdan's wars with the Qing army and the Khalkhas to advance into the area of Kobdo. In 1697, after Galdan's death, he assumed control of all the Dzungar pastures and continued to rule the region of southern Xinjiang, his authority extending

to the lower reaches of the Syr Darya. Subsequently, in order to protect the nomad pastures of the north-west, he clashed several times with the tsar's troops.

In 1717, on the pretext of escorting his son-in-law He-er-dan-dan-ai and daughter Bo-tuo-luo-ke back to Tibet, Cewang Arabtan dispatched troops into Tibet. The following year he occupied Lhasa, killed the Khoshot Latsang Khan and then attacked the Qing army. In 1725 he requested and obtained the Qing court's permission to demarcate the pastures between Turfan and the Khalkhas and allow his traders to pass through the Khalkha territories. On his death in 1727, he was succeeded by his son Galdan Cering. In the time of Cewang Arabtan and Galdan Cering, although there were occasional conflicts with the surrounding peoples, the situation was generally quite stable. Moreover with light corvées and taxes and the adoption of a series of policies to encourage production, the economy could develop. The system of laws and regulations was further improved and there was considerable development in culture and the arts (for details see below).

INTERNAL CONFLICT AMONG THE DZUNGARS AND THEIR DECLINE

In 1745 Galdan Cering died and a fierce struggle developed for power. After his second son Cewang Dorji Namgyal (1732–50) succeeded Galdan Cering in early 1746, a cousin Lama Darja (1726–52) led an uprising in 1750. He claimed the title of khan, but many of the *taiji*s did not submit to him. Davachi (?–1759), another member of the family, whose pastures were in the Tarbagatay region, united with Amursana, the leader of the Khoyits, and in 1752 attacked and killed Lama Darja and ascended the throne. Once Amursana (1723–57) had established himself, however, he no longer wished to take orders from Davachi and war broke out between them. In June 1754 Davachi led an army of 30,000 to inflict a great defeat on Amursana. In August, Amursana and his followers passed through Kobdo and offered their allegiance to the Qing emperor. Prior to this, the Dzungar tribe of the Jaisan-salars, and the 'Three Cerings' of the Dörbets (Cering, Cering Ubashi and Cering Möngke) had already submitted to the Qing. At the end of that year, the Qing court decided to send a two-pronged expedition into Dzungaria.

In January 1755 the northern Qing army set out from Uliassutai and the western army from Balikun, having arranged to reunite at the River Borotala. The expedition was joined by the leaders of the Oirat tribes who had submitted to the Qing. At the beginning of May, the two wings of the army joined up at Borotala and pressed on to Ili. In the middle of the month, the Qing forces made a surprise attack on the Ge-deng mountains (in the present-day Zhaosu district of Xinjiang). Davachi was defeated and fled to the south of the Tian Shan. There he was captured by Huojisi (Khojis), the *hākim beg* (governor) of Uch-Turfan, and was handed over to the Qing army to be escorted under arms to Beijing. The Qianlong

emperor (1735–96) was especially appreciative of Huojisi's services; he honoured him with the title of *qinwang* and had him settle in the capital.

Amursana, who had planned to become the *khongtaiji* of the Four Oirat tribes, was disappointed by what he received from the Qing. He rose in rebellion, but, defeated by the Qing army in 1757, he fled to Russia to die in exile. This marked the end of the unified Dzungar khanate.

Having brought the north-west under control in October 1762, the Qing court officially established the 'military governor at Ili' as the highest military authority stationed in Xinjiang and also appointed assistant military governors and commanders for the region. The military government was established at Huiyuan (now in the district of Huocheng), and separate Manchu, Sibo, Chahar and Oirat camps were also set up at Ili. The Oirat camp was divided into the right and left wings. The right wing ultimately comprised fourteen assistant commanders and five banners, called the 'five lower banners'; and the left wing comprised six assistant commandants and three banners, called the 'three upper banners'.[44] The establishment of the Oirat camp caused many of the scattered Dzungar tribesmen to return to the Ili region and to become subjects of the Qing government.

The Torguts' return from the Volga

In the early seventeenth century, it will be remembered, approximately 50,000 families of nomadic Torguts had crossed the Kazakh steppes and reached the lower reaches of the Volga. At that time Russia was still far from conquering the great steppes, which had been home to the Noghays, before the great westward migrations of the Torguts. The Torguts took advantage of the fine natural environment, water, pasture and good climate to graze their herds and hunt.[45] They established their *otoq* (clan) and *jaisang* (*caixang* in Chinese), meaning 'chief'.[46] The period the Torguts stayed on the Volga spanned the reigns of eight chiefs, namely, Kho Örlöq (1630–44), Shükür Daiching (1644 or 1646–61), Puntsuk (1661–70), Ayuki (1670–1724), who held the title of khan, Cering Dondop (1724–35), Dondop Wangbu (1735–41), Dondop Rashi (1741–61) and Ubashi (1761–75).

Although the Torguts had migrated to the distant banks of the Volga, they maintained contact with their ancestral areas through numerous political, economic and religious channels. In 1640 Kho Örlöq returned to his homeland to participate in the Khalkha and Oirat alliance and the drawing up of the jointly formulated *Oirat Mongol Legal Code*. In 1646

[44] Fu Ge, 1984; Jihuang, 1988; Song Yun, 1821.
[45] Qishiyi (Chunyuan), 1771. (Another version of this work omits this passage: Qishiyi (Chunyuan), 1818.)
[46] Qi Yunshi, 1807.

Shükür Daiching followed the Khoshot Güshi Khan in offering tribute to the Qing court – by attaching his name to the embassy. In 1655 Shükür Daiching independently 'dispatched Sharbombo to offer tribute',[47] and thereafter there was a regular flow of missives and tribute. In 1709 Ayuki Khan sent Lama Sa-mu-dan by way of western Siberia to take tribute goods from Kunlun to the Qing capital.[48] In 1707 the Kang Xi emperor (1661–1722) sent the Tu Lichen embassy via western Siberia; in 1714 it reached the encampment of Ayuki at Manu Tokhoi, where it was given a warm and respectful reception by Ayuki. Following this, in the period 1729–31, the Mantai embassy went to visit Cering Dondop, and the Torgut embassy took tribute to Beijing; in 1756 the Chui-zha-bu embassy went to the Qing court. During this period, the Torgut chief also sent an envoy to Tibet with tea for Buddhist ceremonies and kept up all kinds of communication with the Dzungars. These links are some of the reasons why Ubashi later led his people back east from the Volga.

In 1761 Dondop Rashi died and the 19-year-old Ubashi became khan. From this time the oppression and restrictions imposed on the Torguts by Russia became ever more severe: not only did the Russians limit the khan's authority by reorganizing the *jarghu*s,[49] but they also encouraged the Cossacks and others to move *en masse* to the banks of the Volga, so that the Torgut pastures were increasingly reduced. After 1765 Torgut soldiers were frequently sent by Russia to fight against neighbouring states, causing the loss of large numbers of Torguts on the battlefield.

Driven to the wall, Ubashi Khan and the chieftains Cebeg Dorji, Shereng and Lama Lobcang Jalsan decided to return east to their old homeland. On 5 January 1771, 33,360 households, totalling more than 168,080 people, all of whom had grazed their livestock on the banks of the Volga, set off on the long return journey under the leadership of Ubashi. In the course of their long trek they were attacked by the Cossack military and intercepted by Kazakhs and Bashkirs. Led by Ubashi, they finally arrived at the Ili in July of the same year, having completed the fantastically long journey in seven months. As a result of the hardships they had endured, their numbers were drastically reduced: only 15,793

[47] Qi Yunshi, 1846*a*.

[48] Qi Yunshi, 1846*b*.

[49] Below the khan, eight *jarghu*s were established: in Mongolian their members were called *jarghuchi*, which means 'the administrator of lawsuits' – this was the structure that enforced the khan's rule. Local administrative organization was carried out by the head of the *ulūs* and the *aymak*, supported by the tax official (*shulegge*), the village head (*jimchi*), the messengers (*elchi*s), etc.

households, with 66,073 people, finally arrived at the Ili.[50] This immense loss of life was recorded by the Emperor Qianlong himself.[51]

When the Qing court heard the news of the Torguts' return, it dispatched officials to receive them and make arrangements for them. On 8 July 1771 the vanguard, led by Cebeg Dorji, was met by the Qing troops on the banks of the River Chalin along the reaches of the River Ili. On 16 July the Qing military superintendents Yi Changa and Shuo Tong met the newly arrived Ubashi and Shereng on the banks of the Ili. Emperor Qianlong specifically dispatched the governor-general of Ili, Shu Hede, to take control of the reception arrangements. He had the people temporarily settled near the Ili, gave them relief supplies and later designated pastures for them. In September, when Qianlong was at his summer retreat at Chengde, he received Ubashi and enfeoffed him as Jorightu Khan. Cebeg Dorji received the title *Bu-yan-tu qinwang*, and Shereng, the title *Bi-li-ke-tu junwang.* Others were also given high titles and rewards.

The help extended by the Qing court to the returning Torguts was quite considerable. Large quantities of supplies were promptly transported from Xinjiang itself, as well as Gansu, Shanxi, Ningxia and Inner Mongolia. In his *You xu Tu-er-hu-te bu zhong ji* [Account of Special Relief for the Torguts], the emperor records their living necessities as amounting to over 200,000 head of cattle and sheep, more than 40,000 *dan*s (1 *dan* = 50–60 kg) of grain, over 20,000 bricks of tea, more than 50,000 hides, over 60,000 bolts of cotton cloth, 60,000 catties of raw cotton and a large amount of felt.

Subsequently the Qing court designated pastures for the Volga Torguts and established banners according to the genealogies of the original Torgut tribes. East Tarbagatay, and the area of the Irtysh, the Borotala, the Emin and the Jayir west of Kobdo were designated as their pasturelands and Ubashi, Cebeg Dorji, Shereng, Bambar, Mo-men-tu, Gong-ge and others were made league chiefs.

In 1773 and 1775 the Qing court again carried out a survey of the Torgut tribes and pastures. The people under Ubashi, called the Old Torguts, were divided into four 'circuits', north, south, east and west, and four leagues were established, each with a league chief who was issued with the official stamp. The details of the divisions were as follows: on the southern circuit, on the Yoldos plain north of Karashahr (present-day Yanqi), four leagues were established with Ubashi as the league chief (later his son Cereng Namjal was enfoeffed as league chief); on the northern circuit, at Khoboch Sair, three banners were

[50] These statistics are taken from a memorial to Fu Longan in Qianlong 36.9.12, deposited in the Torgut archive (Manchu) of the First Historical Archives. For details on the author see the collection *Manwen Tu-er-hu-te dangn´an shi bian*, 1988, pp. 135–45.

[51] Hongli (Qianlong emperor) inscription, 1771.

established with Cebeg Dorji as the league chief; on the western circuit, in the area of the River Jing, one banner with Mo-men-tu as the banner chief; and, on the eastern circuit, in the area of Ku-er-ha-la-wu-su (Wusu district), two banners with Bambar as the league chief.

Those under the leadership of Shereng Junwang were referred to as the New Torguts and were settled on pastures in the Kobdo and Altai regions, where they established two banners with Shereng as their league chief. The Gong-ge Khoshot tribes had their pastures on the shores of Lake Boston (the area of present-day Heshuo district), where they established four banners with Gong-ge as their league chief. The Torguts hereafter increased in number and they form a significant component of the present population of Xinjiang.

The socio-economic and cultural development of the Oirats

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Husbandry

Nomadic herding was the basis of the Oirat Mongol economy. The Oirats bred horses, cattle, sheep and goats, as well as camels. The people relied on their animals for the basics of clothing, food and transport, as is indicated in the saying, ‘When hungry they eat their meat, when thirsty they drink their milk, when cold they wear their skins, they serve all their needs, everything they get comes from the herds.’ Even the yurts that the Mongols lived in were made of wood and felt. Consequently, if one asked ‘who is the wealthiest and strongest, they answer[ed] by counting the size of the herds’.[52] Because stockbreeding held such significance in their lives, the battles between the Oirats and the surrounding tribes were often connected with the possession of pastureland and animals. The pastures in the areas of the Ili, Urumqi, Yaer, Emin, Manas, Zhuledusi and Bayandai provided an ample supply of good grass and water so that the herds increased continually.

According to the reports of the Oirat tribes who had given their allegiance to the Qing court, in Dzungaria a man with 200–300 head of cattle and 400–500 sheep was wealthy (upper class), while one with 40–50 cattle and 200– 300 sheep was well-off (middle class).[53] Whenever the Dzungars sent tribute to the Qing court, the horses and camels regularly numbered 10,000; when someone was sentenced for a criminal act, the fine was often 100 camels, 1,000 horses and’several nines’ of cattle and sheep.[54] A chief’s gift to a high

[52] Fu Heng, 1782*c*.
[53] *Manwen yuezhi dang*, Yongzheng 11.9.19.
[54] Gol’stunskiy, 1880, p. 36, Articles 1 and 2.

lama might amount to between 5,000 and 10,000 head of cattle and the cost of sending ceremonial tea to Tibet might amount to 10,000 horses.[55] These figures are undoubtedly exaggerated, yet they reflect the Oirat dependence on animal husbandry. Indeed, the description in one source of 'nearly 100,000 men drawing bows, and herds filling the valleys'[56] vividly depicts how the Oirats lived in the eighteenth century.

Agricultural

Agricultural production was regarded as important even during the time of Baa'tur Khongtaiji, but at that time it was limited in scale and was only carried out in the area around the central encampment of the *taiji*. But in the eighteenth century, during the time of Cewang Arabtan and his son, farming received a strong impetus. In addition to using prisoners of war to carry out agriculture and horticulture, Cewang Arabtan and his son also forced a number of Uighur peasants from Uch-Turfan, Aksu, Kashghar and Yarkand to go to the areas of Ili and Urumqi to work on the land for the Dzungar chiefs. Consequently, many agricultural skills such as seasonal planting, constructing ditches and paths in the rural communities[57] and digging irrigation channels were introduced into Dzungaria. Many among the Dzungars started to engage in agriculture for their livelihood or began to supplement herding with agriculture.

In the Ili region 'farmers were widespread',[58] 'special attention was paid to dividing the land into fields'[59] and 'almost 10,000 people were engaged in agriculture'.[60] In 1723, when the Russian Unkovskiy visited the Ili, he recorded in his work *Embassy to Dzungaria,* 'now not only the captives from Bukhara but also many Kalmuks till the land. They grow wheat, barley, millet, pumpkins, melons, grapes, apricots and apples'.[61]

In the region of Urumqi, along the Irtysh and in the area of Sain Dala and Karashahr, agriculture was also fairly advanced: the tilled land was extended and the techniques of cultivation became more and more widespread.[62] The Dörbets who inhabited the reaches of the Irtysh took advantage of 'the fertile river bank which favoured sowing and reaping'[63]

[55] *La-te-na-bo-ha-de-le*, 1959, pp. 8–13, 21–3.
[56] Chunyuan, 1818.
[57] Fu Heng, 1782*c*.
[58] *Qing Gaozong shilüe*, 1964*a*.
[59] *Pingding Zhunha'er fanglüe*, 1772.
[60] *Qing Gaozong shilüe*, 1967.
[61] Quoted from Saguchi Tōru, 1966, p. 156. The people he refers to as Bukharans are mainly Uighurs, also known as *tariyachins* (tillers).
[62] Fu Heng, 1782*e*.
[63] Xu Song, 1897.

and gained a reputation for their agriculture and for the use of irrigation.[64] They also helped the armies of Galdan Cering and the Qing to establish agricultural colonies on the Irtysh. The Dzungars not only grew basic foodstuffs such as wheat, barley and several other kinds of grain, but also a variety of fruit and vegetables: indeed 'there was almost no fruit or grain they did not grow'.[65] However, their method of ploughing was crude and the development of agriculture was limited, so at that time the diet of the wealthy Dzungars consisted of 'animal milk and wheat meal in summer, and meat and millet in winter; the poor had to exist with milk-tea'.[66]

Handicraftss

The Dzungars continued to practise their traditional domestic handicrafts, the men making wooden utensils, saddles, carts and weapons, while the women produced *kumiss* (fermented mare's milk), leather products, felt carpets, clothes and shoes. In addition, the Dzungar rulers selected artisans from among their captives and other peoples to establish the production of cotton and woollen goods, leather processing, paper-making, printing, smelting and the manufacture of guns, thus opening up many new techniques of production.

Among these, the most noteworthy were developments in mining, smelting and the manufacture of weapons. Dzungaria was rich in mineral resources, with much copper, iron, tin and aluminium, and it also produced sulphur. Because of their need of weaponry the Dzungar rulers opened iron, copper and silver mines and produced spears, shields, gunpowder, cannon, bullets and iron utensils.

Dzungar officialdom included the *urad*s (who were specifically responsible for the production of ironware and weapons), the *altachin*s (who were responsible for the production of Buddhist statues), the *kötöchinar*s (who were responsible for erecting the Mongol yurts for the khan and the important *taiji*s) and the *pouchinar*s (who looked after the military camp and the weapons and had under them the *pouchin*s, who were specifically responsible for looking after cannon). It is apparent that the smelting of iron was already undertaken on a fairly large scale, and the division of labour was also gradually refined, with specialized *otoq*s (clans) being formed. In the 24 Dzungar *otoq*s, there were 5,000 households of *urad otoq*s, 500 households of *altachin otoq*s, 4,000 of *kötöchinar otoq*s and 3,000 of *pouchin*s and *jahachin otoq*s (of which the *pouchin*s numbered 1,000 households).[67]

[64] Zhang Mu, 1938.
[65] Fu Heng, 1782*e*.
[66] Fu Heng, 1782*e*.
[67] Fu Heng, 1782*b*.

The Dzungars attached great importance to the manufacture of firearms, which can be divided into three main types according to their form and relative use:

> They used iron for the case and the middle was filled with saltpetre and lead bullets. Some were 2 or 3 ft (60–90 cm) long with a diameter of 3 in. (76 mm); such guns were fired from the backs of camels. Others were 2 or 3 ft long, with a diameter of 5 or 6 in. (125–150 mm) and were released from wooden stands. Others were over 4 ft (1.2 m) long, like the fowling-piece used in the interior of China, to be held in the hand and fired.[68]

In 1762 the Qing army dug up 4 large Dzungar bronze cannon pieces, 8 soaring cannon and over 10,000 shells at Te-mu-er-li-ke (to the north-east of present-day Lake Yi-sai-ke and south of the River Chalin).[69]

The Dzungars undoubtedly owed certain improvements in their manufacture to the Swedish sergeant Renat, previously a Russian prisoner and then captured by the Dzungars in 1715–16. Staying in Dzungaria until 1733, he claimed he had taught them the art of casting cannon and even set up a printing shop for them.[70]

Trade

Although Dzungar handicrafts had attained a certain level of development, many necessities still had to be provided by neighbouring tribes or obtained through trade with people of the central plains. From the time of Ba'atur Khongtaiji through to Sengge and Galdan, trade between the Dzungars and the interior was continuous. At the beginning of Cewang Arabtan's rule, trade multiplied and 'local tribute produce and envoys of goodwill were on the road continuously'.[71] Initially the majority of the traders took the route via Hami, Jiayuguan and Suzhou to Beijing. Later they took the Khalkha route (i.e. via Kobdo and Guihuacheng). In addition to the goods that the merchants took to Beijing, many were sold *en route*. In the time of Galdan Cering, the conflict with the Qing somewhat affected trade, but after 1735 it was revived and developed. Almost every year there were traders driving large numbers of oxen, sheep, horses and camels carrying large quantities of hides, sal ammoniac, grapes and deer horns streaming towards Suzhou and Dong-ke-er to sell their goods, and bringing back goods such as silk, cotton, tea, rhubarb and pottery. Moreover, it was stipulated that every four years the Dzungar traders could go to Beijing via Hami and Suzhou and Xi'an to trade. Later, because of the vast distance involved, the Beijing trade was moved to Suzhou, and the Suzhou market was held biannually instead of once every

[68] Fu Heng, 1782*d*.
[69] *Qing Gaozong shilu*, 1964.
[70] See Barthold, 1956, pp. 163–4. He also drew up a map of Dzungaria showing the main camping sites of the Dzungars, for which see below (sub-section on 'maps').
[71] *Qing Shengzu shilu*, 1964.

four years. In addition to the official markets, a great deal of private trade was also conducted. Simultaneously the Dzungar tribes often traded with the other peoples of Central Asia and they travelled with Muslim merchants to Samarkand and other cities to exchange goods. They also traded with Russian settlements to the north.

As the Dzungar capital, Ili occupied an important position in this commerce. Merchants of different countries frequently went there to trade; one account states that ‘people were numerous and goods plentiful, it was the great meeting point of the Western Regions’.[72] The Dzungar economy thus attained a certain level of prosperity – ‘their herding grounds were vast, their animals multiplied’[73] – and they obtained much of what they lacked by trade.

CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Changes in the social organization and official system of the Oirats

Following the collapse of the authority of the Yüan dynasty, Mongol society began necessarily to undergo changes. By the fifteenth century, the ‘10,000’ households established by Chinggis Khan had gradually been replaced by the *ulūs* (in Mongolian, a large territory), and the ‘1,000’ households had been replaced by the *otoq* (tribe, clan or military camp). Mongols who were either of the same surname or related were formed into an *ayanle*; from the *ayanle* or *khotan* they formed an *aymak* (meaning a branch of a tribe or family); the *otoq*s were formed from the *aymak*s, and the *ulūs* from the *otoq*s.

The *ulūs* of the Dzungars, the Dörbets, the Torguts, the Khoyits and so on were ruled by khans, *khongtaiji*s and *taishi*s (*taiji*s); each *otoq* was under a *jaisang*. In general these were all hereditary leaders, and they assigned to customarily designated officials under them the charge of various administrative functions. In the seventeenth century the social and political structures of the Dzungar state gradually became more complex, the officials also increased in number and the system was continually perfected.

In the eighteenth century, the three most important elements of the social structure of the Dzungar khanate were the *otoq*, the *anji* and the *jisai*. The *otoq*s belonged directly to the social group of the khan. There were a total of 24 old and new *otoq*s, that is 88,300 households. Beneath them the levels of organization comprised the *aymak*, the ‘200’ households, the ‘40’ households, the ‘20’ households, the *ayanle*, and so on.

Anji is the Mongolian for ‘branch’, ‘section’ or ‘unit’ and was the territory administered by a *taiji*. In times of war these *taiji*s had to lead their troops to follow the Great Khan on

[72] Fu Heng, 1782*a*.
[73] Zhao Lian, 1980.

his campaigns; consequently, the *anji* also had the nature of a military organization. In the time of Rabdan Cering there were 21 *anji*s altogether, approximately 100,000 households, led by a powerful *taiji* from each Oirat tribe. In order to strengthen control over them, the khan required the *taiji*s to live in the area of the 21 *anji*s in order to administer the nomads. They were known as the '6 nomad *taiji*s'. Normally the collection of tribute and important duties were undertaken by the *otoq*s, and the *anji*s merely assumed responsibility for miscellaneous provisions. However, 'there was no one who led out soldiers and [yet] did not heed the command of the khan'.

Jisai is the Mongolian for 'squad', 'duty' or 'turn'. It constituted the department for administering affairs of the lamas or the Buddhist priesthood, similar to the Qing dynasty's lama banner. In the eighteenth century, in order to 'revive the Yellow Hat sect' and 'let the masses live peacefully', Galdan Cering built the huge Ghulja and Khainuk temples on the banks of the River Ili. He gathered several thousand lamas and bade them take turns, reciting the scriptures in these two temples. Moreover, he allocated the common people to them and established *jisai*s especially to provide for the lamas, thus forming a group for the territory of the temple: at first there were 5 *jisai*s, but later another 4 were added. They controlled more than 6,000 lamas and 10,600 households of serving people. In the *Complete Record of the Dzungars* the Emperor Qianlong notes, 'Estimating the 24 *otoq*s of the khan, the 9 *jisai*s and the 21 *anji*s of each *taiji*, they number over 200,000 households and more than 600,000 people.'[74]

According to the *Oirat Mongol Legal Code*, the *Complete Record of the Dzungars*, the *Old Official System of the Dzungars* and other accounts, the khan (the *khongtaiji*, or Great Taiji) was the highest commander-in-chief of the Dzungars. Below him were the officials or chiefs from the *ulūs*-level and the *otoq*-level, or they could be divided into officials of the various departments of government.

The governing structure of the *ulūs* was as follows. Below the khan were the *tushimel*s (Mongolian for 'government officials'). The *tushimel*s were the Oirat officials who participated in the highest affairs of government, equivalent to chancellors or chief ministers. There were four of them, and they managed all the important affairs of the *otoq* and the *anji*. *Jarguchi* is Mongolian for 'one who administers lawsuits': these officials (there were 6 of them) were responsible for the administration of justice in the *ulūs*; they assisted the *tushimel*s in managing political affairs and in dealing with all criminal cases. *Demechi* is the Mongolian word for 'nimble' and 'helper': these were the officials responsible for the affairs of the royal household, being the stewards of the *taiji*s. But they also looked after

[74] *Donghua lu* (1887), *Qing Gaozong shilüe* (1964*b*) and *Xiyu tuzhi* (1782) all record this information; the substance is the same but the proper names vary slightly.

taxes from the pasturelands, the corvée extracted from Muslims and the reception of the Kyrgyz envoys. The *albachi jaisang*s were officials responsible for the tribute from the 24 *otoq*s and the 21 *anji*s; below them were about 100 *albachi*s (Mongolian for 'those on duty') to assist in the dispatch of tribute.

As mentioned above, the *ulūs* also had officials in control of special departments; they also formed the specialized *otoq*s, for example, the *kötöchinar*s ('those who support the house duty '; in other words, the people who build houses). These were the people who undertook the building of all the Mongol yurts and other structures for the khan. *Jahachin* is Mongolian for 'one who guards the border'; his main responsibility was to guard the frontier, to attend for duty at the *karun*s (guard-posts) and to go on border patrol. The *uruds* ('handicraft worker' in Mongolian) took charge of ironwork. The *urud*s were responsible for making military weapons and all kinds of utensils. The *altachin*s (goldsmiths) looked after the business of making Buddhas. *Pouchinar*s ('munitions men') looked after the military camp and firearms. In addition, according to the *Oirat Mongol Legal Code* and other records, there were military officials, envoys, bodyguards, aides to military officials, and so on.

The *jaisang* looked after an *otoq*. Sometimes one *jaisang* looked after one *otoq*, sometimes there were three or four *jaisang*s looking after one *otoq*. Below the *jaisang*s were the *darūgha*s, the officials in charge of military affairs and civil government. Sometimes the term was also used for the head of a unit at the lowest level of the *otoq*, such as the leader of 10 households. *Jasagul* means 'one who implements government and law', that is the civil administrator. The *demchi* (inspector) looked after 40 to 100 or 200 households. The task of the assistant *darūgha* was to manage the affairs of the *otoq*, his responsibility being to transmit important orders, collect taxes, protect the people's welfare, arrange marriages and so on. The *shulegge*s (tax officials) were also in charge of 20 households; below them were the *alban-ni-aha*s, or the heads of 10 households, these being the lowest level of officials who assisted the *shulegge* in managing the affairs of the *otoq*. The *hoshochi*s were officials in control of the army; sometimes they were also the heads of the *otoq*. After the eighteenth century, the chief ministers were usually designated *hoshochi*s.

The *jisai*s were similar to the *otoq*s and they were also governed by the *jaisang*s. Below them were several officials who governed the people attached to the temples. The temple affairs were administered by the upper stratum of lamas, the *kutughtu*s, and the *chorji*s. When it comes to the ruling structure of the *anji*s, there is no precise record in the historical accounts. According to an analysis of scattered references in the *Qing shilu* and other such works, below the *taiji*s, the *jaisang*s were also appointed to govern the *anji*s, as in the *otoq* system.

Although some aspects of the Oirat system of government are still not clear to us, it is evident that a fairly complex structure had been established that enabled the Oirats to maintain their hegemony over north-western China and the adjacent Central Asian regions for a long period.[75]

Implementation of the banner system in the Oirat region

As the Qing court brought the north-west under its control, it implemented its own league and banner system in the region of the Oirat tribes. In the Dörbet region of Kobdo, Wu-lan-gu-mu, etc., a total of 14 banners were established, divided into 2 leagues of the left and right. Apart from the 5 lower banners and the 3 upper banners of Dzungars established in the Xinjiang region, 6 Dzungar banners were also established in Qinghai, Kobdo, the area of the Sainoin tribe and Hulun-buir (or 5 banners, with 32 lieutenant colonels in the area of the Rehe Yellow border banner in Rehe, Tarbagatay and Chahar). For the Khoshots 25 banners and 2 leagues were established in the regions of Qinghai, Xinjiang, Kobdo and Alashan; for the Dörbets, 17 banners and 5 leagues in the areas of Qinghai, Xinjiang, Kobdo, Altai and the River Yijil; and for the Khoyits, 4 banners in Kobdo, Qinghai and the region of the Jasaghtu Khan tribes.

The Qing court adopted a policy of divide-and-rule towards the Oirat Mongols, and in settling them in certain territories they made every effort to avoid any strengthening of their blood ties. On the one hand, they established banner-league officials on the lines of the internal *jasak*s of the Khalkha Mongols: in addition to the chief *jasak* of the banner, or the chief official, the officials in charge of the banner comprised the assistant *taiji*, deputy adjutants, assistant lieutenant-governor, colonel and lieutenant colonel. On the other hand, they allowed elements of the old official system which were not an obstacle to Qing rule to be preserved, thereby appeasing the Oirats. In determining the offices of *jasak* down to the imperial guard they copied every level of older official titles: the khans were still called khans and some of them held the office of league chief; the *taiji*s became *jasak*s; the *jaisang*s were made rank officials; the *demchi*s became lieutenant colonels; and the *shu-legge*s became imperial guards. Furthermore, they were each granted appropriate emoluments. In order to oversee the leagues and banners that had been formed from the various Oirat tribes, a central structure was established in the strategic areas of Kobdo, Tarbagatay and Ili; it was connected with the interior by poststations and garrisoned by Chahar, Solon and Kharachin troops. In this way the Oirat nobility with the status of *wanggong jasak* of

[75] For details, see Du Rongkun and Bai Cuiqin, 1986, pp. 198–218.

the Qing dynasty administered their own peoples and continued to do so until the beginning of the twentieth century.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE AND THE ARTS

The development of the Todo script

In 1648, after many years of study, Zaya Pandita, a high-ranking Khoyit monk and scholar, created the Todo script based on the old Uighur-Mongolian script; it was known as Oirat script. The Mongols called it *Todo bichig*, suggesting that it was clear, lucid and precise. According to the *Xiyu tuzhi* [Illustrated Record of the Western Regions], 'There are a total of 15 initial letters and each initial letter has 7 sounds. It is written in columns from the right using a wooden brush.'[76] It could express the pronunciation of the Oirat dialect fairly clearly and accurately and was very close to the colloquial. The development of the Todo script bridged the gap between Tibetan and Mongolian cultures and was of great importance in preserving Oirat documents. It is reported that from 1650 to 1662, Zaya Pandita and his students translated more than 200 works into Oirat using the Todo script. The majority were Tibetan Buddhist scriptures, but others concerned medicine, astronomy, history and literature. They included works known in Chinese as the *Jinguangming jing*, the *Jianjie jing*, the *Ming jian* and the famous medical work the *Juxi* (also known as the *Sibu yidian*). Zaya Pandita also recorded the epic poem *Jangghar* in Todo.

Literature

The Oirats have a strong tradition of oral as well as written literature; it includes tales, lyric poetry and epic poetry. *Jangghar* is the Oirat Mongols' contribution to world culture; with the *Geser* and *Manas* it is known as one of the three great historical poems of Central Asia's nomadic peoples. It is thought that several of its sections were produced at a very early period of Oirat social formation and were first circulated among the '100 names of the forest'. Over a long period it was continually developed, added to and improved until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when its form was further perfected. Moreover, thanks to popular artistes, performances of *Jangghar* spread to all the regions inhabited by Mongols. This historical poem successfully portrays the characters of the tribal leader Jangghar, Red Lion Hongor, Wise-man Altancheej, Iron-arm Sabar, Spirit-archer Habutu and Greatdisputer Mingan. It praises the heroes' horsemanship, is redolent of the flavour of nomadic life and reflects the great esteem that the Mongol peoples have for the martial arts and for horses. Against a background of aweinspiring, wild mountainous scenery, the

[76] Fu Heng, 1782*f*.

poem describes Jangghar and his 12 lion-heroes, 35 tiger-generals and 8,000 warriors who lead their people in their struggle against the cruel natural world and the evil Mangas who represents the bandits. Scene after scene reveals spectacles of great vitality showing how the Oirats idolized bravery, despised evil, opposed invaders, sought happiness and together preserved their people's vital and beautiful dream of the Buddhist utopia, *bumba*.

Both the structure and the plot of *Jangghar* are characteristic of the oral culture of the nomadic people. Every section recounts an entire story, which can form a piece on its own suited for performance in nomadic regions; but the entire poem also forms a complete work with Jangghar as its central figure, retaining the continuity of the plot. The language is the beautiful Oirat spoken language, but it is interspersed with local ancient folk songs, prayers, eulogies, maxims and proverbs and possesses the strong and vigorous musical style that characterizes epic poetry. It is preserved in Todo, Uighur-Mongolian, Chinese and Tibetan and has appeared in German, Japanese, Russian, Ukrainian and Georgian translations.

In addition there is *The Kindness of the Celestial Girl*, an ancient myth of the Dörbets. Somewhere between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, prose and poetry versions of the *Tale of Ubashi Khongtaiji of the Mongols* were composed.

Historical accounts

From the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century, the Oirat Mongols produced several works that are part legend, part history. The most important were the *Biography of Zaya Pandita*, compiled by La-te-na-bo-ha-de-le (completed in book form in about 1690); the *History of the Four Oirats* (also translated as the *Story of the Oirats*), compiled by Gelong-he-ban-sha-la-bu, a Dörbet *noyan* (noble), and completed in 1739; and the *Story of the Dörbet Oirats*, written by the Khoshot noble Baa'tur wu-be-shen-qiu-mian and completed in 1819. Other works include the *History of the Four Oirats* by an unknown author (completed in about 1751), a *Brief History of the Kalmuks* (completed in about 1755), the *History of Kho Örlöq* (completed around the 1770s), the *History of the Court of the Hereditary Sage Chinggis Khan*, the *Genealogies of the Old Torgut Wu-na-en-su-zhu-ke-tu* and the *New Torgut He-qing.se-te-qi-le-tu*. These histories tell of the origins of the various tribes of the Oirat Mongols, the important events in their history, their genealogies, the ceremonies for proclaiming someone a Buddha, the Oirats' sending of their sons to Tibet to study the scriptures, and the process of the spread of the Yellow Hat throughout the Oirat region. Consequently, they contribute valuable material to the study of the politics, economics, culture and religion of the Oirat peoples.

Law

The Oirat Mongols made an important contribution in the field of law. As early as the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century, the Oirat rulers had drawn up a legal code based on original customary law and were using the common law to consolidate and strengthen the Oirat league. Only eight sections of the old legal code, the *Chaghaja-yin bichig*, are, however, extant.[77]

In 1640, thanks to the efforts of Baa'tur Khongtaiji and Jasaghtu Khan, the famous *Oirat Mongol Legal Code* (called in short the *Oirat Legal Code*) was drawn up, being written in Mongolian. Scholars have divided it into 121 or 151 articles. Its contents include regulations about monks and religion, post-stations and taxes, family life and marriage, husbandry and hunting, private property and hereditary rights, criminal law and trial systems, and relationships between the tribes and armed bands. It is an important document for the study of seventeenth-century Mongol society and customs. Together with the later *Kalkha jirum* (legal code) and the *Sub-statutes of the LifanYüan*, it is held to be one of the three great works of Mongol law. In addition, in 1677 and 1678 Galdan also promulgated the 'first decree' and the 'second supplementary decree' in order to strengthen control over his people. Cewang Arabtan and Galdan Cering promulgated a number of regulations concerning the criminal code.[78] The Oirat rulers often carved the khans' decrees in red on mountain-tops or crags. These 'mountain writings' were then seen by the nomadic peoples and respected.[79]

Between 1741 and 1758, in order to strengthen his rule and to fend off external threats, the Torgut Khan Dondop Rashi in the Volga region promulgated the *Dondop Rashi Supplementary Laws*: their contents touched on religious regulations, the legal system, education and warfare.[80] After the Torguts returned to settle in Xinjiang, Ubashi drew up the *Six Articles of Law and Discipline to Guard against Plundering* in 1774. These laws were employed mainly to curb banditry. Not long afterwards the nomads on the banks of Lake Bostan and the Bayanchog Khoshot drew up the *Ten Articles of Law and Discipline to Guard against Disorder*.[81]

77 Pallas, 1776, Ch. 1, pp. 193–4.
78 Fu Heng, 1782*c*.
79 Riasanovsky, 1935, p. 89.
80 For details see Gol'stunskiy, 1880.
81 *Manwen yue zhe dang*, Qianlong 39.1.4-27. See also *Mangwen Tu-er-hu-te dang'an yibian*, 1988, pp. 231–6.

Maps

In 1879 the Swedish poet and novelist Strindberg discovered two documents later known as the Dzungar Maps in the Linköping library.[82] These were called the Kalmuk Dzungar Map and the Kalmuk Map of Central Asia and Asia Minor and had been taken back home by a Swedish artillery sergeant, Renat, who was taken captive by the Dzungars. The map of Dzungaria (also called the First Renat Map) included 250 place names and notes, more than half of which can still be found on present-day maps. According to Renat, this map of the Dzungar area was drawn by Galdan Cering himself (but possibly completed with the help of others).[83] Because these two maps are comparatively detailed in respect of the mountains and rivers, lakes, forests, animals, minerals and peoples of the north-west and the Central Asian region, they have received much attention from scholars and are considered one of the geographic treasures of the heritage both of the Oirats and of China.

Architecture

Following the introduction of Buddhism from Tibet, temples were built and Dzungar architecture made significant progress. Galdan Cering built two temples on the banks of the River Ili. The one on the north bank was called the Ghulja temple and the one on the south side, the Khainuk temple. They were 3 storeys high, 1 *li* in circumference and extremely beautiful. According to historical sources:

> The rooms were of white felt, the walls were of wood; later tiles of gold covered the beams and rafters... They were so tall that they caressed the skies, gold streamers dazzled the sun, the beams and rafters were immense and the Buddhas were solemn and imposing. Monks were assembled to live in these two temples: in the evening they beat the drums and in the morning they sounded the conch shells and the chanting of the Buddhist prayers was exquisite.[84]

> The temples were the most impressive in Mobei. [Every year] at new year and midsummer the worshippers gathered from far and near, often they brought precious jewels to donate and bestowed gold and silver to adorn the temples.[85]

The Ghulja temple was destroyed in the Amursana rebellion. In 1764, during the time of Emperor Qianlong, the Anyuan temple was built at the emperor's summer retreat at Chengde; constructed in the style of the Ghulja temple, it was designed 'to cherish men from afar'.

[82] See Sven Hedin, 1916–22, Ch. 1, pp. 55, 259.
[83] Baddeley, 1919, Vol. 1, p. 172.
[84] Fu Heng, 1782*c*.
[85] Song Yun, 1958.

Part Three

THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN SIBERIA IN THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

(*L. R. Kyzlasov*)

Here, we are essentially concerned with the part of Siberia that includes the imposing mountainous complex of interlinking ridges, summits and highland valleys of the Sayan Altai uplands, which are traversed by countless glaciers and mountain streams and dotted with thousands of lakes. Roughly speaking, the region extends from Lake Zaisan to Lake Baikal.

By the sixteenth century, southern Siberia was inhabited by peoples among whom various Turkic-speaking ethnic groups were numerically dominant. Political formations were based on one or other of these groups, which were divided into territorial appanages, or principalities. The subject populations in the Turkic *ulūs* (tribal domains, or principalities) were for the most part scattered tribes of various ethnic origins living in the taiga, known in Turkic as *qyshtym*s. The aboriginal forest peoples spoke various South Samodic, Ket-Yenisei and Ugrian dialects. As is well known, all the mountain regions of the Old World (the Alps, Caucasus, Tian Shan, Himalayas, etc.) have great ethnic diversity, with each narrow valley boasting its own language or dialect; and this is also true of the Sayan Altai ranges.

The Siberian peoples, who had previously been free from external dependence, saw in the sixteenth century the beginning of large-scale military incursions from the west by Cossack units under the command of the *ataman* Yermak (1582–5). Following the death of Yermak, the conquest of Siberia was pursued by Muscovy*voyevod*s (military governors). Territorial expansion began under Tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible), who died in 1584, and it was continued by his son Fyodor Ivanovich. On the other hand, with the death of Küchüm Khan in 1601, the khanate of western Siberia ceased to exist.

The lands of southern Siberia came under the direct threat of conquest by Russian troops coming from the north-west. At the same time, the Sayan Altai uplands began to be attacked from the south-west and south-east by the armies of two Mongolian-speaking states, the Dzungar khanate and the state of the Khalkha Mongols, headed by the Altan khans (Altan is the Mongolian form; the Turkish form is Altun, both meaning 'Golden').

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all the three powers (the Western and Eastern Mongols, and the Great Russians) engaged in a bitter struggle for control of the rich southern Siberian lands, which provided not only valuable furs, but also the products of agriculture, animal husbandry and iron mines. For the Turkic-speaking inhabitants of southern Siberia, the late sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were, then, a time of hard struggle in order to preserve their independence. For convenience, we can consider their story by focusing separately on the three major geographic divisions of southern Siberia, namely, western, middle and eastern.

The western region of southern Siberia

The western geographic region covers nearly the whole of the Altai uplands and the adjacent steppes of the upper Ob, from Lake Chany in the north-west to the Abakan and the Kuznetski Alatau ranges in the east. In the south, the region borders on the spurs of the Russian and Mongol Altai, which reach down into the upper Irtysh valley. This was the so-called Teleut *zemlitsa* ('little land', or small estate) of Russian historical documents, which was ruled over by local Altaic Teleut dynasties (the Abakovichi and Machikovichi) throughout the seventeenth and into the early eighteenth centuries.[86] For nearly 100 years, the Teleut khanate of Turkic-speaking Altaic tribes valiantly withstood the pressure both of the Russian military forces from the north and of the Dzungars attacking from the south.

Caught between these two expanding powers, the last khanate of the Gorno-Altai had been seriously weakened by the 1680s. This was partly due to the Khalkha–Dzungar war, which flared up in 1688 and continued into 1690–7.[87] The people of the Gorno-Altai were forced to pay *alban* (tribute) to the Dzungars; for that reason they began to be referred to as 'White Kalmuks' in Russian documents. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Teleuts paid no *yasaq* (tax, tribute) to the Russians and left no *amānat*s (hostages or anything given as security) with them.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Mongolian-speaking Oirats to whom the Dzungars belonged occupied the westernmost part of Mongolia from Lake Zaisan and

[86] Umanskiy, 1980.
[87] Zlatkin, 1964.

the town of Karashahr in the west to the Khangai ridge in the east. They fought with the Kazakhs for pastures and traded with the Russians in Siberia. The Oirats had vast herds of livestock. In the mid-sixteenth century, they fought with the eastern Tümed Mongol tribes and were gradually drawn into a hundred years' war with the Khalkha Altan khans.

Initially, the Oirats were divided into a number of independent tribal groups whose princes met from time to time in order to regulate their affairs. The leadership of these assemblies in the late sixteenth century alternated between Baibagas Khan and the Choros khan, Khara Khula.

In 1598 some 500 Kalmuks migrated from the south to the upper reaches of the River Ob, moving on in the seventeenth century to the vicinity of Omsk. In 1607 Oirat emissaries arrived in Tara seeking peace and friendship with the Russians. The Oirat war with the Altan khans resumed at the same time.

In about 1616 the princes of western Mongolia converted to Lamaist Buddhism, making it their official religion. A group of Oirats (the Torguts) crossed the Noghay steppes to reach the Volga. This took place in the mid- 1630s. Other Oirats subjugated neighbouring peoples to the north. Thus, in about 1614, the Oirats began to levy *alban* on the Baraba and Kuznetsk Tatars in the form of agricultural produce, game and ironwork. They also laid claim to all the salt lakes along the middle and upper reaches of the River Irtysh.

The middle region of southern Siberia

This region may be said to comprise the entire Tuva basin – to the south of the western Sayan range (in other words the entire basin of the upper Yenisei), including the basin of the great lakes of western Mongolia all the way to the Mongol Altai range in the south. These lands, which had long been inhabited by Turkic-speaking peoples, were conquered in the early sixteenth century by the Khalkha Mongols, among whose leaders the Tümed Altan Khan (1507–82) was particularly outstanding. The northernmost part of Mongolia at that time, in the north-western corner of Khalkha between lakes Hövsgöl and Uus, was known in Russian sources as the realm of the Altyn (Altan) khans.

Its founder, and the first Altan khan, was Sholoi Ubashi Khongtaiji (1567–1627).[88] The other two Altan khans who reigned were Badma Erdeni Khongtaiji (late 1620s–1657; Ubashi's eldest son) and Lubsan Sain Erinchin Khongtaiji (1657–96; Badma's son). In 1679, following the defeat and capture of Lubsan in 1667 by Sengge, the Dzungar (Oirat) ruler, the Altan khans disappear from the pages of Russian documents.

[88] Shastina, 1949; for a map of the realm, see *MIRMO*, 1959, inset.

In 1614, for the first time, the Oirats occupied the Kuznetsk basin, where sedentary Turkic-speaking Abins and Shors living along the upper reaches of the River Tom and its mountain tributaries engaged in mining and metalworking. A bloody struggle began between the Oirats and the Mongols of Altan Khan. Neither of these two powers was indifferent to the tribute paid by the Kuznetsk metal-workers in the form of their celebrated iron artefacts and, above all, their weapons of the finest quality. So when the Oirat rulers in 1622 forced the Turkic-speaking metal-workers and blacksmiths of the region (who had previously provided arms for the former Kyrgyz [Khakass] and Altai empires) to work solely for the Oirats, not only the Altan khans of Tuva and western Mongolia, but also the princes of the Altai Teleuts and the Yenisei Kyrgyz 'in the Khakass region) were drawn into a war with the Oirats.

However, these conflicts were complicated by the action of the Russian armed forces, who in 1618 built a fairly substantial military fort – the Kuznetskiy *ostrog* – on the upper reaches of the River Tom. This event undoubtedly constituted the most telling success of Moscovy's measures to conquer all of southern Siberia. The siege of the Kuznetsk fort by the Oirats in 1622 proved unsuccessful. Nor did the two devastating attacks by the Khakass princes against the Russians in Kuznetsk in 1622 and in Tomsk in 1624 prove any more effective.

In 1627 the Oirat–Kalmuk (Khalimak) alliance fell apart. The Torguts moved to the Volga, the Khoshots to Tibet and the Choros, known also by the name Ölöts, to the west. However, the Oirats were still strong enough for a powerful Dzungar khanate to arise in 1635, which lasted until 1759. The new Oirat empire was founded by Erdeni Ba'atur Khongtaiji, the son of the powerful khan, Khara Khula, who had died in 1634. In 1639 Erdeni Ba'atur informed the Russian authorities that he had adopted the Yenisei Kyrgyz'as his own subjects for his defence'. However, this was a purely formal act.

The wars between the Dzungars and the Altan khans ended in favour of the Dzungars only in 1667. In that year, Erdeni Baa'tur's son, Sengge, marched with a large army into Khakass territory and, having routed the Russian forces on the outskirts of the town with the support of Khakass troops, laid siege to the Krasnoyarsk fort, whose inhabitants were soon reduced to starvation.[89] Sengge demanded that the Russian authorities recognize him as the suzerain of the 'Kyrgyz land', whose inhabitants, he claimed, had been subjects of his father and grandfather, or in other words had always been Kalmuk *qyshtym*s who paid *yasaq*. Abandoning the siege of the Russian fort, on the same 'Kyrgyz land', Sengge then routed the forces of the last Altan khan, Lubsan Sain Erinchin Khongtaiji, who had intruded into the middle Yenisei valley, seized him and carried him off to Dzungaria. The empire

[89] Kyzlasov, 1996.

of the Altan khans was destroyed and the Turkic inhabitants of Tuva were left to their own devices. However, the Eastern Mongols of the Khalkha realm now became involved in the war, first raiding Dzungaria in 1688 and subsequently continuing their military actions against the Dzungars from 1690 to 1697, in collaboration with the Qing armies.

The eastern region of southern Siberia

The third, most easterly geographic region of southern Siberia comprises the Khakass-Minusinsk basin occupying the valley of the middle Yenisei and Abakan rivers, between the western and eastern Sayan ridges and the western Abakan and Kuznetsk Alatau ranges, and bounded on the north by the Ket and Angara rivers. These were the heartlands of the once powerful Khakass empire, which the Russian authorities, in view of the aristocratic origin of its rulers, called the 'Kyrgyz land'.

The Russian Cossack corps took no more than 16 years, from 1582 to 1598, to utterly defeat the Siberian khanate of Küchüm Khan. But in order to conquer the Khakass-Kyrgyz empire, a total of 120 years of military pressure and confrontation were needed, from the first skirmishes of Russian forces with the Khakass troops in 1596 (during the building of the Kungop fort on the River Ket) to the building of the last fort on the border at Sayan in 1718 (which marked the definitive incorporation of Khakassia into the Russian empire).

The Khakass-Kyrgyz state was economically fairly strong, and throughout the seventeenth century maintained a fairly high level of military power. The impossibility of gaining a rapid and easy victory forced the tsarist Russian government to resort to the gradual incorporation of the borderlands belonging to the Khakass-Kyrgyz empire. From the late sixteenth century, the Cossacks began to enclose the Khakass lands from the north by means of an arc of wooden forts occupied by permanent garrisons of soldiers with cannon, small arms and stocks of ammunition and provisions, in readiness to withstand any siege. The Kungop fort was founded in 1596 on the River Ket and rebuilt as the Ket fort in 1602, the Tomsk fort was built in 1604, Makovsk on the River Ket and Kuznetsk on the upper Tom (right in the centre of the iron-working region of the local Turkic-speaking inhabitants) in 1604, Yeniseisk in 1619, Meletsk on the middle Chulym in 1621, Bratsk and Rybensk on the Angara river and Krasnoyarsk on the middle Yenisei in 1728, Kansk in 1636, and the Udinsk fort on the Uda river in 1646 in the middle of the territory occupied by the Mongolian-speaking Buriats.

Military operations were stepped up and the pressure grew ever stronger. From time to time, truces were declared, but Russia was unable to gain a clear victory. However, the building of the Kuznetsk fort dealt a serious blow to the military power of the Khakass

state. The Dzungars and Mongols also continued their pressure from the south. In 1667 (as we have seen), the Dzungars destroyed the power of the Altan khans, and at the same time attacked the Krasnoyarsk fort.

The Russian authorities then sought to cover their eastern and southern flanks. In 1675, some 200 km south of Krasnoyarsk, the Karaul'niy fort was built, and in 1697, the Kashtak fort was built in the north-west. In the meantime, in 1678, for the first time, the supreme head of the Khakass empire, Prince Irenek, who was stubbornly resisting the Russian intruders, received Russian recognition of the independence of the 'Kyrgyz land', as the Russians then called Khakassia. However, the death of Prince Irenek, his son and 300 Khakass soldiers in a battle against the Khalkha Mongols on the Altai border in 1687 hastened the end of the Khakass empire. All the captured princes and rulers of the ruling Kyrgyz dynasty, together with all the officials of the fully functional government apparatus, were banished to Dzungaria. This measure practically demolished a state which had been in existence in southern Siberia for some 1,200 years, since the sixth century A.D., and Russia could now move forward all the more resolutely.

In 1707 Peter the Great ordered the construction of the Abakan fort on the middle Yenisei; in 1716 a fort was built on Lake Hövsgöl; and finally in 1718 the last fort, the Sayan fort, was built on the right bank of the Yenisei, near the point where that river flows through the western Sayan ridge. The 120-year-long Khakass–Russian war now ended with the incorporation of all the ancient Khakass lands into the Russian empire. In accordance with the peace treaty, the Khakass became the collective tributaries (*qyshtym*s) of the White Tsar, Peter the Great. With all their lands, lakes and rivers, they found themselves relegated to the class of non-Russian subjects liable to pay the *yasaq*.

On the south, the Dzungar empire was being replaced by the Qing empire of China. The war begun in 1756 by the Qing against the Dzungar empire (1635–1759) ended in a crushing victory for the Qing, with a complete destruction of the Dzungar khanate in 1758. The Qing conquest was carried out with much bloodshed. Only two powers were now left in southern Siberia, Russia and China.

In 1701 there had not been a single Russian settlement on the Yenisei south of Krasnoyarsk, and as late as 1710 the Dzungars had managed to destroy a fort that the Russians had built between the Altai rivers Biya and Katun. In the first 15–20 years of the eighteenth century, however, the entire Irtysh valley and the Sayan stretch of the middle Yenisei valley were annexed to Russia. It was in this period that free Russian peasants (including Old Believers) began to colonize the upper reaches of the Tobol, Irtysh and Yenisei rivers. The Russian advance went further eastward, with the Russian settlement of Nerchinsk being established near China's Manchurian border in 1658.

A clash between Russia and China became inevitable; and it first occurred in the east, in 1685, when the Qing emperor Kang Xi ordered Chinese troops to repel Russian advances. The conflict was ended only with the treaty of Nerchinsk of 1689, by which Russia recognized the Ergun river (a tributary of the Amur/Heilongjiang) as forming the frontier with China. This was followed by further border agreements some 40 years later. In 1728 the borders between Russia and China in other Siberian sectors were fixed under the Bura and Kyakhta peace treaties. These treaties ensured that southern Siberia was now fully incorporated into Russia; and though earlier nationalities remained, Russian peasant migrations ultimately led to Siberia becoming ethnically a part of Russia.[90]

[90] It needs, perhaps, to be specifically noted that while harsh towards non-Russian communities, the tsarist authorities were by no means mild in their treatment of the Russian peasant settlers; nor did Siberia see the kinds of massacres of indigenous peoples that took place during the westward advance of white settlements in the United States.

7

THE TARIM BASIN*

Ma Dazheng

Contents

The Tarim basin under the Chaghatay khanate

The Yarkand (Yārqand) khanate (or, as contemporaries frequently called it, the Kashghar khanate) was founded in 1514 by Abū Sa^{c}īd Khan (usually called Sa^{c}īd Khan). He was a descendant of Khan Tughlugh Timur of the Chaghatay khanate and the third son of the ruler of the eastern part of the khanate, Ahmad Khan. In its better days, as during the reign of Khizr-Khwāja Khan (1389–1403), son of Tughlugh Timur, the limits of the Chaghatay khanate had been fairly extensive. It could be said to have comprised three distinct parts, viz. Moghulistan, Uighuristan and Mangalai Suyah.

Moghulistan, 'the Mongol land', extended from the Altai mountains to the desert east of the Talas river, and from the Tarbagatay mountains to Lake Balkhash, with the Tian Shan range on its south. This area had some farmland for growing grain, and the remainder was suitable for animal husbandry. Until the early sixteenth century the Chaghatayid Moghuls, though Muslims, still spoke Mongolian.[1] Uighuristan, 'land of the Uighurs', included the

[*] See Maps 2 and 3, pp. 923–4.., 925–6.

[1] This is shown by an incidental remark by Bābur, 1922, p. 155. The reader is reminded that the term Moghul (written in Persian as 'Mughūl'), whence Moghulistan (in Persian 'Mughū-listān') is used for these Muslim Mongols, while the spelling Mughal (so written in Persian) is generally reserved for Bābur and his descendants who created a large empire in India.

two regions of Turfan and Karashahr. Agriculture and animal husbandry were both practised here. The third region, Mangalai Suyah, included, to the east of the Pamir mountains, the Tarim basin (containing on its long rim the towns of Khotan, Kashghar, Yangi Hisar, Yarkand, Aksu and Uch-Turfan) and, to the west of the Pamir range, Ferghana as well as the Tashkent region. At the beginning of the sixteenth century this was the hereditary territory of the clan of the Dughlāt emirs. It was mainly an agricultural and semi-pastoral region, the inhabitants being mostly Uighurs and other Turkic peoples.

Early in the sixteenth century, the twelfth ruling khan, Mahmūd (1487– 1508), clashed with his nephew Saᶜīd, lost the battle and in 1508 fled to the territory of the Uzbek ruler Shaybānī Khān, on whose orders he was killed. Saᶜīd was driven into exile by his elder brother, Mansūr, who now became the khan of Moghulistan. In 1514, however, Saᶜīd carved out an independent principality for himself by overthrowing Mīrzā Abū Bakr, the ruler of Kashghar, who had made Yarkand his capital.[2] In 1516 Saᶜīd made his peace with his brother Mansūr (d. 1543), who retired to rule over Turfan and Karashahr; and Moghulistan gradually passed into the control of Saᶜīd Khan and his successors. Hami and Turfan also subsequently formed part of the Kashghar khanate. However, the core area of the khanate, with Yarkand as the seat of its khans, remained the Tarim basin. Here the dynasty, with its 14 successive khans, continued to rule until its extinction in 1696 (see Table 1).

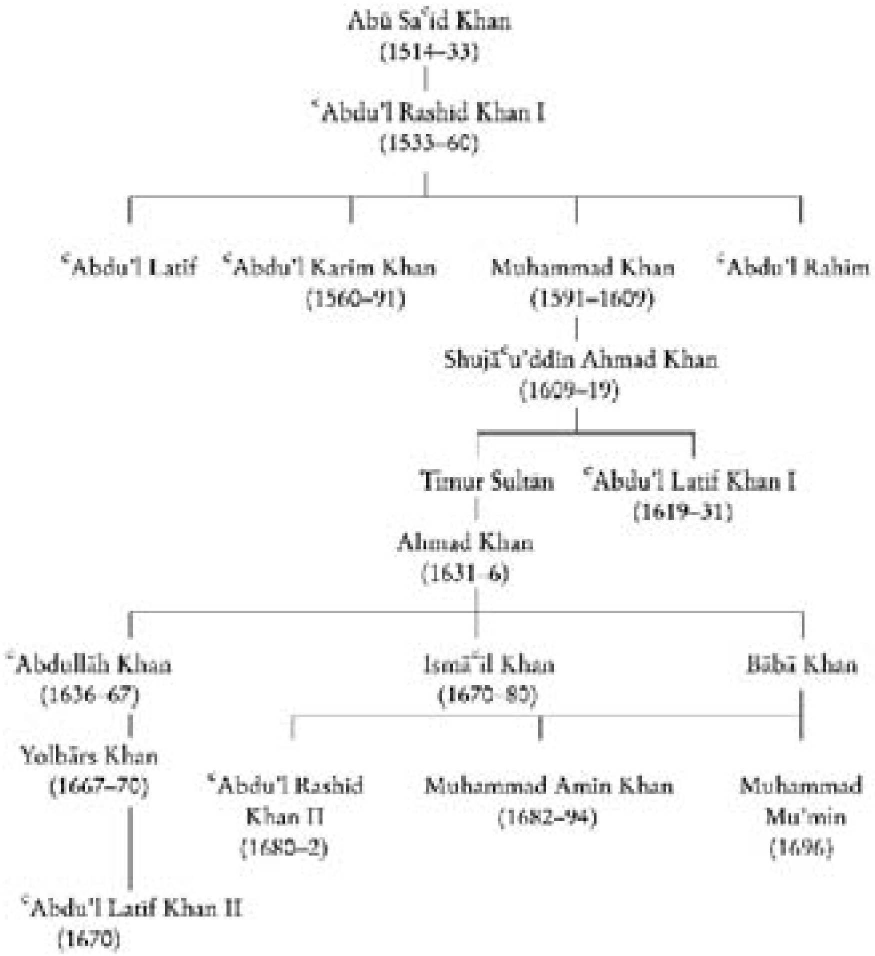
Saᶜīd Khan (1514–33) undertook several military expeditions. He personally led a large army into Badakhshan in 1529. Mīrzā Muhammad Haydar Dughlāt, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* and a commander of Saᶜīd Khan, laid waste the surroundings of Qalᶜa-i Zafar.[3] In 1532 Saᶜīd Khan undertook an invasion of Tibet, but he fell seriously ill from altitude sickness, dying on the Karakoram passes in July 1533 on the homeward journey.

After the death of Saᶜīd Khan, his eldest son ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd succeeded to the throne. During his reign (1533–60), he dismantled the power of the Dughlāt emirs (including the historian Haydar Dughlāt, who fled into exile), consolidated his own power and extended the territories of the khanate. He maintained friendly relations with his Timurid kinsman, the Mughal emperor Humāyūn (1530–56), who some time after 1552 sent him many

[2] For these events see Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, giving an eye-witness account of incomparable value. There is also much on Saᶜīd Khan's early career in Bābur, 1922, pp. 22, 24, 159, 318, 349–52, 357, 362, 415, 427, 695–8. For Abū Bakr's shift of the capital from Kashghar to Yarkand, see Rāzī, 1972, p. 9. Rāzī wrote his account of the khanate (pp. 8–26) in 1593–4.

[3] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 388.

Table 1. The Chaghatay khans of Kashghar/Yarkand



Source: Wei Liangtao, 1994, pp. 198–9, here modified by information derived from other sources.
Note: there may be a divergence of one year from the true date in some cases because of the Hijri year covering portions of two Christian years.

rarities from Kabul, including works by some of Persia's master painters.[4] This implies a high level of culture at ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan's own court, since Humāyūn must have expected that these works of art would be appreciated there. In fact, ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan was himself a skilled painter.[5] The Moghul tribes, who had by now all converted to Islam, settled in both urban and rural areas in the Tarim basin and started to become assimilated with the local inhabitants.

In ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan's later days he was much troubled by a large incursion of Kazakhs and Kyrgyz under the Kazakh khan, Haqq Nazar. His eldest son, ᶜAbdu'l Latīf, who governed Moghulistan on his behalf, was defeated and killed by the invaders. This event probably took place in 1558 or 1559, when the English traveller Anthony Jenkinsonheard at Bukhara that the Kyrgyz were attacking Kashghar, while the Kazakhs were threatening Tashkent. ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan ultimately succeeded in repelling the invasion, though the claim by the later historian Mahmūd Churās that he captured and killed Haqq Nazar Khan may be doubted.[6]

ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd was first succeeded by his son ᶜAbdu'l Karīm Khan (1560– 91) and then by another son, Muhammad Khan (1591–1609). The khanate reached its peak of glory during the reign of Muhammad Khan, who was able to defeat a large army sent against him by the great Uzbek ruler ᶜAbdullāh Khān II (1557–98).[7] At this time, the territory of the khanate stretched east as far as Jiayuguan and adjoined the territory of the Ming dynasty; in the north, extending to the Tian Shan mountain range, it bordered the territory of the Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Oirat peoples; to the west it included the whole of the Pamirs; in the south-west it reached the Karakoram range; and in the south it bordered the Kunlun and Altun mountains. A later chronicler records:'Yarkand, Kashghar, Aksu, Osh [Uch-Turfan], Kucha, Chalish [Karashahr] and Turfan up to Hami as well as Khotan and Sarikol and the ruby mines – these territories all used Muhammad's title in their *khutba* [Friday sermon] and on their minted currency.'[8] The Jesuit traveller Benedict de Goës (*c.* 1603–4) relates

[4] Bāyazid Biyāt, 1947, pp. 67–9: ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan is here described as 'the king of Qāshghar'. See also Abū'l Fazl, 1873–87, Vol. 2, p. 21, for an exchange of embassies between Humāyūn's successor, Akbar (1556–1605), and ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan.

[5] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 147. Yet Haydar was naturally not an admirer of ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan. See also Rāzī, 1972, p. 22.

[6] Jenkinson, 1906, p. 25; Rāzī, 1972, p. 22; Churās, 1976, pp. 10–11.

[7] For a near-contemporary (1595) account of ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan and his successors, see Abū'l Fazl, 1873–87, Vol. 2, p. 556. He says that ᶜAbdu'l Karīm had been nominated as his successor by ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd and reigned for 30 years. Abū'l Fazl is also the earliest source for the defeat of ᶜAbdullāh Khān's army by Muhammad Khan. See also Churās, 1976, pp. 24–8, for a detailed account of the repulse of the Uzbek invasion.

[8] Churās, 1976, p. 31. The ruby mines are those of Shughnan, adjacent to Badakhshan and Sar-i Kol.

in his letters that the city of Yarkand had 100 mosques and maintained a caravan trade with China. He also paid a visit to Khotan and describes its jade (nephrite) mines. Though formally Kashghar was still considered the seat of the khanate, Yarkand was the khan's real capital.[9]

After the death of Muhammad Khan, the struggle for power among the ruling groups in the khanate became increasingly fierce, and in a period of over 30 years, there were frequent changes of khan. Muhammad's son Shujā-ᶜud'dīn Ahmad Khan (1609–19) was assassinated. Ahmad Khan (1631–6), who succeeded his uncle, ᶜAbdu'l Latīf Khan I (1619–31), was overthrown by ᶜAbdullāh Khan (a grandson of ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan), the governor of Chalish (Karashahr) and Turfan. Ahmad Khan fled to the court of Imām Qulī (1611–41), the khan of Bukhara, on whose behalf he went to fight the Kyrgyz then attacking Andijan, where he was killed.[10]

Under ᶜAbdullāh Khan (1636–67), the khanate once again flourished. He strengthened the position of the khan and exiled a number of the old nobles to India, replacing them with persons of his own choice.[11] He resisted the encroachment of the rising power of the Oirats (Kalmuks, or Qalmāqs), beating back Oirat inroads into the Khotan region and Aksu. ᶜAbdullāh Khan even opened contacts with the newly founded Qing dynasty in China. In 1655 he dispatched an emissary to the Qing court to present tribute and the emperor Shun Zhi (1643–61) conferred special gifts on him; 'from then on, he sent tribute every five years'.[12] He exchanged embassies and gifts with ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān, the ruler of Bukhara (1645–80).[13] He also sent three embassies with presents to the Mughal Indian emperors in 1649, 1656 and 1664.[14] François Bernier, reporting in 1664 on the basis of information collected in Kashmir, confirms that Yarkand was the capital of what outsiders called the Kashghar khanate and states that the region's chief exports were musk, crystal, jade, fine wool and slave girls and boys. An annual caravan used to go to China.[15]

The pressure from the Oirats began to increase in ᶜAbdullāh Khan's later years, under the Dzungar *khongtaiji* Sengge (1653–71). A bitter battle between Sengge and ᶜAbdullāh Khan ended in a truce; but the Dzungars now began to encourage ᶜAbdullāh's son Yolbārs to rebel against him.[16] The situation was also complicated by a quarrel within the

9 For Benedict de Goës' account of Yarkand, see Guerreiro, 1930, pp. 135–49; Wessels, 1924, pp. 24–31.
10 Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, p. 349. Cf. Churās, 1976, pp. 62–3.
11 Churās, 1976, pp. 73–4.
12 *Qing shizong shilu*, Vol. 130.
13 Churās, 1976, pp. 82–3.
14 ᶜInāyat Khān, 1990, pp. 414–15; Kāzim, 1865–73, p. 85.
15 Bernier, 1916, pp. 426–8.
16 Churās, 1976, pp. 83–8.

dominant religious sect of the Naqshbandis. During ᶜAbdullāh's reign, the *khoja*s of the White Mountain (Āq-taghliq) sect started to challenge the Black Mountain (Qara-taghliq) sect of *khoja*s, who had long been in the position of greater power and whom our main source for the dynasty, Mahmūd Churās, favours. The term *khoja* (Persian, *khwāja*), applied in Persian to a man of wealth, or a merchant, was now applied in Turkic lands to Sufi eminences or preceptors. Thus leading members of the Naqshbandi order, descended from Makhdūm-i Aᶜzam (1461–1543), were so designated. After the death of Makhdūm-i Aᶜzam, his eldest son, Muhammad Amīn (better known as Ishān-i Kalān), and his fourth son, Ishāq Walī, had fought over the leadership of the religious order, and this in time had resulted in the emergence of two groups, the'White Mountain' and the'Black Mountain'.

At the close of the sixteenth century, with the support of Muhammad Khan, the Black Mountain sect had obtained considerable power. It actively meddled in politics and extended its influence into every tier of society. In the 1620s the White Mountain *khoja*s also began to strengthen themselves, their leader being the fourth son of Ishān-i Kalān, Muhammad Yūsuf. Muhammad Yūsuf originally lived in Hami and had married the daughter of the local religious aristocrat, Sayyid Jalālī; their son was called Hidāyatullāh (later known as Āfāq Khoja [Khwāja]; see below). At the end of the 1630s, Muhammad Yūsuf Khoja settled in Kashghar, where the then governor, Yolbārs, son of ᶜAbdullāh Khan, in an effort to increase his own power, patronized the White Mountain sect. In 1667 Yolbārs rose in rebellion against his father and led his troops into Yarkand. Abandoned by his followers and kinsmen, ᶜAbdullāh Khan fled to Kashmir, on the traditional excuse of going on the *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca). He was received with much honour by the Indian Mughal court on his way to the holy city.[17]

Yolbārs Khan (1667–70) patronized the White Mountain sect, in place of the Black Mountain sect, which retreated to Aksu. He 'put to death the relatives, including women and children, left behind in Yarkand by those who had gone to Aksu with Muhammad ᶜAbdullāh Khoja',[18] and even led his troops to attack Aksu. Faced with a fresh invasion by the Dzungars under Sengge, Yolbārs had to acknowledge his subordination to the Dzungar ruler; and, possibly in order to meet the demands of his overlord, his oppression of his Muslim subjects intensified. This led to a successful conspiracy to murder him in 1670. A short period of rule by his son ᶜAbdu'l Latīf Khan II was followed by the accession of Ismāᶜīl Khan (1670–80), a paternal uncle of Yolbārs and governor of Aksu.

[17] See Kāzim, 1865–73, pp. 1063–5, and Khāfi Khān, 1869, Vol. 2, pp. 209–10, among Indian sources; also Churās, 1976, pp. 90–1.
[18] Churās, 1976, p. 93.

It was on the orders of Ismāᶜīl Khan that Mahmūd Churās wrote his history of the rulers of Kashghar, our major source for the history of that dynasty after Mīrzā MuhammadHaydar Dughlāt's great work, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Under Ismāᶜīl, the power of the White Mountain sect was completely destroyed by the Black Mountain sect. The leader of the White Mountain sect, Āfāq Khoja (1679–94), fled to Kashmir and later to Tibet. Under the guidance of the Dalai Lama, he sought refuge with Sengge's brother Galdan (1671–97), the new ruler of the Dzungar empire. Galdan invaded the Chaghatayid khanate and took Ismāᶜīl Khan prisoner in 1680. The khanate lingered on, as we shall see, until 1696, but henceforth under constant Dzungar surveillance and internal disturbance. There was just a fleeting attempt at recovery made in his later years by Muhammad Amīn Khan (1682–94) (see below, p. 219).

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The era of the khanate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a period of cultural and economic revival in the history of Xinjiang (East Turkistan), as well as an era of resurgence for the people settled on the rim of the Tarim basin. Ever since the collapse of the Western Liao empire and the advance of the strong Mongol cavalry into this region, there had been endless wars and social upheavals, and repeated intrusions of nomadism, so that the population had been sharply reduced and the society and economy seriously weakened. The establishment of the Eastern Chaghatay dynasty in the Tarim basin signified the conversion of the immigrants from Moghulistan to a sedentary way of life. Under their protection, a relatively stable and peaceful social environment emerged, the economy began to recover and the population increased. According to estimates in the historical records, the total population of the khanate, particularly during its middle period, was around 500,000, of which there would have been around 400,000 persons settled in the agricultural regions, which were basically concentrated around Kashghar, Yarkand and Khotan; there must also have been quite a large agricultural population in the Aksu area.

During the time of the khanate, there was not only an influx of Moghuls (Muslim Mongols), but also of Kyrgyz (Qirghiz), who furnished soldiers as well as nobles. In time these settlers, originally nomadic, turned to agriculture. Tax-paying peasants and craftsmen were known as *tu-māns*.[19] Yet political conditions still interfered with trade. Ahmad Rāzī, writing in 1593–4, had been informed that whereas previously trade between Khotan and China was so brisk that individuals could travel from one to the other in 14 days without needing to join a caravan, now owing to interference by 'the armed tribes of the Qalmāqs

[19] *Tu-mān*, in Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 301, and Rāzī, 1972, p. 10, is treated as a general word for *riᶜāyā*, i.e. tax-paying subjects, peasantry and the like.

[Oirats]', the route was closed. At Khotan itself a barter system prevailed, with payments being made in cotton, silk and wheat. Some 20,000 persons assembled on Fridays to trade in this fashion.[20]

Muslim records make little further mention of the social and economic conditions of the khanate. But in the course of quelling the uprisings of the two so-called Elder and Younger Khoja brothers (see below) in the eighteenth century, the Qing court made a survey of local social conditions. In 1759 the imperial counsellor, Shu-he-de, reported to the emperor Qianlong (1735–96):'Investigating the old Muslim system, the grain tax was [found to be] onetenth, as recorded in their religion. The land up to Aksu city was the public land of the former khan, so the tax on the harvest was divided in equal shares.'[21] In Chapter 7 of his history of the khanate, Wei Liangtao has produced an analysis based on the material from this survey of Qianlong's reign but also incorporating other historical material.[22] The following account is based on this study.

LANDOWNERSHIP

Land in the khanate could roughly be divided into three types, viz. stateowned land, private land and *waqf* land (land owned by mosques, cemeteries and other charitable institutions).

State-owned land

The 'old khan' referred to in the survey material could be any one of the many khans, while 'public land' means state-owned land. As the structure of the khanate was basically that of a nomadic clan, so'the country is considered to be the property of the entire khan clan', 'khan' being synonymous with'the state'. This is why Qing documents also refer to the 'public land of the old khan' as 'official land passed down from before' or 'official land'.[23] These offi- cial lands were tilled by tenant farmers, which is why the lands were also called '*tariyachin* acreage'.[24] *Tariyachin* (or *tariyachi*) is a Mongolian word for peasant; more precisely, it means 'grain producer', 'farmer', 'tiller of the land'. These tenant farmers worked under a system of crop division, giving half of their harvest to the khan or the state. Although in name it was a portion of the amount harvested, in reality it was a portion of a 'fixed amount' of harvest, which was set at ten times the amount of seed planted.[25] At

[20] Rāzī, 1972, p. 10.
[21] *Qing Gaozong shilu*, Vol. 582.
[22] Wei Liangtao, 1994.
[23] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vols. 34 and 18.
[24] *Qing Gaozong shilu*, Vol. 602.
[25] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 34.

that time the yield was not very high: in a bumper year it could be seven to eight times the amount of rice seed sown, but would be only two to three times in a lean year (see below). This means that even in good years the tenant farmers were left with much less than half the produce. Although the proportion of official land in Yarkand was not high, being only 10–15 per cent of the total land tilled, the income from it was very important for the khanate's finances, accounting for 20–25 per cent of the grain tax.

Private land, or the land of 'the cultivators who originally opened up the land'

When the Qing annexed the areas north and south of the Tian Shan, the acreage of privately owned land was rather high, being 85–90 per cent of the total tilled acreage. Records of the khanate have no information on this, and it is difficult for us to gauge how much of the privately owned land belonged to farmers and how much to landowners; however, we can be sure that a class of landowners did exist. This can be inferred indirectly from Qing court documents: an entry for the 29th year of the reign of the emperor Qianlong (1764), for example, states that a certain amount of land was confiscated 'from the Ishikagha *beg* Abdal-rahim',[26] who owned land amounting to 109 bushels of sown acreage.

Kharāj means land tax, i.e. the tax levied on privately owned land. On Muslims, only one-tenth (^{c}*ushr*) of the amount of the harvest was chargeable,[27] which is very low compared to the share of produce taken from tenants of official land. But this amount was payable only by landowners and by farmers tilling their own land – the exploitation suffered by tenant farmers working on land owned by landowners was just as great as that suffered by tenant farmers working on official land.

Waqf land

Land owned by religious divines, mosques, cemeteries and schools was known as *waqf* land – this was mainly public land bequeathed by generations of rulers, for religious or charitable purposes. The historian Churās states that Muhammad Khan (1591–1609) gave 30 *man*s of land in the village of Jāposh to Hājī Murād, whom he sent to Mecca to perform the *hajj* on his behalf.[28] *Waqf* property did not merely include agricultural land but also water-mills, workshops, shops, and even quarrying rights for mines. There are no records of the amount of *waqf* property throughout the khanate, but it was probably not large. *Waqf* property generally enjoyed special tax exemption and so could be said to be a strong economic basis for religious power. The state set up the post of *mutawallī* to oversee *waqf*

[26] See the Guangxu edition of the *Qinding Da Qing huidian shilue*, Vol. 163.
[27] Saguchi Tōru, 1986, Vol. 1, p. 225.
[28] Churās, 1976, pp. 28–9. The term *man* or *min* is left unexplained, but is clearly a measure of land.

property. In the khanate, the appointment of favoured or meritorious officials as *mutawallī*s indicates that this was a fairly lucrative post.

AGRICULTURE, ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND HANDICRAFTS

Agriculture

The *Qinding Xiyu tuzhi* [Imperially Commissioned Illustrated Gazetteer of the Western Regions], which was commissioned by the emperor Qianlong and compiled after the Qing had brought the area under their authority, brings together some fairly systematic data on the economy of the area. 'The Muslim regions south of the Tian Shan', we are told,'have walled cities and mansions, so housing is solid and permanent. There are ditches and dykes and ridges, so farming is timed according to the seasons. The men understand farming and the women know how to weave.'

In the *Han shu* [History of the Former Han Dynasty], it is said that 'east of Qiemo [Chatchan] the entire area is planted with five cereals. Looking at it today, it is still exactly as the ancients described it.'[29] The crops cultivated were numerous, including wheat, paddy, millet, sorghum, peas, hyacinth beans, red beans, mung beans, cotton and hemp; water melons and musk melons were also grown.[30] Apart from seedless green grapes, there were pomegranates, apples, papayas, Chinese pears, cherries, apricots, persimmons, walnuts, plums, peaches, narrow-leaved oleasters, etc. A number of trees and flowering plants are also listed in detail in the Qing records.[31]

The type of plough used had an iron share with a wooden shaft, and was pulled by rope by two oxen. Mattocks were 'used after sowing, for turning the soil over'. The *katman* (earth-hacking trowel) was 'shaped like an iron pickaxe, with a rather round head and a straight handle made of jujube wood; [it was] used for turning soil, opening up ditches and channelling water for irrigating the fields'. (A similar implement is still used today throughout Xinjiang.) Sickles were 'shaped like a curved knife, made of pure steel, with both the head and the handle made of iron; [they were] used for cutting paddy, wheat and so on'. The rakes were of wood.[32] In general, as can be seen, the agricultural implements were rather simple.

In the section on 'tilling' in Chapter 2 of the *Huijiang zhi* [Gazetteer of the Muslim Regions], compiled by Yong-gui, it is stated:'At sowing time they do not use an animal-drawn seed plough and do it solely by hand. No hoe is used, and they do not practise

[29] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 30.
[30] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 43.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 42.

weeding.' The land to the south of the Tian Shan was vast but sparsely populated, and there was much 'rotation cropping and leaving of fallow'[33] in order to retain the soil's fertility. In Chapter 42 of the *Xiyu tuzhi* [Illustrated Record of the Western Regions], we are told of the use of a type of manure known as *kehe* (or *khakh*), that from cattle and horses being considered the best.

Agriculture in the khanate was mainly of the extensive type, based on planting widely and letting the land lie fallow each alternate year. The calculation of the land sown was therefore not on the basis of actual area, but rather on the amount of seed sown. This was called 'seed acreage'. Most of the farming land south of the Tian Shan was irrigated land, so the seed sown produced a relatively better harvest. In 1759 the Qing general Zhao-hui reported: 'In the Kashghar region ... all the towns and villages now plant rice. If it is calculated by the amount of seed sown, a bumper year can reap a seven- or eightfold increase and even a lean year can expect a two- or threefold increase.'[34] This range of seed-yield ratios remained unchanged for a long time.

Animal husbnadry

Animal husbandry was a major occupation in the khanate. All the river valley regions along the southern foothills of the Tian Shan provided good natural pasture. After the khanate was established, and the Moghul *ulūs* (tribe) moved into the Kashghar region, Haydar Dughlāt found the resources insufficient for maintaining an army (presumably cavalry) compared to the steppes from where the *ulūs* had moved.[35] Obviously, the Taklamakan desert had no pasture-lands to offer, unlike the steppes north of the Tian Shan.

Handicrafts

We have no direct information on handicrafts in the khanate, although we can conjecture that they were fairly numerous, embracing textiles (including cotton, silk and wool), leatherwork, metalwork and carpentry. Since jade was the khanate's main export, there are rather more historical records concerning it. The report of the Jesuit Benedict de Goës is particularly detailed. He tells us:

> There are two types of jade. The first type is the best, and is produced in the river at Khotan. The site is not far from the capital. Divers go into the river to obtain it, the same way as one hunts for pearls. After polishing, some pieces are the size of big flints. The quality of the second type is not very good – it is mined from the mountains, with the big pieces being split

[33] Yong-gui, 1772, Vol. 4, *fuyu* (taxes and corvée).
[34] *Qing Gaozong shilu*, Vol. 593.
[35] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 303.

> into slabs about 2 *ell*s [approx. 2 m] in width. These are then divided into yet smaller pieces to make them easier to transport. The mountain that produces the jade is called Stone Mountain. The local people call it Cansanghi Cascio, and it is about a 20-day journey from Yarkand. . . As the jade is hard, mining is not easy. The mining rights are sold to merchants by the ruler at a comparatively high price. During the leasing period, no other person may mine the jade without the permission of the [license-holding] merchant. The workers go in groups, taking a year's dry food provisions. This is because they are temporarily unable to get to the towns.[36]

The Tarim basin under the Dzungar empire

The Oirat Mongols are one of the branches of the Mongol people; they have a long history, and were known by different names, being respectively called Qalmāqs or Kalmuks ('Kalmyks') in Persian and Russian sources. In the first half of the seventeenth century they were divided into four main groups: the Khoshots, the Dörbets, the Torguts and the Dzungars. Of these the Khoshots occupied the Qinghai-Tibet plain; a large number of the Torguts migrated to the lower reaches of the Volga; and the Dzungars occupied areas north and south of the Tian Shan. In 1671 Galdan returned from Tibet to avenge the death of his brother, Sengge (1653–71), the Dzungar ruler who had been killed by his half-brothers, and assumed the mantle of ruler of the Dzungars.[37]

Galdan (1671–97) was a ruler 'with great ambitions and a love of achieving unusual meritorious acts'.[38] The essential steps in his plan were first to unite the various Oirat Mongol tribes on the north side of the Tian Shan and then to occupy the area south of it, which notably encompasses the oases on the rim of the Tarim basin. Between 1673 and 1679, Galdan achieved his first aim and unified the area north of the Tian Shan. In 1679, 'with the Western Regions all settled, several states were willing to raise him to the position of khan. Galdan then asked the Dalai Lama to establish [him as] the Boshoghtu Khan'. Thereupon Galdan became the first Dzungar chief to be called 'khan' since the time of Esen (1440–55) two centuries earlier. (See Chapter 6 above.)

In 1680 Galdan led 120,000 Dzungar cavalry into the Tarim basin, advancing through Aksu and Uch- Turfan, towards Kashghar and Yarkand.[39] In addition to various Oirat tribes, the expeditionary force included troops from Turfan and Hami, which had submitted to the Dzungar ruler. With the support of the White Mountain sect and its followers, the army

[36] Wessels, 1924, pp. 27–8. Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 298, tells us that the best jade was extracted from the Khotan rivers, the Kara Kash and the Yurung Kash. See also Rāzī, 1972, p. 10.

[37] Qi Yunshi, 1846, Vol. 9: *E-lu-te yaolue* [An Outline of the Oirats].

[38] Liang Fen, 1987, p. 419.

[39] The date for Galdan's expedition is variously given, ranging from 1678 to 1683. The year 1680 seems to have been accepted by most authorities, though Zlatkin, 1964, suggests 1679.

advanced fairly smoothly. The Chaghatayid ruler Ismāᶜīl Khan's son, Bābak Sultān, led his troops to offer fierce resistance but perished in battle. Having occupied Kashghar, the Dzungar cavalry immediately advanced upon Yarkand. The general, Yi-wa-zi-bo (ᶜIwaz?) Beg, sent to oppose their advance was killed, and the Dzungars occupied Yarkand and took Ismāᶜīl Khan and his family as prisoners to Ili. The Dzungars thus effortlessly occupied the area known to them as ' Bukhara' (i.e. the large area to the south of the Tian Shan).[40]

After Galdan had occupied Yarkand, he did not hand over power to Āfāq Khoja, who had rendered outstanding service to him, but appointed one of the members of the old Chaghatay family, ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan II (1680–2), son of Bābā Khan of Turfan, as khan and made him his vassal. He then led his troops back to the north of the Tian Shan. Discord soon arose between ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan and Āfāq Khoja, however, with the latter fleeing the region once again. In 1682 riots erupted in Yarkand and ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khan fled to Ili; his younger brother Muhammad Amīn was thereupon established as khan.

Muhammad Amīn Khan (1682–94) tried to re-establish his authority as khan and sought external support. He twice sent tribute to the Qing government in the name of the khan of Turfan, and sent an embassy to the Mughal court in India in 1690.[41] The next year an embassy went from him to Subhān Qulī, the khan of Bukhara (1680–1702), seeking help against the 'Qirghiz infidels' (this apparently being the designation given here to the Dzungars), who 'had acquired dominance over that country'.[42] In 1693–4 Muhammad Amīn Khan even led an expedition against Ili, the Dzungar capital, capturing over 30,000 Kalmuks or Oirats. But he was soon overthrown and killed during a revolt by the exiled Āfāq Khoja's followers.[43] Āfāq Khoja's son Yahyā Khoja took the throne, but the rule of the White Mountain *khojas* only lasted for two years or so, and Āfāq Khoja and his son were killed in succession during local rebellions.

In 1696 ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd's third younger brother Muhammad Mu'min was placed on the throne, but the *begs* of Kashghar refused to acknowledge him and they allied themselves with the Kyrgyz to attack Yarkand, taking Muhammad Mu'min prisoner. Following this, in response to a request by the Yarkand *begs*, the Dzungar troops marched southwards to

[40] Courant, 1912, p. 51.

[41] Mustaᶜīd Khān, n.d., p. 203. The ruler's name is not mentioned.

[42] Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fols. 99a–b. The MS reads FRGHR, but dots being notoriously misapplied or omitted by scribes, the original must almost certainly have read QRGHZ, i.e. Qirghiz. Muhammad Amīn Khān was so desperate that he was ready to accept the suzerainty of the khan of Bukhara; indeed, he wrote to say that he had already done so. No help, however, seems to have reached him from Bukhara.

[43] Cf. Elias, 1897.

drive out the Kyrgyz. Yarkand was then given over to Mīrzā ᶜĀlim Shāh Beg, and the rule of the Chaghatay line of khans finally ended.[44]

The Tarim basin had been under the suzerainty of the Dzungar khanate since 1680. Although the Chaghatay dynasty continued for a further 16 years, it was merely a vassal state of the Dzungar khanate. When Galdan was defeated by the Qing armies and died in 1697, this represented a great setback for Dzungar power, though it began to recover under Galdan's nephew, Cewang Arabtan (Tsewangraptan, 1688–1727).

The Dzungar khanate did not post permanent troops to the south of the Tian Shan, and their rule over the various cities was mainly effected through proxies. To prevent the area becoming independent, members of any group commanding influence there were held captive in the Dzungar capital, Ili. If it was not the ruling khans and *khoja*s of southern Xinjiang themselves who were held in prison, then it was one of their sons who would be kept in Ili as a hostage.[45] The Dzungar nobles kept a strict eye on the hostages, but generally did not kill them arbitrarily. They even allowed the various peoples and regions that provided hostages to swap them every few years. The hostage system was part of a policy to control the local rulers and collect taxes.

Under this system, while the economic exploitation of the conquered territory by the Dzungars was undoubtedly on a considerable scale, as we shall see, the local government remained under the control of local notables, and the Dzungars did not generally interfere with the religious or cultural life of the Uighurs. Thus Yarkand was governed from 1736 to 1756 by Khwāja (Khoja) Jahān ᶜArshī (1685–1756), an important figure of the Naqshbandi (*khoja*) sect. A poet himself, he had Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma* [Book of Kings] translated into Chaghatay Turki, which now seems to have become the literary language of the area, alongside Persian. It was during the Dzungar period that Muhammad Amīn Khirqālī (d. *c*. 1724) wrote a *masnawī* (poem in couplets) in Chaghatay entitled the *Muhabbat-nāma o mahnat-nāma* [Book of Love and Labour], and Mullā Muhammad Tīmūr Kāshgharī translated from Persian into Chaghatay in respectively 1709 and 1717–18 an ethical text, the *Akhlāq-i Muhsinī*, and a collection of didactic tales, the *Anwar-i Suhailī*, both originally written by Husayn Wā'ir Kāshifī (*fl.* 1500).[46]

[44] It is stated in many works that after Galdan conquered the region south of the Tian Shan in 1680, the Yarkand khanate thereupon came to an end. Wei Liangtao suggests a new theory based on Muslim sources. Here we follow Wei's view of the events: see Wei Liangtao, 1994. As late as 1711, an unnamed ruler (*wālī*) of Kashghar sent an embassy to the Mughal Indian court with a missive in Turkish, which the emperor Bahādur Shāh (1707–12) read aloud. Two Qalmāq (Dzungar) slave-girls were significantly included among the presents brought by the embassy (Kāmwar Khān, 1980, p. 131).

[45] Mullā Musa, 1903, p. 43.

[46] Information drawn from Sigfrid Kleinmichel, *EI*^{2}, Vol. 10, p. 726.

Those living south of the Tian Shan were mainly speakers of the Uighur language. During the rule of the Dzungars, their total population was approximately 250,000. They inhabited the area stretching from Hami in the east to the oasis of Kashghar in the west:'this included a few dozen Muslim cities of various sizes, and 1,000 Muslim villages and encampments'.[47] The economy of the Uighur people was mainly based on agriculture, which was totally dependent on irrigation. The Uighurs were 'deft at opening up waterways and directing water, so their harvests were plentiful.'[48] Crops planted anywhere else in the country could for the most part be planted here, 'with wheat as the finest grain, followed by round-grained cotton. Barley gruel is only used for distilling and supplementing animal feed. The rest, like beans, millet, sesame, green vegetables, gourds and aubergines, can all be cultivated.'[49] Peasants already extensively employed farming implements made of iron and iron-steel alloy. The *katman* and sickle used by them have already been described.[50]

In the area of handicrafts, the Uighurs were best known for quarrying, forging and weaving. The area around Khotan produced jade, as we have seen. The Uighurs also mined and forged iron, copper and gold, and manufactured tools like axes, files, drills, saws, sickles, shovels and hoes, and weapons such as knives, arrows and shields. Among textile products, the silk floss and woven woollen products were of the finest quality. The area around Khotan was 'particularly abundant in silkworms, and the silk cloth which was woven was particularly fine, glossy, tightly woven and valuable'.[51] Brewing was also a traditional craft. Apart from using wheat and millet for distilling spirit, fruit wines were made from the abundant local peaches, mulberries and grapes. The Uighurs also made their own ink and paper. The paper, called *khasa*, was 'made by pounding and boiling mulberry stalks and tender twigs; the colour is faint with a hint of blue-green, its glossiness is somewhat like Korean paper'.[52]

The Uighurs were renowned traders, each city having a market, or bazaar. Trade was carried out at appointed times:'every seven days they assembled with all sorts of goods; everything one needs in terms of clothes and food is traded at these bazaars'.[53] Yarkand was the largest trading centre. Apart from the local markets, the Uighur merchant caravans also maintained close links with other parts of Central Asia and China proper. Caravans often transported goods to Kokand and Andijan for sale, and traders from places as far away as

47 Wei Yuan, 1842, Vol. 2.
48 Chun Yuan, 1755, Vols. 2 and 7.
49 Ibid.
50 Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 42.
51 Chun Yuan, 1755, Vol. 2.
52 Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 42.
53 Chun Yuan, 1755, Vol. 7.

Afghanistan, Kashmir and India came to Yarkand, Kashghar and Aksu to 'sell items like pearls, skins and so on'.

The merchants who went to the Chinese court often went on the pretext of presenting tribute. In the third year of the reign of the Qing emperor Shun Zhi (1646), the last Chaghatay ruler of Turfan went to the capital to present tribute and to trade. The Qing government checked the old rules under the Ming dynasty, which stipulated that apart from saddles and bridles, bows and arrows, knives and wrought iron (whose purchase was forbidden to visiting missions), items such as tea, porcelain, silk cloth, silk and satin, medicinal materials, sweetmeats and agricultural implements could be bartered in the capital and in Lanzhou. Later, when the Dzungars had obtained control of the region south of the Tian Shan, the Uighurs continued to send tribute and carry on trade. At that time, Suzhou in Hexi was the first stop for the Uighurs coming into China proper and many Uighur merchants settled here for a long time. For trading, the Uighurs had their own metal-based currency called *pūl* (Persian for copper coin), which was made of red copper, 'small but thick, elliptical in shape with a slightly pointed tip, and no square hole in the middle'. After the Dzungar ascendancy the local *pūl* had the name of the Dzungar *khongtaiji* cast in the Todo language on the obverse and in Uighur on the reverse. With every change of ruler among the Dzungars new pieces were issued:

> Whenever a new *taiji* [chief, ruler] came to power, the face and name of the currency would be changed, the method being first to mint 10,000 of the new money to replace the old money. Each new coin would then be used as 2 of the old, and this changing and minting would go on in cycles until the old money was completely taken out of circulation.[54]

The exploitation of the Uighur people by the Dzungar nobles was mainly by way of extorting a heavy tribute from them and forcing them to perform all kinds of unpaid labour: 'They conscripted them at appointed times, having absolute control over them',[55] and regarded all the various communities as their *albatu*s (vassals, servitors). The collection of tribute tax from each household relied primarily on the register drawn up by the *kharaghan*, who was stationed in each city throughout the southern regions of Xinjiang, and by the local *khoja*s.[56]

There were many other types of taxes: the poll tax, the land tax, the fruit tax and taxes on merchants and herdsmen. There were also the gold and silver tax, draught-animal tax,

[54] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 35.
[55] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 39.
[56] Fu Heng, 1772, Vol. 32, pp. 12–13. According to the *Hezhuo zhuanzhaiyao*, 1980, the Dzungars stationed 15 *kharaghan*s in each Muslim locality to carry out tax-collection and keep an eye on the activities of the Uighurs.

trade tax, trees and grass tax, water conservancy tax, and so on. Each type of tax was fixed and onerous, and the Uighurs often had no way of paying them.[57]

According to the Qing records, during the time of Galdan Cering (Galdan Tseren, 1727–45), the population in the Kashghar region was over 10,000 (heads of households only?) and they had to pay 67,000 *tanga*s of silver in tax every year (each *tanga* being equivalent to 1 *tael*). Muslim traders paid a 10 per cent tax, and traders from outside paid 5 per cent. There was also a silver and copper tax on traders and a fruit tax on orchard owners. Every year the Yarkand district, which comprised 27 towns and villages (30,000 households or over 100,000 people), had to pay a tax of 100,000 *tanga*s of silver. There were also other items such as a gold tax and a tax on trade, satin and livestock.

According to Yakoff Filisoff, a topographer from tsarist Russia who accompanied Ugrimoff in 1732–3 to Galdan Cering's central camp, the tribute from the six subordinate regions included copper and coarsely woven cloth from Aksu, copper from Kucha, gold and cotton from Yarkand, Kashghar and Khotan, and alluvial gold from Keriya (Yutian). The total amount of gold received was 700 *tael*s.

According to Chun Yuan (Qi-shi-yi), the Dzungar nobles would dispatch someone every autumn to collect tax from the various Muslim cities:

> Every Muslim male is counted as one household. On every bazaar day, each household pays one bolt of cloth or a few pieces of goat hide or a piece of lynx skin. This is calculated throughout the year, and collected regularly. The rice, grain, peppers and wheat that they planted were counted as one harvest, which would first be divided equally and then a grain tax of 10 per cent exacted.[58]

The *Xiyu tuzhi* records that: 'During the harvesting of wheat and grain, the Muslims suffered from this [fiscal] plunder, an annual payment of 30 or 40 per cent being a frequent occurrence.'[59] If we accept Chun Yuan's version, then the peasants were handing over half or more of their harvests to the Dzungar nobility each year. Whether this account is exaggerated needs further examination, but even a tax of 30 or 40 per cent would have been onerous enough.

Apart from the tax proper, there were also other extortions. On goods transported for sale and gold, silver and cotton, taxes were often collected in excess of the tax quota. In 1767 (the 32nd year of the emperor Qianlong), the Ili governor-general Ming-rui said: 'The Oirats had something called the *ge-na-dan* in anticipation of shortfalls; every year each

[57] *Qing Gaozong shilu*, Vol. 592, memorial from Zhao-hui.
[58] Chun Yuan, 1755, Vol. 7.
[59] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 39.

town sent around 5,000 *tanga*s, which was all for impromptu feasting, and of which there was no fixed amount.'[60]

The officials sent by the Dzungar nobility to collect taxes from each region also imposed their own levies. Wherever these officials went, the Uighurs had to 'daily offer wine, meat and women, and when departing [the officials] would further extract a parting gift. If the amount was too small and they were not pleased, then they would set their followers on the people, plundering and looting.'[61] Sometimes they even formed gangs of three or five, or a few dozen, seizing livestock, raping women and plundering property and goods. According to the *Tazkira-i Khwājagān* [Memoir of the Khojas], on one occasion, when the daughter of Cewang Arabtan was to be married, the higher officials and noble lords of the Uighur tribe, headed by Dāniyāl Khoja, had no choice but to go to Ili and hand over to Cewang Arabtan valuable gifts such as Indian precious stones, pearls, diamonds and gold necklaces.[62]

The Dzungar nobles also forced a number of Uighurs to move to Ili and work as slaves on their farms. Most of them were put to work in agriculture, with a handful engaging in trade and other forms of labour. These people were called *tariyachin*, a corruption of the word *tariyachi*, meaning 'tiller of the land', which we have met before. As early as 1643 the Russian Grigoriy Ilin, who visited Ba'atur Khongtaiji's (1634–53) central encampment, said that Ba'atur Khongtaiji had moved the Uighur peasants to the periphery of the central encampment and forced them to till the land.[63]

When Cewang Arabtan imprisoned Ahmad Khoja in Ili's Abaghas Khadan region, he moved the latter's tribe along with him and made them till the land. Apart from the Ili region, places like the Erqis river valley, the Emin river valley and Urumqi all had quite a number of Uighur peasants. In 1761, when the Qing official A-gui went to Ili to organize the troops and peasants to open up the land, there were still '2–3,000' Muslims brought from places like Yarkand, Kashghar, Aksu and Uch-Turfan, who were tilling the land in Ili. The *tariyachin*s' social status was extremely low and they were not free to move about at will:'According to an old Dzungar regulation, any Muslim escaping from Ili would be captured and severely punished.'[64] The Uighurs had to pay heavy taxes, provide all kinds of labour and even maintain the Uighur chiefs imprisoned in Ili. As the emperor Qianlong noted:

> During the heyday of the Dzungars, they [the Uighurs] were made to work like slaves, forced to abandon their former dwellings to come to Ili and made to rechannel the water to plant

[60] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 32.
[61] Chun Yuan, 1755, Vol. 7.
[62] *Hezhuo zhuan zhaiyao*, 1980, p. 42.
[63] Cf. Baddeley, 1919, Vol. 2, pp. 123–4.
[64] Fu Heng, 1772, Vol. 11.

> paddy. They served and paid taxes without daring to slacken. For years they have been harbouring hatred![65]

Bo-de-er-ge means a merchant or a trader.[66] The Uighurs known as Bo-de-erges were mostly from places like Kashghar, Yarkand and Andijan. When the Qing occupied Ili, groups of the Bo-de-er-ge *otoq* (clan) were still in existence. Adis Beg served as a controller of the Bo-de-er-ges, as did Zaisang Mahmut. They engaged in trade with the Dzungar nobility and in so doing the Bo-deer- ges were one of the important links in the chain of trading contacts between the Dzungar chiefs and the tribal people around them. The social status of the Bo-de-er-ges was, however, like the *tariyachin*s – they were 'looked upon as slaves'.

Ushakh (*Wu-sha-ke*) means 'valiant warrior'. These were the personal soldiers of the Khoja clan who had been moved to Ili. In a memorial presented to the Qing throne in August 1759, Fu-de stated: 'People like the Ushakhs and the Bo-de-er-ges have long lived in Ili and are trusted by [the Khoja leader] Hojan.'[67] The Ushakhs thus looked after the Khoja clan imprisoned in Ili and were their trusted servants.

The wealth that the Dzungar rulers plundered from the various peoples went mainly to a handful of people in Ili with special privileges (the privileged class included the elite lamas): 'The high officials and noble lords consumed cheese, sour milk and wheat in summer, and beef, mutton and cereals in winter.'[68] The nobles wore silks and satins, adorned with embroidery, but the poor herdsmen went through the winter without any cotton cloth and could only wear sheepskin. During the time of Galdan Cering, the Ghulja temple and the Khainuk temple on the two banks of the Ili river maintained over 6,000 lamas. The magnificence of these temples exceeded that of the temples and monasteries built to the north of the Gobi desert and in Mongolia. At the 'beginning of the year and at the height of summer, worshippers would assemble from far and near, often donating precious gems and gold and silver for their embellishment'.[69] The ordinary Uighur people groaned under the rule of the Dzungar nobility with its heavy racial and class oppression. According to the historical records, 'many of them, unable to bear their misery, which was like living in a sea of fire, fled but were not able to find a place to settle peacefully'. The resentment of the Uighur people naturally led to acts of resistance against the rule of the Dzungar nobility, and this facilitated the overthrow of the Dzungar regime by the Qing.

[65] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 12.

[66] According to Saguchi Tōru, this word is a transliteration of the Mongolian *bezirge*, Turkic *bezirgan* and Persian *bāzargān*. See *Shixue zazhi*, 1964, Vol. 73, no. 11.

[67] *Qing Gaozong shilu*, Vol. 595.

[68] Fu Heng, 1755–6, Vol. 39.

[69] Song-yun, 1809, Vol. 12.

Ever since the Dzungar nobles established their dominance over the Tarim basin, the Uighurs had used several means to resist them. They would either 'bury rice, grain and personal wealth in the ground' when the Dzungar nobles came collecting tribute and taxes, or they would 'firm up their walls, make winding tunnels' and build fortresses for defence. Or when they saw Dzungar tax officials coming to collect taxes:

> then the people would conceal themselves aloft, with their livestock hidden below, and they would tightly seal all the openings and take up guard. There were also strong and brave Muslims who turned round and killed the Oirats.[70]

These struggles, however, were mainly sporadic – there was no effective general resistance to the oppression of the Dzungar nobility. From 1737 to 1754, there was a steady stream of Dzungars, Uighurs and other individuals who fled the rule of the Dzungars and sought refuge with the Qing. They complained to the Qing about the Dzungar nobility and also kept them informed about events in the Dzungar dominions. News of Galdan Cering's death, for example, was first obtained by the Qing from Khaidil, a Uighur who had fled from Turfan.[71]

Earlier, when Galdan suffered a great defeat at the hands of the Qing troops in Chao-mo-do, the Uighurs in the Hami region, under the leadership of ᶜAbdullāh Tarkhān Beg, managed to shake off the rule of the Dzungar nobility. In September 1696 ᶜAbdullāh dispatched emissaries to the Qing court, bearing tribute, offering to 'sincerely capitulate' and also stating that 'if Galdan were to come, we, your subjects, will make every effort to capture him'.[72] In January 1697 Galdan's son, Sebten Baljur, fled to Bar-Kul in the Hami region; ᶜAbdullāh sent his eldest son, Guo-pa Beg, to 'capture him with 300 soldiers'.[73] At the same time 'his adoptive father Khoitkhoshuchi and others were also captured'.[74] The Qing appointed ᶜAbdullāh as 'a *jasak* [chief official] of the first rank' and while allowing him to keep the title of *tarkhān*, bestowed upon him the right to issue stamped silver currency and to display a red military banner.[75] In 1698 the Qing established banner troops in Hami, setting up commanders of the banners, commanders of the troops, deputy commanders and cavalry commanders.

In 1720 the people of Turfan and Pichan took advantage of the Qing campaign against Cewang Arabtan to rise and, led by Amīn Khoja, a local Uighur chief, one after the other, they threw off the Dzungar yoke; then they 'dispatched an emissary to China proper to

[70] Chun Yuan, 1755–6, Vol. 7.
[71] *China's First Historical Archives. . .*
[72] Wen Da, 1708, Vols. 29 and 34.
[73] He-ning, 1804.
[74] Wen Da, 1708, Vols. 35 and 36.
[75] Qi Yunshi, 1846, Vol. 15.

report their submission'.[76] In 1731 the Dzungar troops launched a massive attack on areas such as Lukchun in the Turfan region and surrounded Amīn Khoja and his troops 'for no fewer than 40 days, and made 300 sorties on Karakhoja using wooden ladders'.[77] In 1732 the Qing ordered Amīn Khoja to lead the Uighur people of Lukchun to settle in Guazhou and to 'set up banners with adjutants, assistant adjutants, colonels, lieutenant colonels and subalterns, as in the case of Hami'. Amīn Khoja was enfeoffed with the title of *jasak fuguogong* (imperial duke of the second degree).

These conflicts with the Uighurs tended to undermine the stability of the Dzungar empire. When on Galdan Cering's death in 1745, the internal con- flicts among the Dzungar nobility greatly increased, local chiefs in cities throughout southern Xinjiang began, one after another, to slip out of the control of the Dzungar nobles. In 1754, after Yūsuf, the ruler of Kashghar, had returned from Ili, he immediately 'armed the Kashghar people and forced 300 Kalmuk merchants to convert to Islam';[78] he then called upon the Uighurs to rebel. Yūsuf's elder brother, Jahān Khoja (Khwāja Jahān ᶜArshī) (d. 1756), the ruler of Yarkand, responded to the call. Because Ayyūb Khoja of Aksu and Xi-bo-ke (?) Khoja of Uch-Turfan gave intelligence about him to the Dzungars, Jahān Khoja was ambushed by the Dzungar troops and captured. His son Sādiq assembled 7,000 people from Khotan and attacked Yarkand and Kashghar. The entire land from Yarkand to Khotan was thus set ablaze with rebellion.[79]

As these events were taking place, the Qing court sent large forces by two routes to attack Ili in 1755. The Qing forces were able to count on local Uighur support. Amīn Khoja, who had already moved out to Guazhou, followed the main army on its expedition 'with a force of 300 men'. When the Qing army arrived in the vicinity of Ili, ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min, the thirteenth *zaisang*, who was engaged in trade in Ili, offered to dispatch 300 soldiers and pursue the Dzungar khan Davachi (Dawaji). Yūsuf Beg, another Kashghar *zaisang*, who had been imprisoned in Ili by Davachi, promised to follow the Qing troops 'to his people's original nomadic pasture grounds and persuade more than 20,000 of his former subjects to surrender'. Davachi's men were defeated and fled to the Kuluk range (south of Ili, north of Aksu). Ban-di, the general who had pacified the north, instructed Khojis (Huojisi), the *beg* of Uch-Turfan, to set up sentry posts on the mountain passes. When Khojis received the order to go to war, he hid his troops in the woods and sent his younger brother to take wine and horses and pretend to welcome Davachi. When Davachi arrived, the troops came

[76] He-ning, 1804.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Courant, 1912, p. 115.
[79] Cf. Howorth, 1882–1927, Vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 651–3.

out of hiding and captured him and his son Lobja along with his men. Khojis personally led 200 men to escort Davachi and his men to the Qing barracks. After the Dzungar prince Amursana launched his rebellion, Amīn Khoja and his son Sulaymān and Yūsuf Beizi (prince of the fourth order) of Hami joined the Qing army to help quell resistance by the Dzungars.

The Tarim basin under the Qing

Soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, the Qing government had completed its annexation of the areas north and south of the Tian Shan, in two interrelated stages. First, it brought an end to the Dzungar khanate which had once ruled over this whole region; and, second, it suppressed the regime of the Khoja brothers.

The death in 1745 of the Dzungar ruler, Galdan Cering, was followed by a fierce struggle over the succession, so that the power of the Dzungars rapidly declined. In 1755 the Qing government assembled two large armies for an expedition against Ili. They joined in April at Borotala, and in late May fought a fierce battle with the Dzungar khan, Davachi, in the foothills of Gedeng (now within Zhaosu, Mongol Khüree county in Xinjiang).

As the Qing army was celebrating its victory, Amursana, a powerful member of the Dzungar ruling clan, broke out in rebellion in August 1755. In February 1756 the Qing expeditionary force set out once again with the vanguard heading for Ili. It took it a year and a half to pacify the area north of the Tian Shan. Amursana was defeated in 1757 and went into exile, and the Dzungar empire came to an end.

The Qing army, which had still not secured a firm foothold on either side of the Tian Shan, now faced a challenge from the so-called Elder and Younger Khojas. These were the brothers Burhānu'ddīn and Hojan (Khoja Jahān), leaders of the White Mountain sect from the south of the Tian Shan. 'For three generations since their grandfather's time, they had all been imprisoned by the Dzungars.'[80] Burhānu'ddīn and Hojan had followed their father Ahmad, when he led the Uighurs in the Ili river valley in opening up the land and paying tribute to the Dzungar nobles. After Davachi's power was broken, the Qing army went into the Ili region and released the two brothers, who had been imprisoned at Ili, and gave them high offices. Trading on the influence of the White Mountain sect in the south, the elder Khoja Burhānu'ddīn led a contingent to Yarkand to offer a general amnesty and enlist the Uighurs in each city. Meanwhile, the younger Khoja Hojan remained in Ili to oversee the Uighurs there. When Amursana rebelled against the Qing, Hojan persuaded the people to provide him with assistance. But when the Qing troops marched against

[80] Fu Heng, 1772, Vol. 33.

Amursana's troops, Hojan fled back to Yarkand, giving himself the title of Bahādur Khān, and persuading his elder brother Burhānu'ddīn Khoja and all the *beg*s in each city to rise and rebel against the Qing.

The two Khoja brothers established their rule at Yarkand which combined political and religious power and was founded on the support of the followers of the White Mountain sect, while they greatly oppressed the Black Mountain sect. Moreover: 'Anything they needed – millet, cloth, livestock, manual labour – they would appropriate, regardless of the number of people or size of the land. *Beg*s, chiefs and *akhūnd*s [clerics] of various ranks who were in positions of authority would copy their superiors and follow suit.'[81] And they would 'forcibly exact clothing and livestock, with frequent harassment. Should the items be late in forthcoming, they would immediately ransack the place so that the Muslims were daily being harassed.'[82]

In February 1758 the Qing government appointed Ya-er-ha-shan as the general responsible for pacification and had him lead over 10,000 troops to the south of the Tian Shan. When Ya-er-ha-shan surrounded Kucha, Hojan succeeded in escaping in the night. The Qing government then commanded Zhaohui, who had responsibility for border pacification, to cross over from the Kyrgyz territory and take over from Ya-er-ha-shan. Kucha, Aksu and Uch- Turfan now fell one after another. The Qing troops were, however, besieged in Yarkand and it was not until January of the following year that they broke the siege. The Qing troops went back to Aksu, and the *beg*s of the two cities of Yarkand and Kashghar offered to surrender their cities.

The Khoja brothers fled with the remainder of their troops to the Pamirs, with the Qing army in pursuit. In early July, the Qing troops caught up with them at Lake Issyk-kul: '12,000 Muslims surrendered, with tens of thousands of animals. The two Khoja brothers took their wives and their former servants, numbering 300 to 400 people, and fled to Badakhshan.'[83] The ruler of Badakhshan, Sultān Shāh, captured the Khoja brothers and had them put to death, presenting Hojan's head to the Qing army. By the autumn of 1759, the entire periphery of the Tarim basin had been pacified, and to commemorate this campaign, the Qing government ordered that a stone tablet be engraved and set at Lake Issyk-kul. This was the famous 'Lake Issyk-kul stone tablet engraved to commemorate the pacification of the Muslim region', which was also the border stone of the Qing government in the Pamirs.[84]

[81] Yong-gui, 1772, Vol. 4.
[82] Fu Heng, 1772, Vol. 77.
[83] Wei Yuan, 1842, Vol. 4.
[84] The route of the Khoja brothers' flight is a little difficult to understand, if they at any time went near Lake Issyk-kul (Kyrgyzstan). No lake called Issyk-kul is shown on large-scale maps of the Pamirs – Eds.

In 1762 the Qing government officially announced the setting up of an imperial governor-general in Xinjiang (abbreviated to Ili governor-general). Stationed in the town of Huiyuan in Ili, he represented the central government in controlling all military and administrative matters for the whole of Xinjiang. Below him were the counsellor, the commandant, the imperial agent, the lieutenant-governor, etc., stationed at various points all over the region. There were more officials in the north than in the south, and the major part of the Qing army was also placed in the north. Xinjiang was divided into three major geographic units: the Ili and Tarbagatay regions, under the direct jurisdiction of the governor-general; the eight cities to the south of the Tian Shan, under the Kashghar counsellor; and the Urumqi region east of the Tian Shan under the Urumqi lieutenant-governor.

Since Kashghar, which bordered on Kokand and Badakhshan, was the most important of all the cities in the region south of the Tian Shan, the Qing government set up one counsellor in Kashghar to oversee the affairs of the eight cities of Kashghar, Yangi Hisar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, Uch-Turfan, Kucha and Karashahr. Below him was an assistant agent, looking after affairs in Kashghar and Yangi Hisar. There were 643 soldiers stationed in Kashghar from the 8 Manchu and Mongol banners and the Solon and Xibo battalions, and there were 641 Green Standard soldiers. Manchu-Mongol banners and Green Standard soldiers were similarly posted in other parts of Xinjiang as well.

UIGHUR SOCIETY UNDER THE QING

The *beg* system

Before the unification of Xinjiang with China under the Qing, the system of government through *beg*s (chiefs) was quite general in the area inhabited by the Uighur people. *Beg* means official or commander in Turkic. The Qing dynasty records mention a total of 37 different kinds of posts of *beg*s, each with responsibility for administration, corvée, taxes, law, religious affairs, etc. The administrative system that the Qing government established in Xinjiang was partly based on existing local custom. With the exception of Hami and Turfan, where the *jasak* system was applied, in all the areas where the Uighurs lived, the Qing continued the *beg* system and altogether a total of 292 higher and lower *beg*-officials were appointed. However, in order to incorporate the old *beg* system gradually into the Qing regional official system, the Qing government made the following important reforms:

First, it abolished the hereditary principle. This reform took a fairly long time to implement and only in 1814 was it clearly established in law. Nevertheless, the hereditary nobles could still become *beg*s as long as they were allocated to another area.

Second, in respect of the appointment and removal of *beg*s, according to whether a *beg* was high- or low-ranking, either the counsellor or the imperial agent would 'memorialize' a recommendation for imperial ratification. Those who were appointed *beg*s were expected to come from among persons who had served the army effectively and were thought to have genuinely submitted. In particular, the *hākim beg*s, who were in charge of the major towns, were appointed from the upper echelons of Uighurs loyal to the Qing government.

Third, a separation of religious and secular administration was enforced. It was stipulated that those who took office as *beg*s could not simultaneously hold office as religious officials. 'If there are sons of *akhūnd*s ['ahungs'] who are employed by the government and hold office as *beg*s, they cannot themselves become *akhūnd*s.'[85] The emperor Qianlong also pointed out:

> The *akhūnd*s are Muslims who can recite the scriptures and are literate, like the Dzungar lamas. In the past people like the Oirats did not understand matters, they believed the lamas and this led to disturbances; they can certainly cause the Muslims to follow their old habits. Let a proclamation be issued to Shu-he-de to notify the Muslims of every city that hereafter the *hākim*s [officials] alone will be responsible for everything; the *akhūnd*s must not interfere.[86]

Fourth, it was stipulated that a *beg* must not hold office in his place of origin: 'High-ranking *beg*s must avoid their home towns and lower-ranking *beg*s must avoid their villages.'[87] In addition to avoiding their places of origin there was to be an 'avoidance of relatives', particularly in the case of higher-ranking *beg*s.

After the reforms, all the *beg*s were to perform their duties according to their titles. In terms of appointments and removals, promotion and demotion, memorializing for honours, receiving *yanglian* (salary for public officials) according to the size and complexity of the area, prohibition of the extortion of excessive taxes, the bestowal of their seals and specialization in their official duties, they were now put on a par with Chinese officials.[88]

After the mid-eighteenth century, there were no separate khanates or hereditary chiefdoms left in the regions north and south of the Tian Shan, and the *beg*s were appointed or removed from office by the Qing government – they were the tools by which the Qing court ruled the Uighur region; yet, in practice, many of the *beg*s were like feudal lords wielding absolute power. Below the Qing government, these high- and lower-ranking *beg*s constituted the ruling class in Uighur society.

85 *Qinding Da Qing huidian shilue*, Vol. 993.
86 *Qing Gaozong shilu*, Vol. 615. The other title of the emperor was Gao Zong.
87 *Nawenyi gong zouyi*, Vol. 78.
88 88. Yong-gui, 1772, Vol. 4.

Agriculture and irrigation

From the latter half of the eighteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth, the economy of the Uighur region underwent some development, especially in the oases on the edge of the Tarim basin and the Turfan depression. The Uighurs already had a rather well-organized system of irrigation and it was now kept in fairly good repair, with a much wider area of coverage. The *kārīz* system (an irrigation system of wells connected by underground channels) was also common throughout the Kashghar and Turfan areas. An English observer Demetrius Charles Boulger wrote that because the government paid attention to the irrigation system:

> the cultivated country was slowly but surely spread over a greater extent of territory, and the vicinity of the three cities, Kashghar, Yangy Hissar, and Yarkand became known as the garden of Asia. Corn and fruit grew in abundance, and from Yarkand to the south of the Tian Shan the traveller could pass through one endless orchard. On all sides he saw nothing but plenty and content, peaceful hamlets and smiling inhabitants.[89]

Population increase

In 1766 there were approximately 262,000 Uighurs living north and south of the Tian Shan. They were most numerous in Kashghar, Yarkand and Khotan. By 1777 the population of the region south of the Tian Shan had risen to about 320,000, and in about 1826 it reached about 650,000. This rate of population increase exceeded that of the rest of China.

Towns

From the latter half of the eighteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth, agriculture was the most important sector of production for the Uighurs, carried on primarily in the oases. Towns of different sizes arose within the oases. Yarkand was the largest, containing 65,949 inhabitants (15,574 households) in 1766. It was the biggest commercial centre in the Uighur region. According to a 1764 survey carried out for E-er-jing-e, the counsellor in Yarkand, by the *hākim beg* E-dui, there were then more than 200 Uighur traders in Yarkand alone, supervised by *beg*s who had a specific responsibility for them. Kashghar, which was next in size, had 44,603 persons (13,642 households) according to the same census.

Qing records contain various statements about Xinjiang's towns and commerce: 'Braving the long and dangerous journey, Chinese traders bring their merchandise to the region from Shanxi, Shaanxi, Jiangsu and Zhejiang and foreigners, from places such as Andijan, Tibet, Kokand and Kashmir, all come to trade. The bazaar road [at Yarkand] is 10 *li*s long;

[89] Boulger, 1878, pp. 59–60.

on the appointed day the merchandise is piled high and the people flock there. Often there are exotic treasures and the animals and fruits are countless.’[90] ‘In Aksu, the market streets crisscross each other, the tea houses, wine shops and inns are all arranged in orderly fashion and the bazaar is 5 *li*s long.’[91] ‘Traders from the interior as well as foreign traders come in hordes, the market streets are crowded, and whenever there is a bazaar people jostle one another in the throngs and the goods are piled high.’[92]

In Kashghar, because of its position on a major route between China and Central Asia, there was considerable foreign trade. The main areas with which external trade was conducted were the Ferghana basin, the middle and lower reaches of the Amu Darya (Oxus), Afghanistan and the area of the upper reaches of the River Indus. The main items of export were the region’s products, such as silk goods, jade ware and woven cloth, as well as tea, ceramics, rhubarb, etc., imported from the interior of China, and re-exported from Kashghar.

Social life

After the Qing government had established its authority in Xinjiang, it imposed certain restraints on Islamic religious leaders to prevent them from interfering in secular matters. However, it did not restrict or interfere with the religious beliefs of the Uighur people.

Islam was the religious faith of all the Uighur people, who followed its prescribed prayers and rituals, including the congregational Friday prayers. Every town had mosques. The person who recited the scriptures was known as the *akhūnd*; he often recited the scriptures for the people to ward off disaster and to bring good fortune. The *akhūnd*s received donations and gifts and often redistributed some of the animals donated as gifts to poor families. Rich families, too, gave presents to the *akhūnd*s on important occasions. At the graves of saints and their descendants *mazār*s (shrines) were built, which people visited and prayed at. The richer Uighurs often travelled to Mecca for the *hajj*. The journey could take as long as three years.

While the *sharī^{c}a* (Islamic law) generally regulated such matters as marriage and inheritance, there were many local customs as well. Thus among the Uighurs, when proposing a marriage, the prospective groom’s family would send a matchmaker to the girl’s family; if they agreed, the matchmaker would inform the groom’s family. An exchange of gifts would follow. The wedding festivities lasted three days, after which the groom’s parents and relatives would return home on their own, leaving the man behind to attend to his wife,

[90] Yong-gui, 1772, Vol. 9.
[91] Chun Yuan, 1755, Vol. 9.
[92] Pei Jingfu, 1907–8, Vol. 1.

who would be brought home later with much ceremony. Although choice generally played little part in these marriages, it was not unknown, particularly in cases of marriages of widowed men and women, orphans and those who had known each other since childhood.

Divorce was fairly free. If there was discord, a couple could separate at any time. If it was the wife leaving the husband, she could not remove anything from the house; if it was the husband leaving the wife, then the wife would retain everything in the house. They would share their children, with the husband claiming the sons, and the wife the daughters. In the first year of separation, any child born to the wife could be claimed by the husband as his own, but not after a year.

When a woman lost her husband, she would have to wear her clothes inside out for three days and she could only remarry after one year. When a man lost his wife, he could remarry after three months. The inheritance practices regarding the estate of the deceased conformed to the *sharīᶜa*, daughters inheriting only half of what the sons received; and should a son die before his parents, the parents' wealth would not be inherited by the grandchildren.

Literature

The Qing unification of Xinjiang with the rest of China led to the spread of the Chinese language since it was used by the higher officials and the Qing forces posted in Xinjiang. But the literary language of the Muslim religious circles, and those under their influence, remained Persian. Thus in 1768–9 Muhammad Sādiq Kashgharī wrote a Persian history of the *khwāja*s, or mystics, of Kashghar, the previously mentioned *Tazkira-i Khwājagān*.[93] He also translated Haydar Dughlāt's celebrated history, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, into Chaghatay Turki.[94] Chaghatay Turki continued to be patronized by local potentates. Three poets from Kashghar, ᶜAbdu'l Rahīm Nizārī (d. 1848), Nauroz Akhūn Ziyā'ī and Turdī Gharībī (d. 1862), came to Turfan at the invitation of its governor, Afridun Wan: Nizārīhas left behind the *Dahr al-najāt* [Time of Salvation], on the principles of ruling a state; Ziyā'ī, some love poetry and a didactic work, the *Makhzūn al-waᶜzūn* [Treasure of Admonitions] (1813); and Gharībī, a *masnawī* on arts and crafts, the *Kitāb-i gharīb* [The Strange Book]. Apparently not much literature was produced in the Uighur language as distinct from Chaghatay Turki. Some knowledge of Arabic continued to be transmitted through the institutions of mosque schools and Sufi hospices.

93 Elias, 1897; Storey, 1927–53, pp. 392–3, 1026.
94 Storey, 1927–53, pp. 274–5.

8

THE MONGOLS*

N. Ishjamts

Contents

The Mongol empire and its collapse (late fourteenth to late fifteenth century)[1]

During the Middle Ages, the sedentary civilizations of Eurasia coexisted with a different world on their borders and, sometimes, well within the world of nomads. Mongolia was a classic example of a nomadic culture – a country of desert and steppe, with almost no agriculture, and yet not only interacting with sedentary civilizations, but even leaving its stamp on them time and again throughout history.

Following the collapse of the Yüan dynasty in 1368, its last emperor, the Mongol *ejen qaghan* (emperor, hereafter spelled kaghan) Toghon Temür, retired from Beijing and

* See Map 4, pp. 927–8.

[1] *Note on transliteration:*classical Mongolian *q* corresponds to modern *kh* or *h*, and *gh* (more properly γ) to *g*. There is some fluctuation between *-q* and *-gh (-g)*, *qt* and *ght (gt)*, *j (zh* in Mongolian Cyrillic) and *dz* (*z* in Mongolian Cyrillic), and *ch* and *ts* (*c*). Pinyin is used for chinese. The normal impressionistic versions of names of Tibetan origin are followed on the first occurrence by an accurate representation of the Tibetan spelling according to the Wylie system.

returned to Mongolia with his army. Karakorum once again became the capital of a Mongol state, one which now ruled essentially within its own ethnic boundaries. This country, which extended from Manchuria to Kyrgyzstan between the Great Wall of China and Lake Baikal, was a relatively large entity, and its ambitions to regain sovereignty over China still caused considerable anxiety to the Ming dynasty, which had supplanted the Yüan in China.

In 1380 the Ming army marched into Mongolia and laid waste the capital Karakorum. Eventually the Chinese army was expelled from the country, and Karakorum, which recovered with difficulty, again became a capital city for a certain period. Nevertheless, the Mongol kaghans could no longer entertain any claim over China.

In 1387 the south-eastern marches of the Mongol state, inhabited by the Uriangkhai Mongols (the eastern part of modern Inner Mongolia), were conquered by China and in 1399 the western part of the country, consisting of the four Oirat Mongol nomadic tribes who lived to the south-west of the Altai mountains in north-western Xinjiang, broke away from the kaghan's tutelage.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, internecine warfare erupted in Mongolia over the succession to the kaghanship. It was ultimately claimed by a certain Buniashri, who lived in Samarkand and was a descendant of Chinggis Khan (Chingiz Khan) and an associate of the famous conqueror Amir Timur (Tamerlane).[2] The Ming court, seeing in Buniashri and his powerful protector a serious threat, issued an ultimatum demanding that Mongolia accept the status of a border state under Chinese suzerainty. Buniashri refused this outright and his protector Timur, who by 1405 was well over 70, seized this as an opportunity to set off with an enormous army for a campaign against the Ming, but he died *en route*. In 1409 a Ming army of reputedly 100,000 men entered Mongolia, but was routed by the Mongols. A year later, the Ming emperor Cheng Zu (1402–24) attacked Mongolia with an even larger force. This time, the Mongols were defeated, but not conquered.

Buniashri died in 1412 and several pretenders to the throne appeared. In the late 1420s one of their number, a certain Delbeg Khan, came to the fore thanks to his Oirat prime minister Toghon Taishi, who at the same time managed to preserve the unity of the country. Toghon and other high Oirat nobles bore the title *taishi* (even if they were in fact full rulers), since that was the title accorded to dignitaries, ministers and high officials of the Mongol empire, unlike the title kaghan, which was borne by the descendants of Chinggis Khan. Toghon Taishi's son, Esen (1440–55), persuaded the Uriangqai Mongols in the south-east to break from China, and reincorporated the four Oirat tribes in the west back into the Mongol empire.

[2] *History of the Mongolian People's Republic*, 1968, Vol. 1, p. 419.

In 1449 Esen Taishi entered China with 20,000 cavalry. He was met by the Ming emperor, Ying Zong (1435–49), at the head of an army half a million strong. However, the Chinese army was defeated and the emperor was taken prisoner by the Mongols. Esen with some delay resumed his advance on Beijing, but failed to take the city. In the autumn of the following year, peace was concluded between Mongolia and China, and Esen allowed the Ming emperor to return home.

In 1451 Esen toppled the Mongol kaghan Delbeg and declared himself kaghan of all Mongolia, with the grand title of ' Yüan emperor'. According to Mongol law and custom, only direct descendants of Chinggis Khan, members of the imperial 'Golden Clan', could become kaghan, and thus the Oirat Esen was felt by the Mongols to be a usurper. In 1455 local chiefs fanned a series of revolts and Esen was killed in one of the skirmishes.[3]

After his death, Mongolia was divided into two parts: eastern Mongolia, consisting of the three 'left-flank' *tümen*s ('10,000,' administrative divisions, as the Mongols were usually called), Khalkhas (Qalqas), Chahars (Chaqars) and Uriangqais, and the three 'right-flank' *tümen*s, Ordos, Tümeds and Yünshebüs; and western Mongolia, consisting of the four Oirat tribes. For a period of 15 years, a series of minor kaghans succeeded one another, none of whom managed to stay in power for long.

New state-building in Mongolia and the conversion to Buddhism (late fifteenth to early seventeenth century)

DAYAN KHAN

The situation changed only with the advent of a courageous and wise woman – khatun Manduqai, the mother of the infant Batu Möngke Dayan Khan (1470–1504).[4] As regent, Manduqai placed the 7-year-old Batu Möngke, a descendant of Chinggis Khan, on the throne and made persistent efforts to bring the independent principalities back into the fold, if possible by political and diplomatic means as well as by warfare. A major struggle ensued with Ismā^{c}īl Khan, who represented a major part of the Mongols (though whether Western or Eastern is not certain), but he was defeated and died before 1486. Thereafter, especially from 1495, Dayan Khan seems to have continuously exerted pressure on the Ming border territories.

[3] For Esen, see also Ch. 6, Part Two, above.

[4] The exact dates of Dayan Khan's accession and death are uncertain; see W. Franke in Pokotilov, 1976, Part 2, pp. 49–50, 52–3. Franke holds that Dayan Khan's accession could not have taken place before 1479 or 1480 – Eds.

Dayan Khan reimposed order in the state administration and, more generally, in the life of the country. As kaghan, he and his headquarters and personal guard were usually to be found in the capital Karakorum, although for long periods his campaign tents remained in Chahar or Ordos. He not only held the reins of government of the whole country; he also exercised direct control over the three left-flank *tümen*s. Prince Jonon (who was to be his successor) ruled over the three right-flank *tümen*s from his headquarters in Ordos. Dayan Khan's second wife, the younger woman kaghan, was chosen from the highest Oirat nobility in order to ensure that the western marches were kept firmly tied to the rest of the country.

These 6 *tümen*s were major administrative units, often called *ulūs tümen*s (princedoms), comprising the 40 lesser *tümen*s of the military-administrative type inherited from the Yüan period, each of which was reputedly composed of 10,000 cavalry troops, and the 4 Oirat tribal *tümen*s. For this reason, the Mongol state was sometimes known as the 'Forty Mongol *Tümen*s and the Four Oirat *Tümen*s', or simply the 'Forty and Four'.

Towards the end of his reign, Dayan Khan granted the six *tümen*s of eastern Mongolia as appanages to his eleven sons, leaving the four Oirat *tümen*s of western Mongolia in the hands of their own *taishi* nobles. In accordance with Mongol custom, his youngest son Geresendze Jalair Khongtaiji (1513– 49) was granted, as 'master of the hearth', the cradle of the Mongol empire, the Khalkha *tümen*, or northern Mongolia – the largest and strongest of the six Mongol and four Oirat *tümen*s. Jalair was the name of Geresendze's native tribe, and *khongtaiji* means 'great *taiji*', someone who was entitled to succeed a *jonon* or even a kaghan. The elder sons of the kaghan were given the remaining right-flank and left-flank *tümen*s in southern Mongolia. In the middle of the sixteenth century, each of Geresendze's seven sons received as his inheritance a specific part of Khalkha Mongolia. Such a princely domain was initially called *otoq* (a territorial administrative unit) and, later, *qoshun*.

TÜMEN JASAGHTU KHAN

Under the two kaghans who succeeded Dayan Khan, centrifugal forces again gathered strength: the Oirats seceded and the *noyan*s (nobles; in Persian, *nūyīn*s) of 'the right flank' tried to slip out of the kaghan's authority. There were even armed clashes that resulted in casualties among the nobles themselves, not to mention their troops and the *arat*s (free nomadic pastoralists).

It fell to Tümen Jasaghtu Khan (1558–92) to begin once again to unify the country with the help of Abtai Khan of Khalkha (1554–88), Geresendze's grandson, Altan Khan of Tümed (1507–82), Khutughtai Sechen Khongtaiji of Ordos (1540–86) and many other prominent chiefs. Coming below the titles of 'kaghan' and 'lesser kaghan', the title 'khan'

was now usually given to the rulers of small, but strong princedoms. While in historical writings, the relations between the kaghan and his vassals are not made entirely clear, and Altan Khan is portrayed either as being opposed to Tümen Jasaghtu Khan and as hoping to seize supreme power for himself, or on the contrary as a weak individual who became a vassal of the Ming dynasty, the truth of the matter is probably somewhat different. Tümen Jasaghtu Khan treated Abtai, Altan and Khutughtai as his own vassals, and they, notwithstanding a certain degree of independence, could not but submit to Tümen as their lord. In view of the fact that his Tümed *tümen* actually bordered on China, Altan Khan was bound to pursue a policy of good relations with the Ming dynasty.[5] But he was in no sense a Ming vassal, despite the fact that his policy of friendly relations with China did indeed give rise to suspicions about his loyalties.

Co-ordinating his actions carefully, Tümen Jasaghtu Khan won over the Uriangqai and Daghur Mongols to his side and even conquered the'three Jürchit river tribes', the immediate ancestors of the Manchus. Abtai Khan and Khutughtai Sechen Khongtaiji brought a significant proportion of the four Oirat tribes back into the Mongol fold. Altan Khan conquered the region of Koko Nor, leaving one of his sons there as ruler and thus opening up what was to become a well-worn road to the gates of Tibet. Tümen Jasaghtu Khan tried to unify the country administratively and so included in his government not only Abtai, Altan and Khutughtai Sechen, but also other influential nobles from all the *tümen*s and from the Oirat regions. He compiled a new code that was supposed to be based on Chinggis Khan's Great *Yāsā* or *Jasaq* (see Volume IV, Part One). Subsequently, Altan Khan, Abtai Khan and, most likely, several others followed his example and adopted their own laws and codes in their respective *tümen*s. But only some of these have been preserved, whether wholly or partially. They were written in the old Mongol script, which had been borrowed from the Uighur, and adopted under Chinggis Khan as the official script of the Mongols.

THE CONVERSION TO BUDDHISM

Mongolia had so far been shamanist in faith, but in the second half of the sixteenth century it turned definitively towards the Tibetan form of northern (Mahāyāna) Buddhism. Although the Yüan emperors had adopted Buddhism as the official religion of the empire, it had never gained much currency in Mongolia and, for that reason, the country had long remained almost completely shamanist. Perhaps, besides spiritual factors that often defy analysis, there were certain worldly reasons why Tibetan Buddhism with its organized church and ritual should have attracted the Mongols. They doubtless found a source of

[5] On the negotiations of Altan Khan ('An-ta') with the Ming authorities, see Pokotilov, 1976, Part 1, pp. 127–35.

strength for the temporal power of the Yüan kaghan to be reinforced by the spiritual power of the Tibetan Buddhist Church. Furthermore, during the period under consideration, the Mongols were confronted with the might of the Ming empire and needed a stable and lasting union with some other people. Tibet, which had stronger religious and cultural traditions but was militarily and politically weak, was interested in establishing a sound military and political union with the Mongols. These mutual and complementary interests perhaps partly explain the conversion of Tümen Jasaghtu Khan, though the original circumstance was rather accidental: the capture of some lamas in a raid into Tibet by a great-nephew of Altan Khan in 1566. Moreover, the Ming government also assisted in the spread of Buddhism among the Mongols.

Tümen Jasaghtu Khan and other Mongol rulers decided to adopt Tibetan Buddhism, although they paid scant attention to the differences between the rival 'Red Hat' (Karma Zhwa-dmar-pa) and 'Yellow Hat' (Gelugpa [dGelugs-pa] or 'Virtuous Path') sects (see Chapter 6 above). In 1576 Tümen Jasaghtu Khan invited the head of the Red Hat sect, the Karma-pa Lama (bLama), to his headquarters and agreed with him that Tibetan Buddhism should be adopted as the state religion of Mongolia. In implementation of this decision, Altan Khan and Khutughtai Sechen Khongtaiji received the head of the Yellow Hat sect, the third Dalai Lama, with great pomp in 1577. The Tümed and Ordos Mongols converted simultaneously to Buddhism. On meeting the Dalai Lama at Altan Khan's headquarters, Abtai Khan also declared his desire to convert the whole of northern Mongolia to the Buddhist faith. He was followed in this by the other *tümen*s of the right and left flanks. Somewhat later, Buddhism also spread among the Oirats, some of whom migrated in the seventeenth century to the Volga region, where they became known as the Kalmuks (Qalmāqs) (see Chapter 6).

Numerous Tibetan lamas, of both Red Hat and Yellow Hat affiliations, arrived in Mongolia in order to proselytize and build monasteries. Shamanism was repudiated, though not without opposition from its supporters. Unlike shamanism, whose rituals included bloody sacrifices of livestock and even human beings, Buddhism was strongly opposed to the shedding of blood and the taking of life, and preached peace and calm. Buddhism also imposed strong constraints on the lives, habits, emotions and thoughts of individuals, despite the cosmic breadth and ultimate ineffability of its tenets.

The Manchu conquest of Mongolia and the anti-Manchu uprisings (seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century)

Under Ligdan Khan (1604–34), the last descendant of the Yüan emperors to rule the Mongol state, the situation at home and abroad changed considerably. Although Ligdan was officially styled kaghan of all Mongolia, his headquarters were never at Karakorum or Erdeni Dzuu in northern Mongolia, but always in the Chahar *tümen*. His writ extended for the most part only to Chahar, though nominally also to the other four *tümen*s of southern Mongolia. The Khalkha and Oirat Mongols were in practice no longer subject to his authority. And even in southern Mongolia the situation was becoming increasingly precarious. However, Ligdan Khan received respectable subsidies from the Ming government.

The Mongol state was at that time divided into three independent khanates: the Southern Mongol Chahar khanate, the Northern Mongol Khalkha khanate and the Western Mongol Oirat confederation. Ligdan Khan built a new capital in Chahar known as Chaghan Baishin (White House) and he encouraged the building of monasteries and the translation of Tibetan canonical literature into Mongolian. He promoted trade and economic links with China and exported large numbers of horses in exchange for money, silk, flour, millet, rice and craft items.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Manchuria, on the eastern frontiers of Mongolia, the southern Jürchen (in Mongolian, Jürchit) tribes began to form a powerful military alliance. In 1616 the Manchu leader Nurhachi (1616–26) proclaimed the establishment of a Manchu state whose capital was Mukden (in Chinese, Shenyang) and with himself as kaghan; this state was to play a decisive role in the fortunes of Mongolia, China and a number of other countries in the Far East.

Like the Mongols, the southern Jürchen or Manchu tribes were a people of the Altaic ethnolinguistic group, whose language was close to Mongolian. Having long been under the rule of proto-Mongol tribes and the Mongol empire, they had come under strong Mongol cultural influence. For this reason the Manchu state adopted the Mongol script, with some modifications, as its official alphabet, and took over much of the military, political and administrative system of the Yüan dynasty.

Nurhachi had ambitions to conquer China, but Ligdan stood in his way, despite his disputes with the Ming court over the amount of his subsidy. Seeing this, the Manchu kaghan began secretly to oppose him, trying to win over a portion of the Southern Mongol *noyan*s who clearly found Ligdan's rule burdensome. Given the degree of feudal fragmentation, there was no difficulty in finding more than a few such nobles, who hoped that

the Manchus might help them to achieve their aims and ambitions. Prince Uuba of the Khorchin tribe, together with his subjects and several other Southern Mongol tribes, went over to the Manchus. Nurhachi welcomed them with open arms, a gesture that was bound to strain relations between the Mongol and Manchu kaghans.

In 1625 Ligdan and his army attacked the renegades, but with Manchu help they managed to repel his forces. The following year, Nurhachi made a great show of receiving Uuba Noyan with full honours and gave his daughter in marriage to Uuba's younger brother, thus laying the foundations of a dynastic link between the Manchu rulers and the Mongol nobility. Nurhachi, and later Ambaghai (1627–43) and a number of other Manchu rulers, also took the daughters of influential Mongol nobles for wives. Thus several Manchu kaghans had the blood of Mongol mothers in their veins.

In 1628 Ligdan crushed the army of the Khorchin tribe and their allies, but he did not succeed in winning back to his side all the wayward Mongol tribes. At the same time, Ligdan lost the support of the three right-flank Ordos, Tümed and Yünshebü *tümen*s, a fact which did not go unnoticed by Ambaghai. Ligdan retained only the Chahar *tümen*, which had been significantly weakened both militarily and politically.

In 1632 Ambaghai, together with his Manchu and allied Southern Mongol forces, attacked and defeated the Chahar khanate. All of Ligdan Khan's family, his wife and his young sons, Ejei Erq Khongor and Abunai, were taken prisoner by the Manchus. Ligdan and his remaining troops and some of his subjects beat a retreat westward, all the way to Koko Nor in Amdo. Neither the Mongol Yellow Hat Buddhists nor the Ming dynasty gave him any assistance, and he was therefore forced to rely solely on the Red Hat sect of Mongolia and Tibet. Help also came from northern Mongolia in the form of an extremely influential, but somewhat solitary figure, Tsoght Khongtaiji, with his small band of troops and subjects. Ligdan died in 1634 and the greater part of his army and followers soon returned to their pastures.

Although Tsoght Khongtaiji and his Tibetan Red Hat allies at first fought successfully against the Yellow Hats, the leaders of the Yellow Hats, the fifth Dalai Lama and the fourth Panchen Lama (known as Panchen Erdeni in Mongolian), who had made a secret alliance with the Oirats, were able in 1637 to summon to their aid a large cavalry force of Western Mongols under the command of Güüshi (Gushri) Khan, the leader of the Khoshot (Qoshod) tribe. Güüshi Khan and the Tibetan Yellow Hats crushed Tsoght Khongtaiji and the remainder of Ligdan's army. Tsoght Khongtaiji was killed in battle. What was left of his army, together with a number of Khalkhas who arrived later, came together to form the Khalkha *qoshun*, one of the 29 Mongol *qoshun*s of Koko Nor.

At about the same time, in 1636, Ambaghai Khan convened an assembly of the 49 Southern Mongol *jasaq noyan*s (banner princes from among the noble *taishi*s) at which he proclaimed himself kaghan of all the Mongols, thus openly laying claim to Khalkha and Oirat Mongolia. Between 1634 and 1636 southern Mongolia was conquered by the Manchus. It was known henceforth as Inner Mongolia as opposed to the Khalkha khanate and Oirat domains, known as Outer Mongolia.

With a view to utilizing Ligdan's captive family for the conquest of the Khalkhas and the Oirats, the Manchus held the family in a position of honour and awarded the eldest son Ejei Erq Qongor the highest rank of *chinvan*. When Ejei Erq Qongor grew up, however, he died prematurely in extremely suspicious circumstances. Ambaghai then awarded Ejei Erq Qongor's rank of *chinvan* to his younger brother Abunai. Abunai also developed an aversion for the conquerors: at one point he went eight years without having a single audience with the Manchu emperor. Finally, he refused to attend any more audiences at all. In desperation, the infuriated Ambaghai pinned his hopes on Abunai's only son, Ligdan's grandson, Burni. Burni, who as a child had been loyal to Ambaghai, changed his attitude as he grew up. In 1675 he fomented an armed uprising against the Manchu yoke. However, the uprising was crushed and Burni fell in an unequal battle.[6]

In the early seventeenth century, in the remaining part of Mongolia, the Khalkha khanate was headed by the grandson of Abtai Khan, the Tüsheet khan Ghombodorji. It consisted of three large *aymaq*s (princedoms). The largest and most important of these was the *aymaq* of the Tüsheet khan himself. The other two *aymaq*s of the right and left flanks were under the direct control of their own khans, who were subordinate to the Tüsheet khan. The leader of the left-flank *aymaq* was the Sechen khan, and of the right-flank *aymaq*, the Jasaghtu khan. As previously, the *aymaq*s continued to be divided into *qoshun*s, which were headed by *jasaq noyan*s. The Tüsheet khan's *aymaq* had two large *qoshun*s, the Sechen khan's a single *qoshun* and the Jasaghtu khan's four small *qoshun*s. The three *aymaq*s of the Khalkha khanate contained a total of seven *qoshun*s.

On part of the territory of the north-western *qoshun*s of the Jasaghtu khan's *aymaq*, there subsequently arose the princedom of Sholoi Ubashi Khongtaiji, known in Russian sources as Altyn (Altan) Khan of the Khotghoit tribe. At the north-western edge of the country lay the Uriangqai district in the mountainous region of Taghnu Ula. The southern part of the Sechen khan's *aymaq*, called Dariganga, was inhabited by Khalkhas, with a small admixture of people of Chahar and Oirat origin. These people grazed the Manchu emperor's cattle on their pastures for their own profit.

[6] Jamba, 1984, p. 298.

The seizure of southern Mongolia by the Manchus, the loss of authority of the Mongol state's supreme kaghan and the proclamation of the Manchu ruler as kaghan of all the Mongols naturally caused considerable anxiety to the Khalkhas and the Oirats. But they were in such a state of fragmentation that despite the gravity of the situation they were unable to unite.

The Tüsheet khan Ghombodorji and other Khalkha rulers began to look for an authoritative spiritual and religious leader who might exert a unifying influence in their favour. They decided to appoint and elevate the newborn son of the Tüsheet khan, Dzanabadzar, to the position of Boghdo Gegen (dGergan) (Resplendent Saint), the consecrated head of the Mongol Lamaist Church. At a Khalkha assembly in 1639, the Khalkha khans and *qoshun jasaq*s officially proclaimed Dzanabadzar as Boghdo Gegen, the first Mongol reincarnation of the Indo-Tibetan saint Jebtsündamba (rJe-btsun-dam-pa). In Mongolia and Tibet, Dzanabadzar was glorified as Öndür Gegen (Lofty Brilliance) or Urga Khutughtu (in Tibetan, Ho-thog-thu), from the Mongolian name of the headquarters of the ruler and residence of the holy reincarnations, Ürge (Urga). The headquarters of Öndür Gegen soon became a small town, Khüriye. In the Manchu period, it grew into Ikh Khüriye (Big Town), and was subsequently renamed Niislel Khüriye (Capital City), the latter-day Ulaanbaatar.

The Khalkha rulers, who were doing their utmost to strengthen the unity and military-political power of the country, strove to maintain peaceful relations with the Manchu court and to foster friendly, good-neighbourly ties with Russia, the emerging power to the north. With this aim in mind, the Khalkha khans sent an embassy to the Manchu ruler, Ambaghai Khan, in 1636 with a symbolic gift consisting of a camel and eight white horses, along with sable furs and other costly goods. Ambaghai interpreted the Khalkha embassy and gifts as an implicit recognition of submission, and demanded that a similar embassy should henceforth be sent every year to render the tribute of loyal vassal to suzerain. He also ordered them to halt the provision of horses to the Ming army, and in case they did not obey, threatened to deal with them as he had dealt with Ligdan Khan. The Khalkhas stopped providing horses to the Ming, but sent no more embassies to Ambaghai.

The Oirats, situated at a relatively safe distance, were for the time being less affected by Manchu ambitions. In 1635, the year following Ligdan Khan's death, the Oirat prince Ba'atur Khongtaiji (1634–53) of the Choros clan united all four Oirat tribes and founded the Dzungar (Junghar) khanate, with himself as its leader (see Chapter 6 above).[7] In 1640, at his instigation, an assembly was convened of Oirat, Khalkha, Koko Nor and Kalmuk rulers and representatives of the high clergy, at which the *Oirat Mongol Legal Code* was drafted and enacted, under which all were urged to consolidate their own internal position

[7] Zlatkin, 1983, p. 98.

and to pool their efforts in order to resist the Manchus. However, fragmented as they were, the Mongols found these measures extremely difficult to carry out in practice.

In 1664 the Ming dynasty of China was overthrown by the Manchus. The new Manchu kaghan, Shun Zhi (Shun-chih), transferred the capital to Beijing, proclaimed himself emperor and chose the name Qing (Ch'ing) for the new dynasty. The Manchu state was transformed into the powerful Qing empire, which held sway over all of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and China, a state of affairs that significantly affected the position of the Khalkha Mongols.

In 1646 a Southern Mongol *noyan* called Tengis led an uprising against the Qing, but unable to withstand the onslaught of his powerful enemy, was forced to beat a retreat and lead his troops and people to safety into the Khalkha khanate, pursued by a Manchu army. In 1647–8 the Tüsheet khan Ghombodorji and the two other Khalkha khans met the Manchus with a 50,000-strong cavalry. Neither side managed to gain a decisive victory in the battle. Although the Manchu army, in view of its severe losses, was forced to retreat, the Khalkhas' losses were no less severe. The clear message of this clash with just a small part of the Manchu forces was that the Khalkha Mongols could no longer hope to resist the Qing empire's armies.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the Tüsheet khan Ghombodorji and the other two Khalkha khans all died. The Tüsheet khan's throne was ascended by his young and inexperienced son Chaghundorji (1653–99), and the places of the other two khans were taken by similar young nobles. Seizing the advantage, the Qing court stepped up its pressure on Khalkhas and began to interfere directly in its internal affairs. Above all, it set about weakening from within the chief Khalkha *aymaq*, that of the Tüsheet khan, by supporting a pro-Manchu religious dignitary called the Dandzan Lama. In 1655, with the aim of establishing a rival to the Tüsheet khan, the Qing emperor declared the domain of the Dandzan Lama a new *qoshun* within the Tüsheet *aymaq*. As a result, the number of Tüsheet *qoshun*s rose from seven to eight. This marked the beginning of the dismantling of the Tüsheet *aymaq* and a further stage in the fragmentation of the Khalkha khanate. In the same year, the Qing administration issued a decree requiring the Khalkha khans henceforth to send their sons and heirs as hostages to the Qing court. In this way, the Khalkha khanate gradually fell under the influence of the Qing authorities.

In 1671 the Dzungar throne was occupied by the energetic Galdan Boshoghtu Khan (1671–97), the son of Ba'atur Khongtaiji. He reinforced his domestic position and, like his father, pursued a policy of hostility towards the Qing court. To this end, he worked to bring about a *rapprochement* with Chaghundorji, Öndür Gegen and other Khalkha rulers, forging close links above all with his nearest neighbour, the Jasaghtu khan. But his own

ambitions led to a war with the Khalkha Mongols, which ended in a crushing defeat for the latter (see Chapter 6). Chaghundorji and Öndür Gegen fled to Inner Mongolia, which was subject to the Qing, and requested the Qing to provide military assistance against the Dzungar khanate.

At about the same time, Russian Cossacks occupied the Buriat region in northern Mongolia, then subject to the Tüsheet khan, and several armed clashes occurred between Chaghundorji and the Cossacks, as a result of which the Khalkha Mongols, pressed from all sides, were not in a position to appeal to Russia for assistance. At the same time Qing power in the region was strengthened by the treaty of Nerchinsk with Russia in 1689.

Finding itself in an untenable position, Khalkha Mongolia fell under the protection of the Qing emperor, with whom it established a relationship of vassal to suzerain in 1691. Between 1691 and 1696, Qing troops entered Khalkha territory, defeated Galdan Boshoghtu and occupied northern Mongolia. With the exception of Buriatia, which according to the treaty of Nerchinsk fell to Russia, the Qing gradually established a form of sovereignty, albeit not complete, over northern Mongolia.

The next target of Qing ambitions was the Dzungar khanate. Under Galdan Boshoghtu's two successors, Cewang Arabtan (Tsewangraptan, 1688–1727) and Galdan Cering (Galdan Tseren, 1727–45), the khanate recovered its strength. It maintained its hegemony over a large part of Central Asia, despite losing Tibet in 1719 when it was occupied by the Qing. Cewang Arabtan and Galdan Cering maintained friendly relations with Russia, hoping thus to gain Russian support in their struggle against the Qing. But in 1727 Russia and the Qing government concluded the treaty of Kiakhta, which established state frontiers between Russia and the Qing empire running essentially along the geographic boundary between Khalkha and Buriatia. In 1739 a border agreement was also concluded between the Dzungar khanate and the Qing government. The line was established as the geographic boundary between the Oirat empire and the Khalkha Mongols along the main Altai ridge and the Baitagh and Qabtagh mountains. Cewang Arabtan and Galdan Cering made bold attempts to detach Khalkha, Koko Nor and Tibet from Qing suzerainty, even sending troops to those territories, but their efforts were in vain.[8]

On Galdan Cering's death, endless squabbles arose over the succession, which naturally weakened the Dzungar regime and ultimately proved to be its undoing. In 1755 the Qing court dispatched its troops to Dzungaria, which was occupied without much difficulty. In the same year, an anti-Manchu uprising led by Prince Amursana flared up in Dzungaria, and the following year (1756) the Khalkha Mongols launched an armed rebellion against the Manchu authorities, attacking Chinese traders and usurers. They were joined by the

[8] *Imperial Treatise on the Pacification of the Jünghar Lands: Introductory Works*, 1770.

second Boghdo Gegen, the young Urga Khutughtu, and a number of other nobles and senior clergy.

The second Boghdo Gegen, however, fell into Qing hands and shortly thereafter was secretly murdered. The Qing court decreed that the Urga Khutughtu of the Khalkhas should no longer be discovered among the Mongols, and established a procedure whereby he was to be discovered only in Tibet, with the knowledge and consent of both the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, who had already come under Qing control. The Qing were only able to crush the Khalkha and Oirat uprisings two or three years later, in 1758.

Having almost completely subjugated the Oirats, in 1762 the Manchu court established a new Khobdo (modern Hovd) region, which was inhabited by those Dzungars who had remained in place and those who had migrated to the south-western marches of Khalkha territory; this region was made part of Khalkha Mongolia. As a result of the Manchu conquests, the bulk of the territory and inhabitants of Inner, Outer and western Mongolia was incorporated into Qing China, with the remainder, the Buriats and part of the Kalmuks, falling to Russia.[9]

Mongolia and its political status under Qing suzerainty

The period of Qing (Manchu) suzerainty in Mongolia falls into two phases: the first from the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, and the second from the second half of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Throughout the period of Qing suzerainty, supreme power was wielded by the emperor; his decrees and words had absolute force. While the empire had a general basic law and other subordinate laws, these consisted for the most part of the emperor's own projects, decrees and pronouncements. The vast empire was administered on the basis of the *General Law of the Dai Qing [Great Qing] Empire*. For the administration of Mongolia, a special government department was established, the Lifan Yüan (Li-fan Yüan) (Office of Barbarian Affairs, or Tributary Peoples) with its own legal code, the *Lifan Yüan Zeli* (*Li-fan Yüan Tse-li*), which took into account the particular way of life and religious beliefs of the Mongols. It was sometimes known simply as the *Mongol Code*, even though it was also applied, at least in part, to other non-Chinese areas of the empire.

In an effort to preserve the lifestyle, traditions, customs, language, culture and religion of the country, Öndür Gegen Dzanabadzar and other Khalkha rulers compiled in 1709 a new Mongol law known as the *Qalqa jirum*, which for a long time continued to be secretly

9 Bergholz, 1993, pp. 5, 351, 379–405.

observed, in conjunction with the Manchurian codes, in northern Mongolia, especially among the lamas and in religious circles generally.

With a view to perpetuating their own power, the Qing were at great pains to ensure the military and administrative fragmentation of all the conquered Mongol khanates, *aymaq*s and *qoshun*s, isolating them from one another and placing the different parts of the country under the rule of various representatives such as governors-general and *amban*s (imperial residents), and at times even under the provincial governors of Manchuria or China proper. By fragmenting Mongolia in this way, the Qing weakened it significantly and made it well-nigh impossible for the various parts of the country to reunite and recover their independence.

As early as 1636, the Qing divided the 5 *tümen*s of southern Mongolia into 49 *qoshun*s. In 1691 the 8 Khalkha *qoshun*s were divided into 34 *qoshun*s. In 1725 the Tüsheet khan's *aymaq* was divided into 2 parts, carving out of it a new, separate *aymaq* for Sain Noyan Khan, consisting of the earlier Dandzan Lama's *qoshun* and surrounding areas. That brought the number of *qoshun*s of the 4 Khalkha *aymaq*s to 53, a figure which rose further in 1765 to 86, and by the mid-nineteenth century to 91. In the Outer Mongol Khobdo region, 2 new *aymaq*s were created, comprising over 20 *qoshun*s, and in the northern and north-eastern Köbsoghol and Tanghu Ula Uriangqai regions some 10 new *qoshun*s were established, not to mention the south-eastern border region Dariganga, which had 5 new administrative units each equivalent to a *qoshun*. In northern and Inner Mongolia in the Manchu period, there were in all 6 *aymaq*s comprising 154 *qoshun*s, which were in turn divided into smaller units, such as *somon*, *baq*, *otoq* and *arbana* (10 families). In addition, in the Oirat regions of the former Dzungar khanate in northern Xinjiang (traditionally called Dzungaria), over 10 *qoshun*s were created, and in Koko Nor, 29 Khoshot and Torgut (Torghuud) *qoshun*s and 1 Khalkha *qoshun* were established. Thus the total number of *qoshun*s and equivalent administrative units rose to over 230.

For the administration of Khalkha Mongolia, the Qing court appointed over the *aymaq* khans and the *qoshun jasaq noyan*s a representative with the title *jian jun* (*chien chün*), or governor-general, who was from the Manchu nobility. This official took up residence in a deserted medieval Mongol settlement in the Jasaghtu khan *aymaq*, which he turned into the chief military fortress in the country. In addition to the general military and civilian administration and control of northern Mongolia, the governor-general was directly responsible for the two western Khalkha Jasaghtu khan and Sain Noyan *aymaq*s, along with the Taghnu Ula Uriangqai mountain region and the Khobdo region, to which an *amban* was appointed to manage its affairs directly. Another *amban* was appointed to Ikh Khüriye, the permanent residence of the Öndür Gegen and the other Urga *khutughtu*s, and this *amban* was directly

responsible for Urga, the Tüsheet khan and Sechen khan *aymaq*s and the spiritual subjects of the Boghdo Gegen living on his domains in various parts of the country.

Like the Boghdo Gegen, who had become the pre-eminent authority in Mongolia, the *aymaq qan*s (khans), *qoshun jasaq*s and other figures of authority began to conduct their affairs under the supervision and instructions of the Manchu governors-general and *amban*s. The Manchu language became the medium of communication with the imperial court, and with Qing government bodies, representatives and governors, and Mongol scribes were required to learn it. The Qing abolished a number of the highest titles of the Mongol nobility, such as *jonon*, *khung taiji*, *üidzen*, etc. These were replaced by the Manchu Chinese titles *van*, *gün*, *beile* and *beise*, which were higher in rank than *qoshun jasaq* or *taiji*. The highest and most dignified rank granted to the great Mongol chiefs was that of *efü*, or son-in-law of the imperial family.

Indeed, one of the main problems facing the Qing court was that of perpetuating its domination over China, a task in which they made skilful use of the military and political strength of the Mongols. For this reason (as mentioned previously), the Manchu emperors, from the very beginning, not only took the daughters of influential Mongol *noyan*s as wives, but were also keen to give their princesses as brides to Mongol *noyan*s who had rendered particular service to the Qing court. The first Khalkha *noyan*s to become imperial sons-in-law were the *efü* Cereng (Tsereng) and his sons. Two of his sons were rewarded for their help in crushing the Amursana and Chingünjab uprisings by being made high dignitaries of the Qing court, residing permanently in Beijing. One of their descendants, who inherited one of the highest ministerial posts at the Qing court ever held by a person other than a Manchu or Han Chinese, became famous all over the Qing empire as Naiantu Van.

The Qing court, fearing that the Chinese and the Mongols might join forces and turn against them, decreed that it was strictly forbidden for Chinese to emigrate north of the Great Wall and for Mongols to enter China proper, and this ban remained in effect for a long time.[10] An influx of Chinese traders, craftspeople and peasants would have threatened to assimilate the Mongols with the Chinese and weakened their military potential. This would hardly have been desirable for the Manchus, who intended to use that potential to keep China under control, put down rebellions and defend the empire. Nevertheless, one way or another, Chinese merchants managed to enter Mongolia in the wake of the Qing conquest. As early as the mid-seventeenth century, Chinese traders and shopkeepers were to be found in every Mongol *aymaq* and *qoshun*, engaging in trade and money-lending. Not only *arat*s but also numerous *noyan*s and *taiji*s fell into debt with them.

[10] Lui Zhense, 1985, pp. 256–9.

The Qing court imposed heavy obligations on the Mongol *arat*s involving military service, the provision of official transport and postal services, and the performance of guard duty, for which they were forced to provide their own labour, livestock and produce. Qing taxes and requisitions lay heavily on the Mongol people. Furthermore, the Mongol *arat*s bore the full brunt of the feudal obligations imposed by the rulers of the *aymaq*s and *qoshun*s, as well as by the religious hierarchy. In 1819, in addition to the statutory 'nine white horses' and other regular tribute, the Khalkha princes and the Urga*khutughtu* sent the Manchu emperor 40,000 head of young livestock of various sorts, having levied 10,000 from each *aymaq*. In 1840 the tributary journey of the fifth Urga *khutughtu* to Beijing cost 50,000 *liang*s (1 *liang* = 37.3 g) of silver, in addition to his gift to the Manchu emperor of 'nine times nine' choice horses, silver fox, sable and other valuables.

It would be wrong, however, to suppose that Mongolia was in a state of stagnation or even retrogression in socio-economic and cultural terms during the period of the Manchu overlordship. Despite foreign oppression, Mongolia outgrew the more backward aspects of a primitive tribal society, refining its stockbreeding techniques and nomadic way of life. The extent of settled agriculture increased, albeit only slightly. In comparison with earlier periods, larger and more developed towns of a medieval type came into being, such as Ikh Khüriye (Urga), Uliasutai, Khobdo, Ulangom, Erdeni Dzuu and San Beisiin Khüriye. A new route linked China and Russia through Urga, from which other routes led to the east and west of the country. In the west, further branches ran from Xinjiang through Khobdo, Uliasutai, Ulangom and Tuva to western Siberia. Other branches of the Silk Route ran from Kalgan, Hühehot (Köke Khota, modern Hohhot) and Dolonnor through San Beisiin Khüriye in eastern Mongolia to eastern Siberia.

There was a rise in the number of people who were literate in the national script and had received a secular education. Some people were also literate in Manchu and Tibetan. Children were taught Mongolian and Manchu both at home and in *aymaq* and *qoshun* government offices. Elementary, intermediate and advanced schooling of a medieval type was provided in the numerous monasteries, using Tibetan as the medium of instruction. Erudite lamas were also trained in the monasteries, where they received the degrees and titles of *gabji*, *agramba*, etc.

Finally, it should be remembered that although Mongolia was effectively under Manchu sovereignty, it was far from being just another province of the Qing empire. Indeed, special laws were introduced for the administration of Mongolia which preserved the distinctive character of the country's culture. Northern or Khalkha Mongolia was officially known as Outer Mongolia, and in everyday matters followed its own *Qalqa jirum* law. In many respects, Inner Mongolia was also ruled directly by its own Boghdo Gegens, khans and

*jasaq*s. In this way, the Mongols could preserve their home territory, native language, national script, culture, customs and religion.[11] The rather limited, but nonetheless very real measure of self-government enjoyed by Outer Mongolia within Qing China created some of the conditions whereby an independent republic of Mongolia could be created in the twentieth century.

[11] Ochirbat, 1996, pp. 123–4.

9

THE PAMIRS, BADAKHSHAN AND THE TRANS-PAMIR STATES*

H. S. Pirumshoev and A. H. Dani

Contents

[*] See Map 2, pp. 923–4.

Part One

THE PAMIRS AND BADAKHSHAN

(*H. S. Pirumshoev*)

The Pamirs

Despite the great scarcity of both direct and indirect sources for the history of the peoples inhabiting the upper reaches of the Panj (the upper Amu Darya) river and adjacent regions included under the geographic designation of the Pamirs, information is not altogether lacking. On the one hand, there have been survivals into more recent times of old, traditional features of society and culture. Geography (harsh climate, shortage of land, isolation, etc.) has helped to nurture and preserve a patriarchal clan structure with which we can easily associate a resolute spirit of social conservatism. And yet the Pamirs and Badakhshan could not escape external conquerors such as the Achaemenids, Macedonian Greeks, Kushans, Sasanians, Turks, Arabs and Mongols. The western side of the Pamirs, which was largely included in Badakhshan, was greatly affected by what may be called Tajik-Persian culture, with its roots possibly going back to the Bactrian past.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, on the eve of the Mongol invasions, Badakhshan, Wakhan, Ishkashim and Shughnan were subject to the ruler of Khwarazm (Khāwrazm), Muhammad Khwārazm Shāh, whose empire encompassed the greater part of Central Asia (see Volume IV, Part One).[1] There is no direct evidence that these people were conquered by the Mongols, though owing to their conquest of both Xinjiang and the bulk of Afghanistan, this is highly probable.[2] Their subjugation by Timur and the Timurids has, however, been abundantly demonstrated.

[1] Iskandarov, 1983, p. 44.
[2] See *EI*^{2}, ‘Badakhshān’ (W. W. Barthold), pp. 851–5; Barthold, 1965, Vol. 3, p. 345.

SHUGHNAN

Shughnan is the high mountainous area on the right bank of the Amu Darya, as it makes a great curve to flow practically due north along longitude 71 °30 ′, within the Gorno-Badakhshan province of Tajikistan. According to a tradition to which nearly all authorities on the Pamirs refer, in 1581 four brothers dressed as dervishes arrived in Shughnan from Isfahan, having passed through Badakhshan. This tradition is related in a manuscript by Qurbān Muhammad-zāda and Muhabbat Shāh-zāda entitled the *Tārīkh-i Badakhshān* [History of Badakhshan]:

> From earlier historians it is known that from the region of Isfahan and the locality of Kashan, which is in Iran, four wandering dervishes set forth in search of a suitable place for permanent residence. The first was called Sayyid Muhammad Isfahānī and was known as Shāh Kāshānī, the second was Sayyid Shāh Malang, the third Sayyid Shāh Khāmush, and the fourth Shāh Burhān-i Walī. They travelled abroad and eventually came to Shughnan. They took a liking to Shughnan and its natural surroundings.[3]

The manuscript goes on to recount how each of the four came to choose his own place to live within the country. In particular, the story is told of how the people of Shughnan chose Shāh Khāmosh as their ruler, and how he married the previous local ruler's daughter, who had become an orphan following the death of her parents. The son of that marriage, Shāh Khudā-dād, founded a new local dynasty – the shahs of Shughnan – which remained in power (apart from brief periods when independence was lost) right up to the 1880s.[4]

Practically the same story – although in a slightly different guise – concerning the arrival of the brothers in Shughnan is told by the author of the *History of Shughnan*, Sayyid Haydar Shāh.[5] He recounts that Sayyid Shāh Malang of Khurasan was sent to spread the Ismā^c^ili doctrine in Shughnan. This version has been endorsed by a number of scholars, notably the story that Shāh Khāmosh founded a dynasty of local shahs following the dissemination of the Ismā^c^ili doctrine in Shughnan: within 10 years he is said to have convinced the local inhabitants to abandon fire worship and accept the Ismā^c^ili version of Islam.[6] On the basis of the versions current among the local inhabitants at the beginning of the twentieth century, Minayev believed that the dynasty of local rulers was descended from the four brothers who had arrived from Khurasan: 'One of them became the *hākim* [governor] in Kanjut, the second in Wakhan, the third in the Shāh-dara and the fourth in Darwaz'.[7]

[3] See Qurbān Muhammad-zāda (Ākhun Sulaymān) and Muhabbat Shāh-zāda (Sa^c^īd Futur Shāh) in *Istoriya Badakhshana*, 1973, p. 2.

[4] *Istoriya Badakhshana*, 1973, pp. 2–6 et seq.

[5] See Sayyid Haydar Shāh and Mubārak Shāh-zāda in *Istoriya Shughnana*, 1992.

[6] Minayev, 1879, pp. 51, 156–7.

[7] Bobrinski, 1908, p. 119.

Iskandarov offers a fairly well-substantiated argument that these brothers were in fact the propagators of the Ismā^cili doctrine. Nevertheless, he doubts whether the local inhabitants were fire worshippers at that time. There is evidence that they had embraced Islam as early as the eleventh or twelfth century.[8]

In this connection, it should be noted that until the mid-nineteenth century, and practically until the conquest of Central Asia by Russia, people in Europe, Russia and even Bukhara had no very clear or definite picture of the Pamirs and Badakhshan. With a few exceptions, the rare information that appeared in print was that provided by the inhabitants of neighbouring regions. In his book *Journey from Orenburg to Bukhara* (published in Paris in French in 1826; a full translation in Russian, in 1975), Meyendorff, a member of the Russian embassy (headed by the diplomat Negri) to Bukhara in 1820–1, drawing on the replies to his questions, wrote that in the independent domains lying to the east of the khanate of Bukhara, there lived not Muslims, but 'terrible *kāfir*s' (infidels, a word used for non-Muslims other than Jews, Christians and, by convention, Parsees). 'Moving further east,' he says, 'one reaches a mountainous region which is practically unknown. It is said that the region is inhabited by *kāfir*s, an extremely ferocious people. From Karategin [Qarategin] onwards, no Muslims are found.'[9] While one may sense in these reports some of the traditional animosity between Sunni and Shi ᶜite Muslims (each deeming the other 'terrible infidels'), there is still no clear picture of the Tajiks who inhabited these neighbouring highland regions.

The dynasty founded by Shāh Khudā-dād is said to have lasted over 300 years (from 1581 to 1883), with its capital at Qalᶜa-i Panja on the left bank of the River Panj.[10] Throughout that period, save for a few interludes, Shughnan and Rushan, Wakhan and Ishkashim constituted a single domain. It thus comprised the long narrow mountainous stretch in the extreme north-east of Afghanistan, and the western part of the Gorno-Badakhshan province of Tajikistan.[11]

Rushan was ruled by the younger brothers or sons of the rulers of Shughnan. However, owing to the typically feudal fragmentation and patriarchal relations, disputes among these

[8] Cf. Iskandarov, 1983, pp. 57–9.

[9] Meyendorff, 1975, p. 78.

[10] Iskandarov, 1983, p. 60. Qalᶜa-i Panja stands on the left bank of the Panj (the upper Amu Darya) river, between the borders of Shughnan and Wakhan, at approximately 72 °35' E, 37 ° N.

[11] Rushan is situated on the Tajikistan–Afghanistan border at the point where the Bartang river joins the Amu Darya. Wakhan is the valley of the Wakhan river, just north of the area where the Hindu Kush range meets the Pamirs, and constitutes the extreme north-eastern tip of Afghanistan, where its borders meet those of China. Ishkashim is a town at the beginning of the great bend of the Amu Darya northwards; it is on the river's right bank on the Tajik- Afghan border. (The official Afghan map of 1968, however, shows it on the left bank of the river, and within Afghanistan.)

rulers, though they were kinsmen, often flared up and led to military confrontations and territorial claims. For example, one of the sons of the ruler of Shughnan, ᶜAbdurrahmān Khān (who had inherited the throne from his own father, Shāh Khudā-dād), was Shāh Wanch Khān, whose mother belonged to the family of the rulers of Darwaz, a principality north of the Amu Darya. Shāh Wanch Khān usurped his father's throne practically without opposition, his father being content merely to perform the duties of spiritual leader. He also succeeded in annexing the territories of Wakhan, Zebak, Munjan and Ishkashim to Shughnan and Rushan,[12] yet the forced union lasted only for a short time and soon fell apart.

DARWAZ

When the Amu Darya in its uppermost course among the mountains, generally running east-to-west, suddenly turns north, it is, after a long stretch, stopped and turned southwards by the Darwaz mountain range. The land lying between this range and the Amu Darya is fairly isolated; and before it was annexed to the emirate of Bukhara in 1878, Darwaz itself had nearly always maintained its independence, as was noted by pre-revolutionary Russian authors.[13]

Contrary to the opinion that Darwaz came within the realm of the ruler of Bukhara, ᶜAbdullāh Khān, Barthold, referring to the emir's conquest of Badakhshan in 1584, is of the opinion that the inaccessible regions of Darwaz and Karategin remained independent of the Uzbeks.[14] Referring to the reports of the seventeenth-century historian Mahmūd b. Walī, he writes:

> Only in 1047 [1637–8] did the Khuttalan fortress of Qalᶜa-i Khumb [Kalai Khumb], the main town of Darwaz, become subject to the Uzbeks. The head of the Uzbeks was Baqī Atāliq, of Oirat origin. The [Darwaz] ruler Shāh Gharīb was killed and his head was sent to Bukhara. In his stead was appointed, clearly as a vassal, his brother Shāh Qirghiz, who had lived at the Uzbek court [in Balkh] since childhood.[15]

Shāh Qirghiz figures in many of the most vivid pages of the history of Darwaz. In particular, he is considered to be the founder of the new capital of Darwaz, Qalᶜa-i Khumb, in the early seventeenth century (1606–7). The capital had previously been located some 6.5 km to the north-east of Qalᶜa-i Khumb. There thus appears to be a basic inconsistency

[12] Zebak is situated south-west of Ishkashim, on a tributary of the Kokcha river. Munjan (Shahr-i Munjan or Karan-i Munjan) is much further to the south-west of Zebak on the upper reaches of the Kokcha river just above lat. 36 ° N. Both these places are within the Badakhshan province of Afghanistan.

[13] Litvinov, 1904, p. 716; Kuznetsov, 1893, p. 1.

[14] Barthold, 1963, p. 464.

[15] Ibid.

here with the date given by Barthold for Shāh Qirghiz's accession to the throne (1637–8). Nevertheless, in the view of most authors, it was indeed during the reign of Shāh Qirghiz that Darwaz acquired greater importance. Kuznetsov believed that in the initial stages, Karategin, Wakhsh, Rushan, Shughnan and Wakhan all belonged to Shāh Qirghiz.[16]

Very little is known of the status of Darwaz during the reigns of the successors of Shāh Qirghiz. According to Kuznetsov, after Shāh Qirghiz the country was ruled for 60 years by his nephew Mahmūd Shāh.

> During that reign, Badakhshan, Wakhan and Shughnan were separated from Darwaz and were ruled by their own shahs. From that time on, Wakhan and Shughnan paid tribute either to Badakhshan or Darwaz, depending on which khanate was the stronger at the time, and sent yearly gifts to the khan of Kokand [Khoqand].[17]

Practically nothing is known of any other successors.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Darwaz was still considered to be a relatively strong state. In the 1820s and 1830s, the dominions of Karategin and Darwaz were united under the ruler of Darwaz.[18] According to Litvinov, attempts by the ruler of Badakhshan, Murād Beg, to conquer Darwaz in the 1830s were unsuccessful and gave rise to a number of raids by Darwaz.[19] Indeed, the ruler of Darwaz maintained a sizeable army (at least in comparison with the forces of his weaker neighbours).[20] But after the conquest of Karategin by the khan of Kokand, Madalī (Muhammad ᶜAlī, 1822– 42) (see Chapter 4 above), his troops, led by Muhammad Sharīf, moved against Darwaz in 1839. The ruler of Darwaz, Sultān Mahmūd, conceded defeat.[21]

Soon afterwards, however, Darwaz recovered its independence. According to the sources, during the reign of Ismāᶜīl Shāh (1845–63), Darwaz not only turned Karategin and Shughnan into its protectorates, but also, albeit for a short time, forced Kulab and Hisar to pay tribute.[22] This did not last for long, though; and in the winter of 1877–8 the emir of Bukhara's armies overran Darwaz. By this time, 'the last ruler of Darwaz, Shāh Sirāju'ddīn, possessed only Qalᶜa-i Khumb, Wanch, Yazghulam and the domains of the *amlāk-dār*s [estate-holders] on the left bank of the Panj as far as Khwahan'.[23]

16 Kuznetsov, 1893, p. 2.
17 Ibid.
18 *Istoriya Tajikskogo naroda*, 1964, Vol. 2, fasc. 2, p. 62.
19 Litvinov, 1904, p. 14.
20 Barthold, 1963, p. 465.
21 Ibid.
22 Arandarenko, 1883, p. 146; see also Litvinov, 1904, p. 717; Vasil'iev, 1888, pp. 25–6.
23 Kuznetsov, 1893, p. 5; for more details on Darwaz, see Pirumshoyev, 1998, pp. 43–55.

Badakhshan

When Badakhshan, hitherto ruled by its shahs, was invaded by Timur (1370– 1405), along with his then ally, Amīr Husayn of Balkh (d. 1370), it comprised the basin of the Kokcha river, the places mentioned within it being Talikhan (Taloqan), Kalaugan (Kalafgan), Kishim and Jurm, along with its capital city of Badakhshan (not further named). Kunduz (Qunduz) itself and the basin of the Kunduz river and its tributaries were clearly excluded. But in the sixteenth century a larger geographic concept of Badakhshan began to prevail.[24] A poet of Ishkashim, very much to the surprise of the Timurid prince Bābur, could now claim to be a native of Badakhshan.[25] This larger definition of the borders of Badakhshan probably indicates the development of closer relations between the upper valleys of the Kokcha tributaries and those of the Kunduz plains. Whether the Timurid subjugation of the area played any part in this is uncertain.

When Bahāu'ddīn, the local ruler of Badakhshan, strove to free himself from Timurid authority during the reign of Shāhrukh (1409–47), not only did his attempts fail, but they actually prompted the Timurids to subjugate the country completely. During the reign of Timur's great-grandson Abū Saᶜīd (1458–69), the local ruler of Badakhshan (the local dynasty considered themselves to be the descendants of Alexander the Great), Sultān Muhammad, was executed in 1467 and the region was fully annexed. The subsequent worsening of relations between Abū Saᶜīd and his brother Sultān Mahmūd, the ruler of Hisar, led to a military confrontation and the defeat of Abū Saᶜīd, whereupon Badakhshan and Kulab passed under Sultān Mahmūd's control.[26]

The establishment of the Shaybanid dynasty in Central Asia (see Chapters 1 and 2) meant that henceforth the western Pamirs and Badakhshan would become a bone of contention between the Timurid and Shaybanid dynasties.[27] In 1505 Shaybānī Khān's forces invaded Badakhshan, but were defeated by a local chief Mubārak Shāh of the Muzaffari tribe at his fort, which he now named Qalᶜa-i Zafar. Situated on the left bank of the River Kokcha, it became the capital of Badakhshan. Mubārak Shāh was, however, himself defeated and killed by a rival local chief, Zubayr Arghī.[28] An attempt by Bābur's brother Nāsir Mīrzā to seize Badakhshan was also beaten off by the Badakhshis in 1506–7. The throne was now claimed by Sultān Mahmūd's son, Mīrzā Khān, who was initially accepted,

[24] Cf. Habib, 1982, pp. 1–2.
[25] Bābur, 1995, p. 281; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 288.
[26] *EI*², 'Badakhshān' (W. W. Barthold); Iskandarov, 1983, p. 45.
[27] Iskandarov, 1983, p. 46; Azimjanova, 1977, pp. 34–5.
[28] Bābur, 1995, pp. 237–8, 316–17; Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 242, 321–2; see also Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 203, 220–1.

but paid little heed to, by Zubayr. The treacherous murder of the latter in 1508 resolved the situation in Mīrzā Khān's favour.[29] He soon had to face an intrusion from the Pamirs, when Shāh Razīu'ddīn (Rizā'uddīn, according to Iskandarov), an Ismā^cili religious leader, together with his followers, gained control of some of the most fertile parts of Badakhshan. In the spring of 1509, however, as a result of religious clashes between Sunnis and Shi^cites, Shāh Razīu'ddīn was killed and his head was presented to Mīrzā Khān at Qal^ca-i Zafar.[30]

Mīrzā Khān owed nominal allegiance to Bābur, then the Timurid *pādshāh* (king) at Kabul; but the latter could give him no help when, in a dispute over the possession of Wakhan, Sa^cīd Khan, the Moghul khan of Kashghar, raided Badakhshan in 1519.[31] Following the death of Mīrzā Khān in 1520, his son Sulaymān (a minor) was summoned to the court in Kabul by Bābur. Bābur then appointed his own son, Humāyūn – who ruled Badakhshan from 1520 to 1529 in Sulaymān's place. Humāyūn was thereafter called to India, and after a short period under Humāyūn's brother Hindal, Badakhshan reverted to Sulaymān. The constant changes of ruler created a situation in which the Moghul khan Sa^cīd found it advantageous to raid Badakhshan once again in 1529–30, but he retreated when Mīrzā Sulaymān's arrival was imminent.[32]

Sulaymān's hold over Badakhshan was strengthened by the weakness and divisions among the Uzbeks, which prevented any military action against Badakhshan on their part. But he had constant disputes with the Timurid principality of Kabul. In 1545 Mīrzā Kāmrān, a son of Bābur and at that time the ruler of Kabul, conquered Badakhshan and took Sulaymān away as prisoner the following year; but a revolt in Badakhshan in Sulaymān's favour led to the latter's restoration.[33] Subsequently, Sulaymān himself harboured ambitions of seizing Kabul, then in the hands of Mīrzā Hakīm (1556–85), Akbar's half-brother, and this caused much displeasure at the Mughal Indian court.[34] Sulaymān ruled Badakhshan until 1575, when he was ousted by his grandson Shāhrukh.[35]

Mīrzā Shāhrukh (1575–84), however, did not come to power at an auspicious moment. Not only did Sulaymān make attempts to recover the throne, but the Uzbek threat, under ^cAbdullāh Khān II (1557–98), became more and more overwhelming until, in 1584, Badakhshan was overrun by the Uzbeks. Shāhrukh (d. 1607) fled to India, where he entered

[29] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 353–5.
[30] *EI*², 'Badakhshān' (W. W. Barthold); see also Iskandarov, 1983, pp. 46–9.
[31] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 135, 353–5.
[32] Ibid., pp. 387–9.
[33] Abū'l Fazl, 1873–87, Vol. 1, pp. 200–1, 236–7.
[34] Abū'l Fazl, 1873–87, Vol. 2, pp. 206–8, 273–8.
[35] For a minutely detailed account of the event and the circumstances leading to it, see Abū'l Fazl, 1873–87, Vol. 3, pp. 148–57.

the ranks of Emperor Akbar's (1556–1605) nobility; after an unsuccessful attempt to expel the Uzbeks, Sulaymān (d. 1589) also followed him to India.[36] At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a son of Shāhrukh again instigated an uprising of the local population. But Akbar accepted the Hindu Kush as the border with the Uzbek khanate, and so conceded Badakhshan to the Uzbeks. In 1646–7 Akbar's grandson Shāh Jahān (1628–58) made a final attempt to seize Badakhshan, but the Mughal armies were forced to withdraw and these territories again returned to Uzbek rule.

The increasing feudal fragmentation of the Bukhara khanate led to the weakening of central power, particularly during the reign of the Janid (Astarkhanid) dynasty (1599–1753) (see Chapter 1). In the seventeenth century, under the rule of the Janid khan of Bukhara, Subhān Qulī (1680– 1702), the province of Badakhshan was held by Mahmūd Bī, the *atālīq* (regent) of Qattaghan (Kattaghan). In 1688 he was given charge of Balkh as well.[37]

On proceeding to Balkh, Mahmud Bīleft Badakhshan under the control of Mīr Yār Beg, who came from a family of Samarkand*sayyid*s. Mīr Yār Beg began to assume independent ways and withheld the payment of taxes from the Badakhshan ruby mines. This led to an expedition against him by Mahmūd Bī in 1691–2. Mīr Yār Beg was compelled to pay two years' taxes, but he managed to retain control of Badakhshan. He built the city of Faizabad, henceforth regarded as the capital of Badakhshan, and died in 1706 or 1707.

After Mīr Yār Beg, the country was ruled by Sulaymān Shāh (1706/7–13) and then by his brother Ziyā'uddīn (1713–37). Both were assassinated by the Yaftalis. According to information provided by Burhānu'ddīn Kuskhakī, Badakhshan was then ruled in turn by the descendants of Mīr Yār Beg: Sulaymān Beg, his son Mīrzā Kalān I, Mīr Burhānu'ddīn, Mīrzā Kalān II, Mīr Ahmad, Mīrzā Kalān III and Shāh Zamān.[38]

At the end of the reign of Shāh Zamān, the Qattaghanis renewed their attacks against Badakhshan and temporarily overthrew the dynasty. A year later the Qattaghanis, having met with stiff opposition, decided to halt the fighting and make peace. Three brothers from among Mīr Yār Beg's descendants succeeded in becoming the rulers of separate dominions: while Yūsuf ᶜAlī took Rustaq and Nasrullāh Khān, Kishim, Mīr Shāh took over the hereditary throne of Badakhshan.

The Persian conqueror Nādir Shāh (1736–47) brought Badakhshan under his authority when in 1737–8 Rizā Qulī, his son, defeated and executed its governor or ruler, along with Sayyid Khān, an Uzbek fugitive from Balkh.[39] Subsequently, when after Nādir Shāh's

[36] Abū'l Fazl, 1873–87, Vol. 3, pp. 440–8; also Churās, 1976, pp. 40, 213; Gafurov, 1972, p. 532.
[37] Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fols. 78a, 81a, 98b.
[38] See Kushkakī, 1926, pp. 97–8.
[39] Lockhart, 1938, pp. 163–7.

assassination in 1747 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (1747–72) founded the Afghan empire (see Chapter 11), Badakhshan was subjugated by his vizier Shāh Walī Khān in 1768. The ruler of Bukhara was later forced to recognize the Amu Darya as the boundary separating his dominions from those of the Afghan king.[40] By the end of the century the Afghan state had greatly weakened, however, and Badakhshan became an independent principality once again.

We now find it being held by the Qattaghanis. In 1825, when the English commercial agents William Moorcroft and George Trebeck visited Badakhshan, it was ruled by 'the Qattaghan chief', Murād Beg, whose headquarters were at Kunduz.[41] In 1832 the same chief was visited at his headquarters by Alexander Burnes, who described him as 'an Uzbek of the tribe of Kudghun ... lately risen to power'. He had also previously brought Balkh under his control, thus ruling 'all the countries immediately north of Hindoo Koosh', but Balkh had now been lost to the emir of Bukhara. The country was by no means prosperous and Kunduz had been reduced to a town of no more than 1,500 inhabitants. Significantly, Hindus occupied important positions in Murād Beg's revenue and customs administration.[42] A similar but still more detailed account of the same chief has been left by D. Lord, who came to Kunduz in 1837. Murād Beg's regime was certainly harsh; he was reputed to have forcibly brought 20,000 families of 'Badakhshani Tajiks' to cultivate the swampy lands near the Amu Darya.[43]

Murād Beg's successors were unable to maintain the power that he had come to command. Dost Muhammad, the emir of Kabul, finally annexed Badakhshan in 1859 and it is now a province of Afghanistan.

CULTURAL LIFE

The incessant internal intrigues and external aggression and the weak links with major centres of culture could not halt the development of indigenous cultural life in this region. While there is less evidence of this in terms of artefacts, the cultural continuity is clearly seen in the intellectual sphere, in particular that of poetry.

According to Habibov, at the court of the ruler of Badakhshan, Sulaymān (1529–75), there was a specific Badakhshani school of poetry, which included Sulaymān himself, his son Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Wafā'ī, the poets Wāsilī, Amānī, Sabuhī, Maulānā Matla^{c}ī, Madhī,

[40] Singh, 1959, p. 319. Singh calls the Bukhara ruler Murād Bey, but Shāh Murād occupied the throne of Bukhara only in 1785. Perhaps in 1768 he was acting on behalf of his father Dāniyāl.
[41] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, p. 409.
[42] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, pp. 222–9. For the position of Balkh, see ibid., pp. 228–9, 238.
[43] Lord, 1838; cf. Holdich, 1910, pp. 413–16, 422, 432, 503–5.

Sa^c^īdī Badakhshānī and many others. Seeking more generous patronage, 17 of the 40 best-known representatives of this school moved to India, where they became popular representatives of Persian poetry. Again according to Habibov, in the eighteenth century the region had 30 well-known poets, 20 of whom had close links to poetic circles in India. The Badakhshani poets Nazmī and Ziyā'ī worked in Balkh, Mīr Baqā'ī Badakhshīin Iran, and Rabī^c^ and Husaynī in Bukhara and Samarkand. Others, such as Hazrat, ^c^Abdullāh and Zāhir, remained in Badakhshan until the end of their days. Dozens of poets from Badakhshan and the western Pamirs left their mark on the history of Tajik poetry. Among them were Ghiyāsī, Mīrzā Sang- Muhammad, Mīrzā Andaleb, Khanjarī, ^c^Āshiq, Sābit, Husayn, ^c^Ārif and many others.[44]

MINING AND AGRICULTURE

Our knowledge of the economic conditions of Badakhshan and the Pamirs remains limited. Badakhshan was famous for its rubies, which, as the Indian lexicographer Tek Chand Bahār pointed out in 1739, were mined in the Shughnan mountains rather than in Badakhshan proper, though they were exported to other countries from Badakhshan.[45] The equally famous lapis lazuli mines were, however, situated in Badakhshan itself.[46] Moorcroft found that the mines of both these precious stones had ceased working when he came to Badakhshan in 1825, and this was attributed to the unsettled conditions in the area.[47] Iron-ware was produced at Faizabad for export to Transoxania; and Moorcroft describes an iron lamp, which was cast there, with the metal 'brought into the most complete fluidity'.[48] But by this time (1825) Russian cast iron was already being imported for the making of larger pans.[49]

Agriculture was dependent on irrigation from snow-fed rivers since rainfall was low. Our seventeenth-century sources tell us of a dam which diverted the waters of the Tang-i Farkhar towards the town of Taliqan (Taloqān) to supply it with water.[50] Kishim was famous for its cherries.[51] Pastoralism was important; and horses, camels and sheep were

[44] For more details, see Habibov, 1991.
[45] Tek Chand, 1916, Vol. 2, pp. 374–5.
[46] Muhammad Tāhir, MS, pp. 93–4.
[47] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, p. 482.
[48] Ibid., p. 482.
[49] Ibid., p. 416.
[50] Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, pp. 649–50.
[51] Muhammad Tāhir, MS, p. 97.

prized products of Badakhshan.[52] Moorcroft found sericulture being pursued here, as in other Pamir regions.[53]

Part Two

THE TRANS-PAMIR STATES

(*A. H. Dani*)

In the previous volume (Volume IV, Part One) the history of the arrival of the Turkic dynasties across the Pamirs in the southern shadows of the Karakoram and Hindu Kush ranges, and the establishment of their authority over the Dardic- and Balti-speaking peoples, has already been described.[54] In time, these dynasties split into several branches, each contending for power from their bases in the numerous valleys of this elevated mountainous region: Gilgit, Hunza, Nagir, Yasin, Chitral, Skardu, Shigar and Khapalu.[55] They involved Ladakh in this struggle and developed closer relations with Kashmir. Another development was the opening of the Braldo pass and ambassadorial exchanges with Yarkand (Yārqand) that followed the invasion of the Central Asian Moghul ruler Sultān Abū Sa^c^īd Khan in 1532 and his advance into Kashmir under his general Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt.[56] It may partly have been the Mughal Indian emperor Akbar's desire to keep away such a threat from the north that led him to occupy Kashmir in 1586.[57] His successors took full advantage of the fratricidal wars among the princes of Baltistan ('Little Tibet'), some of whom took refuge at the Mughal court; the emperor Shāh Jahān finally succeeded in extending Mughal suzerainty over Baltistan in 1638.[58] Under Aurangzeb (1659–1707), Mughal

[52] Bāyazīd, 1941, p. 144; Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, p. 515.
[53] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, p. 416.
[54] See A. H. Dani, 'The Western Himalayan States', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, Part One, pp. 215–25.
[55] For details, see Dani, 1991, Ch. 6.
[56] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 13–14, 136, 143.
[57] Dani, 1991, pp. 230–1.
[58] Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 1, Part 2, pp. 281–8; Saksena, 1958, pp. 113–14.

suzerainty was also acknowledged by Ladakh ('Great Tibet') in 1665, though it was contested in 1681–3 by the Oirat or Kalmuk (Qalmāq) rulers of Tibet.[59]

Mughal rule was replaced in Kashmir first by that of the Afghans (1752– 1819), then of the Sikhs (1819–46) and finally of the Dogras (1846–1947). The Dogra chief, Gulāb Singh, was still under Sikh tutelage when his commander Zorāwar Singh penetrated into Ladakh (1835) and Baltistan (1840)[60] (see below) and even made a bid to subjugate Gilgit. However, it was only when the British started to take an interest in this region as a result of Russo-British rivalry in Central Asia that the British ensured that the suzerainty of the maharaja of Kashmir was recognized by the local rulers. The British established an agency in Gilgit and leased the region from the maharaja; they separated Chitral from this agency and tacked it on to the Malakand Agency. At the same time Baltistan and Astor, being far away from the Russian Pamirs, were left to the administrative control of the maharaja of Kashmir. Although the maharaja was given the status of a suzerain and was entitled to receive tribute from the local rulers, the British imperial government exercised an undefined paramountcy over his territories.[61] On the other hand, the *mīr*s (chiefs) of Hunza even continued for a long time to pay tribute to China.[62]

Islam secured a permanent place in the region during our period.[63] The influences that made this possible came from three different directions: from Xinjiang, across the Pamirs; from Kashmir; and from Swat. Each of these influences left its imprint on the region and split the people into different sects, each having followers in different valleys. While Shi^cites are found in the greater part of Baltistan, Nagir and Chitral, the Nūrbakhshis are numerous to the west of the Shyok river in Baltistan, and the Ismā^cilis in the Hunza, Yasin and Ishkomen valleys. The Sunnis are more numerous in parts of the Gilgit, Chilas, Darel, Tangir and Kandia valleys and extend into the Indus and Swat Kohistan.

The contacts with Kashmir and with the Mughal rulers introduced Kashmiri arts and crafts into this region and led to the creation of a beautiful wooden architectural style. The older languages, Balti, Burushaski, Shina and Khawar, together with other Kohistani languages, continued to be used by the local people with whom the Turkic conquerors eventually integrated; the official language of all the courts remained Persian.

[59] Muhammad Kāzim, 1865–73, pp. 920–2. Cf. Petech, 1977, pp. 25–80.
[60] Vigne, 1842, Chs. 7 and 8.
[61] Dani, 1991, pp. 301–3.
[62] Stellrecht, 1984, Vol. 7, pp. 125–33.
[63] Dani, 1989, Ch. 1.

Gilgit

Gilgit lies in the main valley of the Gilgit river, which joins the Indus where that river is just past its northernmost point. Mount Rakaposhi (7,288 m), on the western edge of the Karakoram, towers over the valley. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when Rājā Torrā Khān II of the fourth period of the Trakhān dynasty ascended the throne, he developed closer relations with Kashmir and imported a group of Kashmiri craftsmen and made them settle in Gilgit in Mohallā Kishrot. The local tradition wrongly derives the dynastic name Trakhān from him.

Another important ruler of this period (but of uncertain date) was Rājā Shāh Ra'īs A^{c}zam, who was related to the contemporary ruler of Chitral, Shāh Nasīr, whose daughter Zahrā Khātūn he married. All her children except Prince Sāheb Girān died young and are buried in a highly unusual multiple grave complex, locally known as Gumbat-i Raisan, at Yasin. The second queen of Rājā Shāh Ra'īs was from Nagir, where various pretenders fought for the throne. Two of them fled to Kashmir and, having received military aid, reoccupied the Nagir throne. It was at this time that a holy man called Shāh Buryā Walī came to Nagir reputedly from Isfahan through Kashmir and spread Shi^{c}ism here as well as in Gilgit and Chitral. The *sayyid* died in Chitral and is buried there. One of his followers, Sange ^{c}Alī, was placed on the throne of Chitral by Rājā Shāh Ra'īs.

From the mid-sixteenth to about the mid-seventeenth century the rulers of Gilgit, Chitral, Yasin, Nagir and Hunza all coveted one another's territory and became embroiled in fratricidal wars. During the reign of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān, the ruler of Baltistan tried to enlist Mughal assistance to conquer Gilgit, but the Mughal authorities declined to support the project.[64]

Two personalities attained particular prominence during this period, one being Rājā Khushwaqt of Yasin, a grandson of Sange ^{c}Alī I and a cousin of Muhtaram Shāh I Kator of Chitral, and the other, a *wazīr* (minister, vizier) by the name of Rasho. Rājā Khushwaqt drew on the strength of Chitral and Yasin, and he continued to interfere in the family feud of the Gilgit royal house until his death in 1700. Vizier Rasho drew on the resources of the rulers of Nagir and even Baltistan, both of whose houses contracted marriages with the Gilgit ruling family. Vizier Rasho acted as *nāib-i saltanat* (regent) of Rājā Shāh Kamāl of Nagir and even as de facto ruler of Gilgit as he had married Jawāhir Khātūn, a princess of the Gilgit ruling family.

[64] The *Shigharnāmah*, a seventeenth-century metrical work summarized in Hashmatullāh Khān, 1939, pp. 513, 534–5. Shighar or Shigar was an important town of Baltistan, next to Skardu.

Jawāhir Khātūn died in 1705. She was succeeded by her grandson Rājā Goritham, who ruled for a long time. He received his education at the hands of a Shi^cite saint, Sayyid Shāh Sultān ^cArif, who is buried at his seat (*dargāh*) at Danyor, not far from Gilgit. At an old age, Rājā Goritham was blessed with two sons, Muhammad Khān and Shāh ^cAbbās. Later on his vizier Mullā Beg of the Jaral tribe, who was appointed regent on behalf of Muhammad Khān, manoeuvred to obtain the throne for himself. He managed to send Rājā Goritham into retirement, but Muhammad Khān fled to his uncle in Nagir and later to Baltistan (whose capital was Skardu), where he married the ruler's daughter.

At this time Sulaymān Shāh, the ruler of Yasin, who was opposed to Mullā Beg, won the favour of Rājā Goritham and managed to have his own sister, Musallamā Khātūn, married to Shāh ^cAbbās.[65] Later, after killing Rājā Goritham, Sulaymān Shāh made a bid for power in Gilgit. He was opposed by Rājā Muhammad Khān, who was under the protection of the Skardu ruler. Rājā Muhammad Khān tried to come back to Gilgit. Ultimately in 1802 he defeated Sulaymān Shāh, entered Gilgit, occupied the fort (Qila-i Firdausia) and crowned himself king of Gilgit. He punished Mullā Beg's supporters and ruled until 1822.

Sulaymān Shāh retreated to Yasin along with his brother-in-law Rājā (Shāh) ^cAbbās. He returned in 1822, however, and forced Rājā Muhammad Khān to abdicate in favour of his younger brother Rājā ^cAbbās, who ruled until 1825. Sulaymān Shāh became his regent. Later, in order to avoid the machinations of the local chief minister of Gilgit, he took Rājā ^cAbbās to Yasin, where he was put to death along with his brother Rājā Muhammad Khān. Rājā Muhammad Khān's sons were also killed. The sole surviving member of the Gilgit house was Sāhebnuma, Muhammad Khān's daughter, who went mad and remained under the custody of Sulaymān Shāh.

In 1825 Sāhebnuma was set up as the nominal ruler (*malika*) of Gilgit, with Rājā Āzād Khān, the *wālī* (governor) of Punial, as regent. This change led to rivalry between the ruler of Nagir (Mīr Ghazanfar) and Sulaymān Shāh. The latter was killed and the victor married his younger son Rājā Karīm Khān to Sāhebnuma. In Yasin, Sulaymān Shāh was succeeded by his nephew Gohar Amān, who played a leading role in the subsequent politics of Gilgit. He was naturally opposed by the ruler of Nagir, who espoused the cause of Rājā Muhammad Khān II, the son born to Sāhebnuma. This feud turned to the advantage of Gohar Amān (1825–56), who ended up by taking possession of Gilgit. All those from Nagir – as well as local supporters of Sāhebnuma, her husband Rājā Karīm Khān and her son Rājā Muhammad Khān II – were ousted or killed. In desperation Rājā Karīm Khān left his wife in Gor and went to Kashmir to seek military help from the Sikhs. They reinstalled

[65] Shāh Ra'īs Khān, 1987; for details, see Dani (ed.), 1987, Chs. 7–9.

him in 1842, expelling Gohar Amān.[66] This opened a new phase in the history of Gilgit, which is narrated below in the sub-section on the Khushwaqt family of Yasin and Mastuj.

A very brief notice of Gilgit is given by Abū'l Fazl (*c.* 1595), only to the effect that a route from Kashmir to Kashghar passes through Gilgit, and that gold-dust is collected there from river-sands.[67] A more detailed account based on information collected in Kashmir in 1822 is given by Moorcroft and Trebeck: the population consisted of Dardus, speaking a dialect of their own; they were mostly Shiᶜites. Rice and cotton were cultivated, and mulberry-silk produced. Gold-dust was collected from river-sands and formed the only currency: 'The Raja receives a small sum from everyone who searches for gold, one-twentieth of the rice crop, and a present from everyone who marries or has a child.' Fruit, especially grapes, was abundant.[68]

Nagir and Hunza

Nagir and Hunza share the narrow winding valley of the Hunza river, a major tributary of the Gilgit; the river is fed by sources in both the western Karakoram and the Little Pamir. These two states were the northernmost and the most elevated of the trans-Pamir states we are describing.

In Volume IV (Part One) it was shown how in the fifteenth century the two brothers Sāhib Khān (alias Girkis) and Jamshid (nicknamed Maglot), both of the family of Gilgit rulers, obtained possession of Hunza and Nagir respectively. Since Hunza was a strategically significant territory because of its direct trade links with Kashghar, suzerainty over it was often claimed by Nagir. In Hunza, an immigrant from Wakhan named Ayasho (alias Shāh Khān) became the ruler and founded the Ayash dynasty. The family had a direct relationship with the rulers of Wakhan and Badakhshan,[69] and it is from this source that Ismāᶜilism was brought to Hunza.

On the other hand, Nagir had contacts with Baltistan through the Hispar glacier pass. Here a large fortified village called Muko-Kot (Nagir Khān) was built. The Nagir rulers, called Maglot after the name of the first ruler, lived here until 1894, when the village was destroyed. Craftsmen from Baltistan were imported there and a polo ground was built in front of Muko-Kot.

[66] Hasan, 1954, Vol. 2, pp. 781–2.
[67] Abū'l Fazl, 1866–77, Vol. 1, p. 570.
[68] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, pp. 266–8.
[69] Beg, 1980, Vol. 1, pp. 200 et seq.

The family feud in Nagir continued: one of the disputants named Rājā Ballā Shāh went to Kashmir and after obtaining military help returned and occupied Nagir, while continuing to be embroiled in the war with Hunza. In 1559 Rājā Shāh Kamāl became the ruler of Nagir. It was during his time that the Shi^{c}ite saint Shāh Buryā Walī came to Nagir. Rājā Shāh Kamāl himself entered into marriage alliances with the ruling family of Gilgit.

In Hunza, as we have seen, Ayasho I had founded the Ayash dynasty. His successor Salīm Khān I ruled for 30 years. One of his successors was Ayasho II, who was married to Shāh Khātūn, a daughter of Rājā Abdāl Khān of Baltistan. Rājā Abdāl gave a gun to Ayasho II that bears the date of manufacture as 946[1539], though the gift might have been made much later. The Skardu ruler was the builder of the palatial forts of Altit and Baltit in Hunza. Another Hunza prince Salīm II, a son of Ayasho I, is said to have gone to Yarkand and purchased land there and to have been able to acquire territory for Hunza in that area.[70]

In the eighteenth century, in the time of Mīr Khusro Khān, ambassadorial exchanges took place between Hunza and the government of Khitay (China).[71] The *mīr* sent his son Salim III (d. 1823) to Yarkand for that purpose. He also sent gold as tribute and sought protection from China. A yearly tribute to China was fixed, amounting to 16 *tola*s of gold-dust (1 *tola* = 4.75 g). In return the Chinese emperor sent various gifts including cotton and silk clothes, porcelain ware, and green and black tea. Subsequently, Salīm III, unable to face his brother Mīrzā Khān in Hunza, fled to Wakhan. Receiving military help from the Gilgit ruler Goritham, he reoccupied Hunza.

Salīm III accepted Ismā^{c}ilism at the hand of Shāh Ardbīl of Badakhshan. A series of Ismā^{c}ili preachers are known to have come from Badakhshan: Shāh Ardbīl was followed by his son Shāh Husayn, who in his turn was followed by Sayyid Yāqūt Shāh. From the last-named, Mīr Ghazanfar, Salim III's son and successor, accepted the Ismā^{c}ili faith. He also made a friendly alliance with Gohar Amān of Yasin, who had occupied Gilgit. This weakened the Nagir ruler and, as explained above, led to Sikh intervention in Gilgit.

In 1822 Moorcroft noted that the people of 'Nagar or Burshal' and 'Hounz' were called Dzungars (!); that gold-dust was gathered in Nagir; and that Kunjut was the capital of Hunza, then ruled over by 'Selim Shah'.[72]

In 1877 the ruler of Nagir made an alliance with the Dogra government of Jammu and Kashmir; in 1888 the chiefs of both Hunza and Nagir ejected the Dogra troops, but were subjugated. After further conflict, a final settlement was reached in 1895, whereby both states received subsidies from the British government and the Jammu and Kashmir

[70] Beg, 1980, Vol. 1, pp. 75–6.
[71] Beg, 1962, pp. 90 et seq.
[72] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, p. 265.

state, whose suzerainty they accepted. The chiefs, however, continued to enjoy internal autonomy.

Chitral

A word may first be said about the geography of Chitral. Chitral proper (also called Kashghar, or Kashkar, not to be confused with Kashghar in Xinjiang, China) comprises the long valley of the Chitral river above its confluence with the Kunar river, a tributary of the Kabul river. Mastuj is situated in the valley of the Yarkhan river, a tributary of the Chitral, commanding the passes across the high Hinduraj range into the valleys of the Gilgit and its tributaries. Yasin occupies a similar commanding position on the Gilgit side. The strategic importance of the two places was therefore obvious for the rulers of both Chitral and Gilgit.

The Raisia dynasty had occupied the Chitral throne as far back as the thirteenth century and ruled for nearly 300 years. It was as a member of this dynasty that Sange ᶜAlī I (*fl.* *c*. 1600) became the ruler (*mehtar*) of Chitral. These rulers maintained close relations with the ruling family of Badakhshan. In the seventeenth century Muhtaram Shāh I, also known as Kator Shāh, deposed the Raisia ruler and founded the Kator dynasty in Chitral with Mastuj as his capital. But Sange ᶜAlī's grandson Khushwaqt (1640–1700), who happened also to be Muhtaram's cousin, became the ruler of Yasin (see below). The deposed Raisia family continued to seek the throne of Chitral – the story of their dispute with the Kator dynasty is described at length by Muhammad ᶜAzizu'ddīn.[73] Muhtaram Shāh II Kator then occupied the throne of Chitral but had to engage in a hard struggle with his own cousins in Yasin and Mastuj. He ended up as the winner and ruled peacefully in Chitral from 1833 to 1837. His successor, Shāh Afzal II, faced family feuds to the end of his life. After his death in 1853, he was succeeded by his son Muhtaram Shāh III. He in turn was succeeded by his nephew Amānu'l Mulk, who in 1863 received a Dogra envoy and by 1880 had become the master of Mastuj and Yasin as well. He was recognized both by the Dogra government of Jammu and Kashmir and by the British. His death in 1892 led to British intervention in 1895, by which Chitral, including Mastuj, came under direct British control.

The Khushwaqt family of Yasin and Mastuj

Khushwaqt, the grandson of Sange ᶜAlī I of Chitral, laid the foundations of the Khushwaqt dynasty. He ruled Yasin from 1640 to 1700, but, as we have seen, also played a leading role in the affairs of Gilgit, which bordered on his own territory. His interference in the internal

[73] Azizu'ddīn, 1897; see also Murtaza, 1962; both base their accounts on Mīrzā Sher's *Shāhnāma- i Chitral*.

affairs of Gilgit led to its virtual occupation by him through forcible means, although a diplomatic marriage also helped. His main objective was to prevent the Nagir ruler occupying Gilgit. The seed he planted culminated in the time of his great-grandson Sulaymān Shāh (*c*. 1800–25), who ruled over a territory extending from Gilgit to Chitral. During the time of Sulaymān Shāh's nephew, Gohar Amān, there began a long struggle with the Sikhs and the Dogra authorities in Kashmir over Gilgit.

The triangular struggle among the rulers of Yasin, Gilgit and Nagir can be properly understood if the accounts of two European eye-witnesses, Drew and Leitner,[74] are read together. The initial intervention in Gilgit had nothing to do with Gulāb Singh and his commander Zorāwar Singh, the hero of the Ladakh and Baltistan campaigns (see below). It took place when the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh (1799–1839) being dead, the Lahore throne was occupied by Sher Singh (1841–3), while Ghulām Muhīu'ddīn was the governor of Kashmir on behalf of the Sikhs. Muhīu'ddīn advanced towards Astor (which lay *en route* to Gilgit) in order to keep an eye on Zorāwar Singh, who was already in control of Baltistan. When Gohar Amān drove him from Gilgit, Rājā Karīm Khān, a scion of the Nagir family, had no choice but to seek assistance from Muhīu'ddīn. The latter sent Sikh troops under whose protection Karīm Khān recovered Gilgit in 1842. After Karīm Khān's death in 1844, he was succeeded by his son Muhammad Khān II, but in 1851 he was overthrown by Gohar Amān, who massacred the Dogra troops that had now been stationed in Gilgit in succession to the Sikhs. The Dogras were unable to recover Gilgit immediately, but after Gohar Amān's death in 1856, Gilgit was occupied by the Dogras who drove away his son Malik Amān to Yasin.[75]

New administrative arrangements were made in Gilgit and Rājā ᶜAlī Dād Khān, the son of Muhammad Khān II, a legal successor to the Gilgit throne, was invested with all powers. The war continued against the ruler of Yasin and the bloody battle that now took place here forced Malik Amān to take shelter in Chitral. He returned with fresh forces from Chitral in 1867 and 1868, and this led to a series of encounters with the Dogra forces. The dispute was ultimately settled by the British as the paramount power.

Moorcroft and Trebeck, in their notice in 1822 of upper and lower Chitral, report that the people were Dardus and Dongars who spoke the Dardu language. They were mostly Shiᶜites, though the rulers were Sunnis. Slaves, either subjects enslaved by the rulers or obtained through raids, were apparently the chief export.[76]

74 Drew, 1980; Leitner, 1978, pp. 71–118; cf. Dani, 1991, pp. 246–7.
75 Cf. Hasan, 1954, Vol. 2, pp. 781–2, 836–9.
76 Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, pp. 268–70.

Baltistan

By Baltistan ('Little Tibet') today is understood the valley of the Indus, running in a north-westerly direction immediately to the south of the Karakoram range, the highest mountain range in the world after the Great Himalayas. It includes the lower valley of the Shyok river, a major tributary of the Indus. On its south-east, Baltistan borders Ladakh, the 'Great Tibet' of Mughal period Indian texts.

Baltistan was earlier included among the Tibeto-Dard kingdoms (500– 1000). Thereafter it had three dynasties. Two of them, if not all three, had Turkic origins. During the medieval period, they had separate seats at Skardu, Shigar and Khapalu.[77] In the region of Kartakhsha and Rondu, the ruling families branched out from the main Makpon ruling dynasty in Skardu.

Balti power at Skardu was consolidated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under Makpon Bokhā and his son Sher Shāh I (1515–40). During the time of Sher Shāh, the forces of Abū Sa^cīd Khan (1514–33), the Moghul ruler of Kashghar, invaded the state in 1532: his forces were commanded by Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt (see below). The Moghul occupation was, however, temporary as the khan's army merely went through Shigar and Kargil on its way to Kashmir.[78] Sher Shāh was an ardent follower of the Muslim saint Mīr Shamsu'ddīn ^cIrāqī, whose descendants had a great impact on the spread of Islam in Baltistan. Today his followers are all Shi^cites, but the Nūrbakhshis claim that he introduced their sect in that region.

Under the next rulers, ^cAlī Khān, his son Ghāzī Mīr and his grandson ^cAlī Sher (^cAlī Rai) Khān, who reigned successively from 1540 to 1633, the territorial limits of Skardu were extended to Shigar, Astor, Rondu and Karataksha. ^cAlī Sher Khān was the greatest of the three rulers and is hence known as Anchan, i.e. A^czam (the Great). He warred with the ruler of Ladakh, and as the result of a settlement, Anchan married the Ladakh princess, Mondok Goyalmo. He built two great forts near Skardu.

It was in the time of Ghāzī Mīr that the Mughal emperor Akbar conquered Kashmir in 1586. Diplomatic relations thereafter developed between Baltistan and the Mughal emperor. A Balti princess was sent to the Mughal court, and the local tradition even speaks of a Mughal princess coming to Skardu. She built a Mughal-style fort at Mandok with a garden and some marble structures. Whatever the truth of this legend, the Mughals sought to establish contacts with Baltistan, as well as with Ladakh.

77 Dani, 1989, pp. 513 et seq.
78 Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 420–3.

The power of the Balti state dwindled as Anchan's three sons fought among themselves. One of them, Adam Khān, fled to Kashmir and sought refuge with the Mughals during Emperor Jahāngīr's (1605–27) later years. According to the official Mughal account, Adam Khān accompanied the 1637 Mughal expedition under Zafar Khān into Baltistan, during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān. This resulted in the capture of Adam's elder brother and rival, Abdāl, and the proclamation of Mughal suzerainty over Baltistan; but Zafar Khān decided to retreat in haste owing to the onset of winter. This resulted in his leaving the territory in the hands of Abdāl's agent, Muhammad Murād, a proceeding much disapproved of by Shāh Jahān.[79] Ultimately, however, Adam seems to have recovered possession of the territory. He too ruled Skardu through his *nāib* (deputy). He was succeeded by Murād Khān. Both Adam Khān and Murād Khān accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal emperors.

An interesting account of Baltistan is furnished by the official Mughal historian under the year 1638. Baltistan had 22 sub-districts (*pargana*s) and 37 forts. Its mountains and narrow valleys could sustain limited cultivation, and barley and wheat were grown. The maximum annual tax collected could not exceed Rs. 100,000. Gold of inferior quality, not exceeding 2,000 *tola*s (9.5 kg), was annually collected from river-sands, being priced at Rs. 7 per *tola*. Fruit of cold climes grew well there.[80] Incidentally, Abū'l Fazl (*c*. 1595) tells us that Kashmir imported silkworms' eggs for sericulture from Baltistan and Gilgit.[81]

The territorial integrity of the Balti state remained intact, and by securing its subordination the Mughals stabilized their northern frontier. This subordinate position of Skardu lasted until the end of the Mughal period. Whenever there was a family feud in Baltistan, outsiders intervened and took full advantage of the situation, as frequently happened in the time of the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (1747–72) or when the Sikhs took over Kashmir (1820).

In 1822 the ruler of Balti was Ahmad Shāh, with whom Moorcroft corresponded. Moorcroft speaks of wheat and barley being the main crops, and of fruit and wood being abundant. Horses of a 'serviceable description' were locally bred. The people were mostly Shi^{c}ites.[82] Baltistan was still independent of the Sikhs in 1835, when it was described by Vigne.[83] But Ahmad Shāh proved to be the last independent raja of Baltistan. The territory was overrun by the Dogra commander of Jammu, Zorāwar Singh, in 1840.[84] Ahmad Shāh was taken by Zorāwar Singh on his ill-fated expedition into Tibet, and he died in Tibetan

79 Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 1, Part 2, pp. 281–6.
80 Ibid., pp. 286–8.
81 Abū'l Fazl, 1866–77, Vol. 1, pp. 562–3.
82 Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, pp. 261–5.
83 Vigne, 1842, pp. 208–16.
84 Cf. Cunningham, 1918, pp. 241–5.

captivity near Lhasa. Thereafter, though the dynasty of the rajas was maintained, Baltistan was governed directly by the Dogra rulers of Jammu and Kashmir.

The rajas of Khartaksho, Shigar and Khapalu

Khartaksho is situated on the Indus river above its junction with Shyok; Shigar lies on the Shigar river that joins the Indus from the north opposite Skardu; and Khapalu is on the Shyok river. Khartaksho lost its independence after being conquered by the rulers of Skardu some time before the seventeenth century. The most notable ruler of Skardu, ^{c}Alī Sher Khān Anchan (d. 1633), appointed his second son Abdāl Khān to rule there, just as his third son was to rule at Rondu. Another Skardu ruler, Murād Khān, appointed his younger brother Sher Shāh as the ruler of Khartaksho in 1685. His descendants continued to rule there until the time of ^{c}Alī Sher Khān II, who fled to Ladakh in fear of the Skardu ruler and presented himself in 1835 to the Dogra commander Zorāwar Singh, the conqueror of Ladakh. Later, he helped Zorāwar by showing him the route to Skardu through Khartaksho and took part in the expedition against Skardu.

In Shigar the local ruling dynasty were called the Amāchas (probably from *amātya*, Sanskrit for minister). They ended their names with ‘Tham’ and traced their descent from the Hunza ruling family (thus ultimately from the Trakhān dynasty of Gilgit). They received Persian holy men such as Sayyid ^{c}Alī Hamadānī, who came to Shigar at the time of Goritham, and Mīr Shamsu’ddīn ^{c}Irāqī (d. 1525), who came when Ghāzitham II was the ruler. During the Moghul Abū Sa^{c}īd Khan’s invasion of Shigar in 1532, the local ruler was ^{c}Abdullāh Khān.[85] It was his son, Haydar Khān I, who opened the Braldo pass and established ambassadorial exchanges with Yarkand. In 1600 two other holy men of Persian origin, the brothers Sayyid Muhammad Shāh Tūsī and Sayyid ^{c}Alī Tūsī, came to Shigar from Kashghar and spread Shi^{c}ism. The most important ruler of Shigar was Imām Qulī Khān, who came to the throne in 1634 and became known for his statesmanship and military strength.[86] His descendants continued to rule Shigar until the time of Haydar Khān II, when Zorāwar Singh captured Skardu in 1842.

In Khapalu, the local ruling dynasty bore the name of Yabgu (Yabghu), a well-known Turkish title. The local population continued to follow Buddhism until the time of the saint

[85] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 422: he does not mention the name of the ruler of Shigar, while describing its capture, with much slaughter, by Sa^{c}īd Khan. All the men were killed, and the women and children enslaved.

[86] There is a problem to be elucidated in regard to the actual relationship with Skardu. When the Mughal army under Zafar Khān invaded Baltistan in 1638, Shigar was under Abdāl, the ruler of Skardu, so much so that he placed his family in this fort for safety (Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 282). Imām Qulī Khān is not mentioned at all in Lāhorī’s account of the expedition.

Sayyid ^{c}Alī Hamadānī, who is believed to have spread Islam in Khapalu in the fourteenth century. The Khapalu state came into existence almost simultaneously with that in Ladakh, with the disintegration of the ancient Tibetan kingdom in the tenth century. In Khapalu the Nūrbakhshis are found in large numbers. The ruler Ghāzī Sher was a contemporary of the Skardu ruler ^{c}Alī Sher Khān Anchan, who reigned in the early seventeenth century. The Yabgu ruling family had close relations with Ladakh, while there were also links with Skardu and Shigar. With the help of the Skardu ruler, the last Yabgu ruler Ahmad Shāh succeeded in defeating Yabgu Mahdī ^{c}Alī, who had obtained support from Ladakh. Khapalu thereafter came under the control of Skardu and a governor (*kharpon*) from Skardu began to be appointed there. Kharpon Yulehing Karīm (1820–40) was ruling the district when in 1840 the Dogra commander Zorāwar Singh led his troops into Khapalu and subjugated it.

10

PERSIA DURING THE PERIOD OF THE SAFAVIDS, THE AFSHARS AND THE EARLY QAJARS*

E. Eshraghi

Contents

* See Map 5, p. 925.

Part One

THE SAFAVIDS (1501–1722)

The birth of an empire and the emergence of present-day Iran

The formation of the Safavid state at the beginning of the sixteenth century is one of the most important developments in the history of Iran. It may indeed be seen as the start of a new era in the political, cultural and social life of modern Iran, the creation of an alternative state, one based on centralized power and the establishment of Shi ᶜism as the official faith, with borders broadly corresponding on the west (the Ottoman empire) and the south (the Persian Gulf) to those of the present-day Islamic Republic of Iran. The position of the Safavids as a great power contemporary with the Mughal empire in India, and the Ottoman empire in the Middle East, played a role in the shaping and functioning of political powers not only in southern and western Asia, but also indirectly in Europe.

Shāh Ismāᶜīl I founded the Safavid state in 1501 as the result of a long process of development that had begun almost two centuries earlier when his ancestor, Shaykh Safī'uddīn Ardabīlī, had set up the *khānaqāh* (dervish convent) of his spiritual order in Ardabil (Azarbaijan) during the period of the Ilkhānids.[1] Shaykh Safī died in 1334, and from then until the time when Shāh Ismāᶜīl came to power, the leadership of the Safavid order was maintained on the basis of hereditary succession. During this period, which lasted for 113 years, many people from Azarbaijan, Aran and Anatolia joined the *murīd*s (followers) of the *khānaqāh* of Ardabil, and this greatly increased the spiritual authority of the order. When Shaykh Junayd assumed the spiritual leadership (1447–60), the outlook of the *khānaqāh*, which until that time had been based on Sufi teachings, underwent a transformation with the adoption of a policy of intense Shi ᶜite proselytism. From then on, Junayd and his successors not only filled the office of head of the Safavid order, but also claimed to represent the 'Twelver' branch of Shiᶜism (*isnā-ᶜasharīyya*).

[1] Rashīd'uddīn Fazlullāh Hamadānī, 1979, pp. 243–7. On the general history of Iran during the Safavid period, see Savory, 1980, and *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1986, Vol. 6, Chs. 5–9, 11–14, 15b, 16b, 17c, 18. On the formation of the Safavid state, see Hinz, 1936; Aubin, 1988, pp. 1–130. On Shaykh Safī and the family line of the Safavids, see Ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī, 1994; and concerning the Safavids' beliefs, see Mazzaoui, 1972.

At the same time, the rivalry between Jahānshāh, the leader of the Turkmen (Turkoman) Qara Qoyūnlū(Black Sheep), and Uzūn Hasan, the emir of the Āq Qoyūnlū (White Sheep), drew the heads of the Safavid order into the arena of political struggle. Forced to leave Ardabil, Junayd proceeded to the court of Uzūn Hasan, who gave Junayd his sister in marriage and permitted him to move freely among his *murīd*s in Anatolia and Syria. Junayd succeeded in forming bands of the *murīd*s into an organized armed force. Later these soldiers came to be known by the name of Qizilbāsh (i.e. Red-Heads) owing to their red headwear.

Junayd's son Haydar (1460–87) married Maria (ᶜAlam Shāh Khātun), the daughter of Uzūn Hasan. She was the granddaughter of both Alexius IV, the Byzantine emperor, and Kalo-Ioannes, the last Christian emperor of Trebizond. The future Shāh Ismāᶜīl I was born of this union, and his part-Christian descent together with his hostility to the Ottomans probably formed the basis of his semi-legendary popularity in the West. In 1487 Haydar was killed in a battle against the Shirvān Shāh (king of Baku).[2] His mantle passed on to his son, Ismāᶜīl.

Shāh Ismāᶜīl I (1501–24): the founder of a dynasty based on the Safavid order

Having launched his campaign in 1499 with a small group of *murīd*s from Gilan south of the Caspian Sea, Ismāᶜīl took control of the city of Baku, the capital of the Shirvān shahs. In another campaign he also defeated Alvand Mīrzā at the beginning of 1501 and made a triumphal entrance into Tabriz, the Āq-Qoyūnlū capital. In Tabriz he proclaimed Twelver Shi ᶜism as the official religion throughout his territories. After the conquest of central Persia, Shāh Ismāᶜīl turned his attention to Diyarbakr (eastern Asia Minor) and by 1508 he had acquired this region and then taken Baghdad and the holy places of Shiᶜism in Iraq.[3]

In 1510 he set out to wage war against the Uzbeks, who had subdued the former possessions of Transoxania and Khurasan. As a pretext for his campaign, Shāh Ismāᶜīl claimed to be seeking justice from the Uzbeks on behalf of the Timurids, since the Timurid princes had sought refuge with him. On 10 December 1510 he defeated Muhammad Shaybānī, the Uzbek khan, near Merv, the khan himself being killed. After this resounding victory, Shāh Ismāᶜīl set out for Herat and took possession of that city as well. The extent of the conquered territories now stretched from the Euphrates to the Amu Darya (Oxus). But this was followed by a partial reverse. In order to recover his territory from the Uzbeks in

[2] See the previous sources and also Rūmlū, 1978, pp. 18–19.
[3] Rūmlū, 1978, pp. 84–5, 136–8.

Transoxania, Bābur had promised that once he was re-established in Samarkand, he would strike coins in the shah's name and have his name mentioned in the *khutba* (Friday sermon). With the help of a military force sent by Ismāᶜīl, Bābur was able to occupy Samarkand and Bukhara. But the Uzbeks took the two cities back, and the Persian army under the command of Najm-i Sānī was routed in 1512. Bābur retired from Transoxania to Kabul, and Ismāᶜīl abandoned all ambitions to extend his authority beyond Herat.[4]

The final major event of Shāh Ismāᶜīl's rule was his war with the Ottomans. His victories in Diyarbakr and Iraq, and the presence of a great number of his supporters in Anatolia, had for a long time caused concern at the Sublime Porte. Bāyazīd II (1481–1512) followed a policy of restraint, but after his abdication, his son Selim I (1512–20) had the Ottoman Sunni *ᶜulamā'* issue a *fatwā* for a religious war (*jihād*) against Shāh Ismāᶜīl. Selim gathered a large army equipped with firearms, and before leaving killed thousands of Shāh Ismāᶜīl's supporters in Anatolia to secure his rear against any revolt. The battle took place on 23 August 1514 at Chaldiran near Khuy. Despite the bravery they displayed in battle, Shāh Ismāᶜīl and the Qizilbāsh were defeated, mainly owing to the Ottoman superiority in firearms. Ismāᶜīl's capital Tabriz fell into Selim's hands. Selim did not stay long in Azarbaijan, however, due to his army's reluctance to remain in a hostile region and the difficulties of acquiring provisions, as well as fear of attack by Qizilbāsh irregulars. Shāh Ismāᶜīl returned to Tabriz but lost Diyarbakr, the original home of most of his Turkmen followers.[5] The disaster greatly affected Ismāᶜīl, who now abandoned himself to a life of pleasure. In 1522, with the intention of concluding an alliance against the Ottomans, Shāh Ismāᶜīl wrote a letter to the Habsburg emperor Charles V; but by the time Charles' reply reached Persia in 1529, the shah was long dead (he died on 10 November 1524).

Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76): the consolidation of the empire

Tahmāsp, the son of Shāh Ismāᶜīl, was not yet 10 years old when he succeeded to the throne. Because of his youth, the Qizilbāsh commanders began to compete with one another to acquire a greater share in the government. At first all the chiefs agreed to the regency of Dīv Sultān Rūmlū, to whose guardianship Shāh Ismāᶜīl had entrusted Tahmāsp. But the arrangement soon broke down. These power struggles continued until the shah was 16.

[4] See Khwānd Amīr, 1954, Vol. 4, pp. 532–43, 575–91; Rūmlū, 1978, pp. 147–74.

[5] Rūmlū, 1978, pp. 187–96; ᶜAbdu'l Husayn Navā'ī, 1985, pp. 153, 163; ᶜArif Ispināqchī, 1990, pp. 115–16. See also *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 5, pp. 218–27.

From then on, however, Tahmāsp himself took control of affairs, thus putting an end to the period of troubles.

It was during the long reign of Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76) that a majority of the Iranian people came to adopt Shiᶜism, a religious denomination that was to become an integral part of Persian culture. With regard to foreign affairs, the shah was obliged to be on the defensive against repeated attacks by the Uzbeks in the east and Ottoman campaigns in the west. The peace of Amāsiya concluded with the Ottoman Sultān Sulaymān (1520–66) in 1555 brought about a cessation of war and an end to the fighting between Persia and the Ottomans. At that time, the encroachments of the Uzbeks in the east had also come to an end, and the shah was able to establish order in internal affairs.

Taking advantage of Shāh Tahmāsp's youth and the early disorder in the Safavid state, ᶜUbaydullāh Khān Shaybānī led his army four times into Khurasan. In their First Campaign (1524–6), the Uzbeks captured Balkh and advanced as far as Damghan and the western borders of Khurasan. But they were unable to take Herat, and withdrew. In his Second Campaign (1526–8), ᶜUbaydullāh Khān occupied the area from Astarabad to Mashhad. After that he laid siege to Herat for seven months. But he was defeated at the battle of Jam (24 September 1528) owing to the improved performance of the Safavid army, particularly in its use of artillery. However, because of the revolt of Baghdad, instigated by the Ottomans, the Safavid army was unable to derive any notable benefit from its victory. The Third Uzbek Campaign (1529–31) resulted in the capture of Mashhad and Herat, but this also proved to be temporary. The Fourth and last Uzbek Campaign (1531–4) took place again under the leadership of ᶜUbaydullāh after Abū Saᶜīd had been chosen as Great Khan. But the Uzbek siege of Herat again failed, and ᶜUbaydullāh, hoping to succeed Abū Saᶜīd who had just died, retreated at the approach of the Safavid army. The Persian counter-offensive proved ineffective because of a sudden attack by the Ottomans in the west. In spite of this, an effective alliance during all these wars between the two Sunni powers – Ottoman Turkey and the Uzbek khanate – and attempts to synchronize their attacks generally failed to materialize, mainly due to the great distance between them.[6]

Subsequently, when ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān came to power in Bukhara[7] following the death of ᶜUbaydullāh Khān in 1539, and conflict repeatedly broke out between Khwarazm and Bukhara, the Uzbeks had no further opportunity to invade Khurasan. The friendly relations which existed between the Safavid court and the emirs of Khwarazm also became an important factor in maintaining the balance of power in Transoxania. The uprising of the

[6] On this series of wars, see Dickson, 1958.
[7] Qāzī Ahmad Qumī, 1980–5, Vol. 1, pp. 290–3.

Turkmen Uba in 1557–8 did not destabilize the region south-east of the Caspian Sea for long, and was soon suppressed.[8]

In view of the vulnerability of Tabriz to Ottoman attacks, Shāh Tahmāsp decided to transfer the capital from Tabriz to Qazvin, where he set about building a palace, mosques, *madrasa*s (religious colleges), bazaars and a caravanserai.[9] His great concern for the promotion of orthodox Twelver Shi^c^ism led to a number of Shi^c^ite *^c^ulamā'* from Jabal ^c^Amil (in Lebanon) and Bahrain coming to Persia. Subsequently, they played a key role in elaborating Shi^c^ite jurisprudence and often held important religious posts such as that of *shaykh al-islām* (principal religious authority) or *pishnamāz* (prayer leader).[10]

From his early youth Shāh Tahmāsp had taken a great interest in the arts and was himself a painter. From the time he became ruler until the year 1555, when he underwent his celebrated *tauba* (repentance), he patronized painters, calligraphers and others in the field of the fine arts, and many artistic masterpieces of the Safavid era belong to this period. The repentance of Shāh Tahmāsp, and his subsequent tightening of the purse strings, led to a lack of financial support for painters and calligraphers and eventually prompted many of them to emigrate to India in search of patronage. This trend became particularly marked after Humāyūn, the Mughal ruler of India, took refuge at Tahmāsp's court (1544–5) and then departed to recover his dominions taking with him a group of notable Persian painters.[11] Even before this time, however, the oppressive religious policy of the Safavid state had resulted in the emigration of a number of Persians to India, including men of letters and religious scholars. An even greater entrenchment of Persian culture in India, which already had a fairly long history, is thus an important though largely unintended consequence of Safavid rule.

As indicated above, relations between the Safavid and the Mughal empires began in the period of Bābur. Bābur's hostility to the Uzbeks made it desirable for him to maintain good relations with the Safavids. A little after Shāh Tahmāsp's accession to the throne, Bābur dispatched an ambassador, Khwājagī Asad, to congratulate him. The ambassador returned to India accompanied by Shāh Tahmāsp's representative, Sulaymān Āqā, bearing numerous presents from the shah. Bābur followed very closely the results of the wars between the

[8] Rūmlū, 1978, pp. 514–20; Qāzī Ahmad Qumī, 1980–5, Vol. 1, pp. 396–8.

[9] On Qazvin, see the series of books by Varjavand (to be published), and especially the volume dealing with monuments, as well as Echraghi, 1982, pp. 117–26.

[10] Qāzī Ahmad Qumī, 1980–5, Vol. 1, p. 430; Vol. 2, pp. 945, 947, 998.

[11] On painting, see the relevant contribution in the present volume by O. Akimushkin (Ch. 19, Part One). Regarding Shāh Tahmāsp's 'repentance', whose effects on art have been exaggerated, see Adle, 1993, pp. 219–96, esp. 240–2.

Safavids and the Uzbeks. After defeating the Uzbeks at the battle of Jam, Tahmāsp sent a report of his victory to Bābur.[12]

Relations after the Mughal occupation of Kandahar (Qandahār) (from the year 1534–5 onwards) during the reign of Bābur's son, Humāyūn, became somewhat strained, but when Humāyūn was defeated by Sher Shāh Sūr in 1540 and sought refuge at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp in 1544–5, matters changed. Humāyūn first went to Kandahar with an army that the shah placed at his disposal, and ultimately in 1555 he recovered his throne at Delhi. The conditions that Tahmāsp had imposed on him were soon disregarded: the promise to convert to Shi^{c}ism was quietly forgotten, and Humāyūn formally turned over Kandahar to the Persian troops – only to seize it again immediately afterwards in 1545.[13] The possession of Kandahar continued to be one of the main bones of contention between Persia and India up to the end of the Safavid period.

During the era of Shāh Tahmāsp, political and commercial relations with the West, which had been more or less restricted to the Portuguese, now came to include England. In 1561 a mission under Anthony Jenkinson on behalf of the English Muscovy Company came to the Safavid court and attempted to open up trade to England through Russia. But the various agreements that were concluded had no practical consequences, since trade to Russia via the Caspian Sea and the Volga was a risky enterprise owing to navigational difficulties and lack of security on the land route. The ancient route through Khurasan, extending from China via Persia to Europe, was also in a ruinous state, due partly to competition from the cheaper sea traffic and partly to animosity between the Safavids and their neighbours. The Portuguese, who since the beginning of the sixteenth century had dominated the sea routes of the Indian Ocean as well as the Persian Gulf after their capture of Hormuz in 1515, maintained their supremacy for another century until the period of Shāh ^{c}Abbās the Great (see below).[14] Shāh Tahmāsp died on 31 March 1576, after having reigned for 53 years.

A decade of upheavals (1576–87)

Immediately after the death of Shāh Tahmāsp, a struggle broke out over the succession. In the end, the supporters of his son Ismā^{c}īl – who was then in prison – emerged victorious

[12] Riazul Islam, 1970, pp. 18–21.

[13] Rūmlū, 1978, pp. 398–404, 419–21, 497–508; Qāzī Ahmad Qumī, 1980–5, Vol. 1, pp. 301–14. See also Ray, 1948.

[14] ^{c}Abdu'l Husayn Navā'ī, 1985, pp. 176–80; *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1986, Vol. 6, pp. 380– 4, 428–34; Membré, 1993.

and placed him on the throne in 1576.[15] Shāh Ismāᶜīl II gave orders for every one of the royal princes to be murdered with the sole exception of his brother Muhammad Mīrzā, who was blind. Since Ismāᶜīl II himself died a year and a half later (on 23 November 1577), the order to murder Muhammad Mīrzā's son, ᶜAbbās Mīrzā (the future Shāh ᶜAbbās I), who was in Herat, was not carried out. In his short reign Ismāᶜīl made an abortive attempt to bring about a return to Sunnism.[16]

Shāh Ismāᶜīl was succeeded by his brother Muhammad Mīrzā, who ascended the throne as Sultān Muhammad Khudābanda (1577–87), but he entrusted the management of the country's affairs to his wife, Maryam Begum (Mahd-i ᶜUlyā). In contrast to the time of Shāh Tahmāsp, whose sister Sultānam Mahīn Bānū had only been his adviser,[17] on this occasion it was a woman who wielded the real power, and she even went to the front in the war with the Ottomans that broke out in 1578. Her authority greatly displeased the Turkmān chiefs of the army (the core of the Qizilbāsh) and they conspired to have her strangled in 1579.[18] Attempted Ottoman incursions into northwest Iran had been checked by the will and determination of the queen, as well as measures taken by the vizier Mīrzā Salmān and the military prowess of the heir apparent, Hamza Mīrzā. The latter was, however, assassinated in 1586 while on a campaign against the Ottomans. The Qizilbāsh emirs who ruled over Khurasan now rose in revolt and proclaimed ᶜAbbās Mīrzā (b. 1571), the shah's young son, as ruler, placing him on the throne in December 1587.[19] Sultān Muhammad Khudābanda had to agree to his son's accession; he himself died in Qazvin in 1595.[20]

Shāh ᶜAbbās the Great (1587–1629): the rebirth of the empire on a new foundation

Shāh ᶜAbbās I (known as Shāh ᶜAbbās the Great) has deservedly been considered the ruler who revived the political and military power of the Safavids. From his early youth he had witnessed the Qizilbāsh chiefs' pursuit of power, and his mother's death at their hands. Not unnaturally he made it his first priority to eliminate the leading Qizilbāsh commanders.[21]

[15] Afushta-i Natanzī, 1994, pp. 20–30.
[16] Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 248–51.
[17] Qāzi Ahmad Qumī, 1980–5, Vol. 1, pp. 430–1, as well as the part dealing with the *bānū*s (princesses) in Ch. 14, Part Two, of the present volume.
[18] Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 213–18.
[19] Qāzī Ahmad Qumī, 1980–5, Vol. 2, pp. 858–60.
[20] Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 516–17.
[21] Afushta-i Natanzī, 1994, pp. 286–90, 302–10.

We may remember that, to start with, Safavid rule had been based on three pillars: the *tarīqa* (Safavid order), mainly followed by the Qizilbāsh; Twelver Shiᶜism; and hereditary rule. The Qizilbāsh considered Shāh Ismāᶜīl I to be the equal of ᶜAlī and the manifestation of the Twelfth Imām, the Mahdī. At times they even exalted his rank to the level of divinity. The Qizilbāsh were for the most part made up of the largely nomadic Turkmān tribes of Anatolia and Syria who had moved into Persia (see p. 127 above). Their chiefs, who as heads of *murīd*-warriors, had had a major share in the formation and expansion of the Safavid state, sought a primary role in its governance. Since, however, their interests as nomads often clashed with those of the farmers and the city-dwellers who were mostly Persians (Tajiks), and they proved incapable of running the country's civil government, Shāh Ismāᶜīl had entrusted the administration to Persian (Tajik) ministers, such as Husayn Beg Najm-i Sānī.

Shāh Tahmāsp, by killing Husayn Khān Shāmlū, the most powerful of the Qizilbāsh chiefs, had shown that he wished to keep absolute control of the state in his own hands. By bringing in Shiᶜite *ᶜulamā'* from the Arab lands such as Lebanon, on the one hand, and by employing non-Muslim (or only outwardly Muslim) Georgians and Circassians in important military posts, on the other, he had further weakened the Qizilbāsh in both the religious and the military spheres.

The death of Shāh Tahmāsp in 1576 had given the Qizilbāsh chiefs the opportunity – on the pretext of supporting his son Ismāᶜīl Mīrzā – to subvert the influence of the Georgians who supported Shāh Tahmāsp's favourite son, Haydar Mīrzā, and thus once again to wield political power. But after taking power, Shāh Ismāᶜīl II, who had Sunni leanings, had had a great number of the Qizilbāsh killed.[22] After the death of Ismāᶜīl II the attempt of the Qizilbāsh to take the reins of power into their own hands, since Sultān Muhammad Khudābanda was blind, was foiled by Queen Mahd-i ᶜUlyā, who was thereupon murdered.

The Qizilbāsh were, however, not united and were embroiled in their own tribal conflicts. Taking advantage of this situation, Shāh ᶜAbbās I first had his mother's killers eliminated by Murshid Qulī Khān, the khan of the Shāmlū tribe, who was his *lāla* (guardian). He then had others eliminate the guardian. Finally, having also had Farhād Khān Qarāmānlū, the last *amīr al-umarā'* (emir of emirs) of the Qizilbāsh, killed by Allāhverdī Khān Gurjī, a Georgian, he conferred the leadership of the army upon the latter.[23] Following the model of the Ottoman Janissaries, Shāh ᶜAbbās created a new army of royal *ghulām*s (or *qullar* in Turkish) alongside the traditional soldiery. The army of *qullar* was made up of various Christian troops converted to Islam such as Georgians, Circassians, Armenians and other

[22] Ibid., p. 34.
[23] Afushta-i Natanzī, 1994, pp. 604–12; Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 574–6; Haneda, 1983.

groups from the Caucasus who had either been brought to Persia during their childhood or had been born in Persia to Christian mothers from the Caucasus. Some had also been prisoners of war who had lived for a while in the country and become Muslims.[24] Allāhverdī, who rose to the post of commander-in-chief, was one of these soldiers, and the government of Fars was also entrusted to him. It must be pointed out that despite this restructuring of the army, the Qizilbāsh were not completely excluded and they maintained a presence in the military until the fall of the Safavids. However, they were now no longer a decisive element in the state.

Political and military centralization was embodied in the person of the shah, and Shāh ᶜAbbās took hold of the reins of government as an absolute despot. Besides the organizational changes in the armed forces, the shah rapidly equipped the army with artillery (*tūp*) and muskets (*tufang*s), and established the new posts of *tufangchī* (musketeer), *tūpchī* (artilleryman) and *qullar āghāsī* (commander of *ghulām*s). In tandem with these changes in military organization, Shāh ᶜAbbās instituted changes in the fiscal administration in order to provide for the expenses involved in these reforms. Gradually he transformed the resources of the various state lands into royal demesnes, which meant that revenues from these lands went straight into the imperial treasury and thus became the personal income of the shah. Previously, governors and governor-generals had themselves been obliged to meet the expenses of the armed forces under their command. From now on, the soldiers' wages were paid in cash from the royal treasury, and the governors, acting as supervising agents, undertook the collection of revenues from the areas belonging to the royal demesnes.[25]

Under a powerful ruler like Shāh ᶜAbbās, this system was conducive to centralization and the growth of military power, but during the period of his successors, it began to cause difficulties. Transforming state lands into royal demesnes solved the problem of meeting the expenses of the soldiery, but in the long term it tended to increase the pressure of taxation and degrade the quality of these lands.[26] The erosion of the belief in the sanctity of the Safavid monarchy, upon which Shāh Ismāᶜīl I had founded his government – without any other ideas taking its place – continued to sap the strength of the Safavid state until its eventual collapse about a century later.[27]

Faced with the problem of attacks by the Uzbeks in the east and the Ottoman empire in the west, Shāh ᶜAbbās decided to start by making peace with one of his two enemies. The Uzbeks, during the previous period of disorders within the Safavid state, had captured the

[24] *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1986, Vol. 6, pp. 364–5; Savory, 1980, pp. 77–81.
[25] See Lambton, 1953, pp. 107–8.
[26] Savory, 1980, p. 226.
[27] On the Safavid administrative system, see *Tazkirat al-Mulūk*, 1943; Mīrzā Rafiᶜā, 1968–9. On the *dīwān* and the administrative and tax system of the provinces, see Röhrborn, 1966.

cities of Herat and Mashhad. The Ottoman empire had conquered Azarbaijan and the western provinces, Shirvan and Georgia. On the western front, Shāh ᶜAbbās signed the treaty of Istanbul (Nawruz 1590) with the Ottomans, ceding the above-mentioned territories to the Porte.[28] Later, in 1602–7, after having largely settled issues with the Uzbeks, he won back all these lost regions from the Ottomans.[29] In the east, the Uzbeks, who had been greatly weakened by ᶜAbdullāh Khān's death in 1598 and his son ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min's murder the same year, were also driven out of Khurasan (see Chapter 1). Dīn Muhammad, claimant to the vacant khanship, who had occupied Herat, was killed near Herat in a battle against Shāh ᶜAbbās in 1598 and the previous boundaries of the Safavid state were re-established.[30]

The influence of Shāh ᶜAbbās over the governments of Khwarazm and Merv, and his support of them against the sultans of Bukhara and Samarkand, helped to maintain the balance of power in Transoxania. In 1611 Walī Muhammad Khān Uzbek, who had been overthrown by his nephews, sought refuge with Shāh ᶜAbbās. After residing for some time in Isfahan, he returned to Transoxania with troops placed at his disposal by the shah.[31] Although he was then killed in a battle near Samarkand by his nephew Imām Qulī Khān, the governor of Bukhara, he and his brother Nadr Muhammad, the governor of Balkh, nonetheless succeeded in establishing good relations with Shāh ᶜAbbās.[32] These peaceful relations continued until the shah's death in 1629.

During the early years of the reign of Shāh ᶜAbbās, when Khurasan was still exposed to attack by the Uzbeks, two Safavid princes governed Kandahar and the adjacent province of Hirmand (in the Helmand valley). Realizing that they were impotent in the face of probable Uzbek attacks, and had no hope of help from the shah, they sought refuge with Akbar, the Mughal emperor, and surrendered Kandahar to him in 1595. Shāh ᶜAbbās wrested Khurasan from the Uzbeks in 1598 but since he enjoyed friendly relations with Akbar, he made no moves to retake Kandahar.[33] With the death of Akbar and the accession of his son Jahāngīr to the Mughal throne in 1605, Shāh ᶜAbbās resolved to recover Kandahar. When friendly overtures produced no result, he captured the city in a surprise attack in 1622.[34]

On his return from fighting the Uzbeks in 1598, Shāh ᶜAbbās met the English brothers Anthony and Robert Shirley. They subsequently entered the shah's service, and by helping to create workshops for casting cannon and making muskets played a role in further

[28] Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 409–10.
[29] Savory, 1980, pp. 84–8; Nasrullāh Falsafī, 1968–79, Vol. 5.
[30] Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 547–76; Jalāl Munajjim, 1986, pp. 163–84; Siyāqī Nezām, 1976.
[31] Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1956, Vol. 2, pp. 840–7.
[32] Ibid., pp. 962–4.
[33] Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1956, Vol. 2, pp. 672–4.
[34] Ibid., pp. 710–12, 970–9.

equipping the Safavid army with better firearms.[35] To secure the sea coast, Shāh ᶜAbbās came to an agreement with the English against the Portuguese. Allāhverdī Khān, the Persian commander-in-chief and governor of Fars, had conquered Bahrain in 1609. Likewise, his son Imām Qulī Khān, having concluded an agreement with the English East India Company for the use of English warships, wrested Qishm island and then Hormuz island from the Portuguese in 1621. In this way the ports and islands of the Persian Gulf reverted to Persian control after more than a century.[36]

With the establishment of security and stability inside the country, Shāh ᶜAbbās turned his attention to consolidating the army and the economy. He needed the co-operation of Western countries in the area of trade as well as in the confrontation with the Ottomans. A new phase in Safavid relations with European countries now began. One important consequence was the growth of trade, especially in silk. The shah also granted Armenian merchants special concessions, giving them their own quarter, New Julfa, in Isfahan.[37]

The increase in sources of revenue, the expansion of cities and Shāh ᶜAbbās' enthusiasm for commercial development provided a new impetus for progress in architecture and various arts and crafts. The result was the construction of many different kinds of buildings – palaces, mosques, *madrasa*s, caravanserais, bazaars, bridges and other monuments. Shāh ᶜAbbās moved the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan in 1598 and provided it with splendid buildings, shaded avenues, mosques, bridges, gardens and bazaars.[38] After having ruled for 42 years, Shāh ᶜAbbās died on 19 January 1629. Although this was not in itself a cataclysmic event, a long period of decline now ensued.

The long period of decline (1629–1722)

Shāh ᶜAbbās' grandson Sām Mīrzā occupied the throne with the title of Shāh Safī (1629–42). This ruler, who had spent his childhood in the harem, lacked the knowledge to run the political and military affairs of the empire. During the beginning of his rule, he eliminated many men of worth, among whom was Imām Qulī Khān, the governor of Fars and the conqueror of the islands Qishm and Hormuz. The Ottoman sultan Murād IV (1623–40), exploiting Shāh Safī's weakness, violated the peace treaty that had been concluded in the time of Shāh ᶜAbbās, and during the period 1628–38, Baghdad and other important cities of Iraq were occupied and the treaty of Zūhāb (1639) was imposed on the shah. Isfandyār

[35] Parry, 1601.

[36] Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1956, Vol. 2, pp. 638, 679–82; Jalāl Munajjim, 1986, pp. 215, 235, 332; Savory, 1980, pp. 104–19.

[37] *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1986, Vol. 6, pp. 439–56.

[38] Lutfullāh Hunarfarr, 1965.

Khān, the ruler of Khwarazm, set out to conquer Merv, Nisa and Abivard in 1628–9, but thanks to the efforts of Manūchihr Khān, the governor of Mashhad, he was unable to succeed. During this period, Uzbek attacks under Nadr Muhammad, the governor of Balkh, against Badghis, Herat and Merv were also beaten off by Manūchihr Khān and the emirs of Khurasan, but Kandahar was lost to India in 1638.[39]

Shāh Safī died in 1642 and was succeeded by his son ᶜAbbās Mīrzā with the title Shāh ᶜAbbās II (1642–66). ᶜAbbās II was a man endowed with political skills and a strong will, qualities in which he resembled ᶜAbbās the Great. In 1647 he recaptured the city of Kandahar.[40] Khurasan was kept safe from the attacks of the Uzbeks. The Russians began to encroach upon Georgia and also advanced into Daghistan, but were then beaten back.[41] ᶜAbbās II also strengthened the centralized administration by extending a practice that had been initiated under Shah Safī: he abolished governorships in a number of provinces where it was not necessary to maintain large bodies of troops, and established his direct fiscal administration there. The French observer Chevalier de Chardin believed, however, that the new arrangements proved to be more oppressive for the peasantry.[42] Shāh ᶜAbbās II also contributed greatly to the prosperity and splendour of Isfahan. Among the works he built there are the Saᶜādat garden, the Chihil Sutun palace and the famous Khwājū bridge.[43]

On Shāh ᶜAbbās' premature death in 1666, his son Safī Mīrzā ascended the throne as Shāh Sulaymān and ruled until 1694 in comparative peace. The economy flourished, there was a profitable trade in silk, and the extent of security in the country made it possible for Western travellers to visit the Safavid empire and gather valuable information about the country. Among the travellers were Chevalier de Chardin and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. Chardin has left behind a notable description of Isfahan and of the social and cultural conditions of Persia in the Safavid era.[44]

Shāh Sultān Husayn (1694–1722), the son of Shāh Sulaymān, was the last major ruler of the Safavid family. He was by temperament peaceful and averse to bloodshed.[45] During the

[39] Iskandar Beg Turkaman and Muhammad Yūsuf Muwarrikh, 1938, pp. 25–9, 211–13; Maᶜsūm Beg, *c.* 1985, pp. 55–9, 132–5, 162; Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1985, pp. 235–60.

[40] See Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1956; Valī Qulī Khān Shāmlū, 1992, pp. 307–431, 435–504.

[41] Valī Qulī Khān Shāmlū, 1992, pp. 271–5, 297–304, 332; Abū'l Hasan Qazvīnī, 1367/1989, p. 95.

[42] Lambton, 1953, pp. 108–9.

[43] See Lutfullāh Hunarfarr, 1965.

[44] Chardin, 1711; Tavernier, 1713.

[45] An attempted intervention in Khwarazm was not successful. Anūsha Khān, the ruler of Khwarazm, retired to Tabriz, and Uzbek Muhammad Khān, his son, took charge of the government of Khwarazm. The Uzbeks revolted and killed him, and chose Qul Muhammad to be khan, against the will of the Turkmens of that region. With Persian support, Abū'l Ghāzī Khān, who was a descendant of Chinggis, set out for

first years of his rule, he undertook reforms in the social, economic and military domains, but dignitaries who had spent a long time in ease and security hindered his reforms so that no real result came from the measures. On the other hand, increased taxation, oppression by ambitious governors, pressure upon religious minorities, the influence of the harem eunuchs in administration, the dismissal of effective personnel from government and the army, and the shah's lack of will, all undermined the Safavid government from within, so that when the collapse came, it occurred with a seemingly devastating suddenness.

Anarchy: the fall of the Safavids and the rule of the Ghilzāis and Abdālis (1722–9)

During the reign of Shāh Sultān Husayn, the large tribe of the Ghilzāis had its main seat in Kandahar, while the Abdālis held Herat (see Chapter 11). Aware that Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor of India (1659–1707), wished to recover Kandahar, the Safavids decided to send a powerful governor to the city, namely, Gurgīn Khān the Georgian. Gurgīn (Georgui) was forced to raise provisions for a large army, which provoked local opposition, and Mīr Ways (Uways), the Ghilzāi chief, organized a revolt: Gurgīn was killed and thereafter Safavid authority could not be re-established at Kandahar. In the meantime the Abdālis at Herat also rose and established an independent government.

Mīr Ways died in 1715 and was succeeded by his brother ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz. Abdu'l ᶜAzīz sent representatives to Isfahan seeking a settlement, but Mahmūd, the son of Mīr Ways, had him put to death and assumed power himself. He first tried to eliminate his rivals, the Abdālis, and in a battle against Asadullāh Khān Abdālī, defeated the latter and had him put to death in 1719–20. In 1721 Mahmūd set out for Isfahan and, having defeated the army of Shāh Sultān Husayn in the vicinity of Isfahan, laid siege to the city. The protracted siege and blockade of all land communications led to a famine. No aid came to the beleaguered city from any quarter. Shāh Sultān Husayn surrendered and handed over his crown and throne to Mahmūd Ghilzāi on 22 October 1722.

Mahmūd Ghilzāi's rule over Isfahan, which lasted until 1725, was accompanied by many acts of cruelty. The rebellion of cities such as Qazvin, and the escape from Isfahan of Tahmāsp Mīrzā, the son and heir apparent of Shāh Sultān Husayn, and his proclamation of his own kingship in Qazvin further incensed Mahmūd. He killed all the Safavid royal princes who were his prisoners and executed such Qizilbāsh chiefs as were in his hands.

Urgench on 23 August 1694, but there was a clash with Anūsha Khān's partisans and Abū'l Ghāzī was killed (Muhammad Ibrāhīm Nasīrī, 1373/1995, pp. 89, 190, 316–25).

Mahmūd's actions finally proved unacceptable even to his own entourage and his cousin Ashraf killed him and assumed his place in 1725.

After establishing himself at Qazvin, Shāh Tahmāsp II sent an ambassador to seek help from Russia. Russia seized this opportunity to introduce its troops into Gilan and Mazandaran. Likewise, the Ottomans, in accordance with an agreement with Russia, took control of Tiflis, Yerevan, Azarbaijan and other western districts of Persia. Ashraf sought to interest the Ottomans in concluding an alliance with him on the basis of their common profession of Sunni Islam, but Ahmad Pāshā, the governor of Baghdad, would not officially recognize his rule and considered Sultān Husayn to be the true sovereign of Persia, as before. This was practically an invitation for Ashraf to murder the captive Sultān Husayn, and the unfortunate man was beheaded in 1726. Ahmad Pāshā's troops advanced on Isfahan, but suffered a severe defeat in a battle near Hamadan in 1726. In spite of this victory and in order to avert further difficulties, Ashraf renounced his claim to all the western Persian provinces and declared his acceptance of the Ottoman sultan as the true commander of the Muslims (*amīr al-mu'minīn*). Shāh Tahmāsp remained outside his grasp, however, and then in 1729 Nādir Afshār appeared as Tahmāsp's ally and overthrew Ashraf (see below).[46]

Part Two

THE AFSHARS, A SHORT-LIVED MILITARY EMPIRE (1736–47), AND THE ZAND REGIME (1747–94)

Nādir Shāh (1736–47): the last great Asian conqueror

Nādir Shāh proved to be the last great Asian conqueror. He vanquished or withstood the great powers of his era, the Ottoman, Russian and Mughal empires, and his rule extended from the Indus and the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) to Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Caucasus.[47] There can be no two opinions as to his genius as a military organizer and commander. His tragedy lay in an utter inability to construct a stable civil administration for his state or to understand the basic needs of his subjects.

[46] Regarding the collapse of the Safavids and the sources relevant to their fall, see Lockhart, 1958, as well as the sources mentioned in the next section.

[47] For a general overview of Nādir Shāh and his period, see Lockhart, 1938, and *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1991, Vol. 7, pp. 3–62.

Nadr Qulī (the later Nādir Shāh) was a simple, indefatigable warrior from the Afshār tribe of the Qizilbāsh Turkmāns, who had settled in Khurasan under the Safavids. His military prowess came to the attention of Shāh Tahmāsp II, who was trying to maintain himself against the Ghilzāis in northern Persia. When the shah invited Nādir to join forces with him in 1726, Nādir accepted.[48] That same year he became commander-in-chief of the shah's forces and managed to capture Mashhad. After a while, he moved swiftly against Ashraf and defeated him at Mihmandust near Damghan on 29 September 1729. Finally, that same year he was able to place Shāh Tahmāsp II on the throne of his ancestors in Isfahan.[49]

In the course of uninterrupted operations, Nādir, now bearing the title Tahmāsp Qulī, again defeated Ashraf near Shiraz (Ashraf was killed while fleeing in 1730). Then, having driven back the Ottomans, he laid siege to Yerevan in 1730. However, he was soon obliged to hurry to Khurasan in order to ward off an attack by the Abdālis, and in the course of this campaign he captured Herat in 1731.[50] In accordance with a treaty concluded in 1732, the Russians returned the occupied territory on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.[51] When Shāh Tahmāsp's precipitate actions led to his forces being defeated by the Ottomans,[52] Nādir obtained a pretext for deposing him in 1732 and after taking back the lost territories, he ascended the throne himself on 8 March 1736.[53] In the ceremonies for the transfer of power, which were naturally prearranged, he insisted on assurances that Islam would henceforth be held to consist of five schools (the four Sunni schools, or *mazhab*s, in addition to Twelver Shi^{c}ism).[54] Nādir Shāh himself was no religious fanatic and the purpose of these measures was simply to unite Muslims under his banner, or at least to remove conflicts which hindered the realization of his political and military goals. It could be argued that in India and Transoxania, opposition to Nādir Shāh ceased to have any element of religious hostility once he had adopted such a tolerant posture. For reasons of its own, the Ottoman court consistently rejected such a broad vision of Islam and in Persia itself, the idea would have no future.

After having assumed power, Nādir Shāh turned his attention to affairs in the east. In 1736 he set out for Kandahar, and after a 15-month siege took control of the city on 23

[48] Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 1, p. 67; Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 35–45; Lockhart, 1958, pp. 306–7.

[49] Mīrza Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 129–46; Lockhart, 1958, pp. 311, 331, 335.

[50] Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 147–67; Lockhart, 1958, p. 338.

[51] Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, p. 131.

[52] Ibid., p. 272.

[53] Muhammad Husayn Quddūsī, 1339/1961, pp. 120–1; Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 2, p. 456; Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 246–50, 346–56; Lockhart, 1938, pp. 96–104.

[54] Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 3, pp. 978–84; Lockhart, 1938, p. 99.

March 1738.[55] Afterwards, on the pretext of the Mughal refusal to hand over Afghan fugitives and to prevent them from entering India, he invaded the Mughal empire. After a long march through Kabul and Lahore, he confronted the army of Muhammad Shāh on the plain of Karnal near Delhi, and having defeated it on 24 February 1739, entered the city.[56] The uprising of Delhi led to a general massacre of the population, and in the end, after emptying Muhammad Shāh's treasuries and designating the River Indus as the new boundary between the two countries, Nādir Shāh left Delhi on 16 May 1739, following up his success there with an expedition into Sind.[57]

In 1737, while Nādir Shāh was besieging the fortress of Kandahar, his son Rizā Qulī conquered Balkh, Kunduz (Qunduz) and Badakhshan. Then, without permission from his father, Rizā Qulī set out with the army for Transoxania, where he defeated Abū'l Fayz Khān, the governor of Bukhara (see also Chapter 9). But Nādir Shāh, who was afraid of a union of all the Uzbeks, ordered his son to withdraw.[58] Ilbārs Khān, the khan of Khwarazm, taking advantage of the absence of Nādir Shāh in India and Rizā Qulī in Balkh, then conceived the idea of seizing Khurasan. This prompted Nādir, on his return from India, to embark on a campaign in Transoxania. Having crossed the Amu Darya in the summer of 1740, he first turned his attention to Bukhara, where he defeated Abū'l-Fayz Khān but maintained him as a subordinate ruler. The Amu Darya was fixed as the frontier between his state and Bukhara.[59] He then set out for Khiva to punish Ilbārs, who was defeated in the autumn of 1740, captured and executed. In his place, as ruler of Khwarazm, Nādir Shāh installed a Chinggisid prince by the name of Tāhir Khān in the winter of 1740.[60] There are few other examples in military history of the rapidity with which Nādir Shāh carried out his campaigns in India and Transoxania.

After returning from Transoxania, Nādir Shāh attacked Daghistan in 1741 and subsequently routed the Ottoman forces. The result of this victory was the treaty of Kurdān

[55] Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 2, pp. 484–552; Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 367–82; Lockhart, 1938, pp. 112–20.

[56] Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 2, pp. 708–29; Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 398–423; Lockhart, 1938, pp. 123–43.

[57] Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 2, pp. 729–59; Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 394–424; Lockhart, 1938, pp. 144–54.

[58] Lockhart, 1938, pp. 163–77.

[59] Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 444–51; Lockhart, 1938, pp. 188–9.

[60] Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 453–62; Lockhart, 1938, pp. 192–5. For a full account of Nādir's campaign in Transoxania, see Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 2, pp. 765–825.

(4 September 1746), which re-established the borders as stipulated in the treaty of 1639 between Shāh Safī and the Ottoman sultan Murād IV.[61]

The last days of Nādir Shāh were marked by growing melancholia and capricious acts. On 20 June 1747 some of the Qizilbāsh commanders entered into a conspiracy, with the tacit agreement of his nephew ᶜAlī Qulī, and murdered Nādir Shāh at Fathabad in Quchan.[62] His vast empire immediately broke apart, despite the extensive military apparatus he had created, and at the very moment when he intended to invade China (or rather, perhaps, the Dzungar khanate in western China).[63] His incessant wars, his oppression of the population through taxation, and the death and misery he inflicted on them by way of punitive actions had alienated large sections of his subjects. His empire fell apart almost unmourned.[64]

There is one region, though, which may have had reason to mourn Nādir Shāh. This was Khurasan, Nādir's own native land. Ever since the Safavid conquest, Mashhad, despite being a great Shiᶜite pilgrim centre, had remained little more than the headquarters of a border province; and Herat, the great Timurid capital, was also in a state of decay. But Nādir Shāh made Mashhad his capital and did much to add to its architectural splendour. His campaigns in Transoxania not only liberated a number of Persian slaves captured from this region for the slave markets of Bukhara and Khiva, but also provided a temporary respite for the sedentary population from such enslavement.

Karīm Khān Zand (1750–79): calm after the storm

After Nādir Shāh was assassinated in 1747, his nephew ᶜAlī Qulī Khān ascended the throne under the name of ᶜĀdil Shāh, but he was soon defeated in battle by his brother Ibrāhīm Khān. Nor did the rule of Ibrāhīm Khān prove to be a long one, and sovereignty passed into the hands of Shāhrukh, Nādir Shāh's only surviving descendant. Mīr Sayyid Muhammad, the custodian of the shrine of Imām Rizā in Mashhad, had Shāhrukh's eyes put out. Mīr Sayyid Muhammad, who claimed to be a daughter's son of Sultān Husayn, was then himself deposed and blinded by Shāhrukh's commander Yūsuf ᶜAlī, and once again Shāhrukh sat on the throne at Mashhad. Shāhrukh enjoyed a long reign, but his power, which was restricted to Khurasan, was ultimately brought to an end in 1796 by Āghā Muhammad

[61] Muhammad Husayn Quddūsī, 1339/1961, pp. 398–410; Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 490–522. For a full account of Nādir's activities in the Caucasus and his wars with the Ottomans, see Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 2, pp. 832–81, and Vol. 3, pp. 884–910, 1070–3.

[62] Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 3, pp. 1191–9; Muhammad Husayn Quddūsī, 1339/1961, pp. 436–41; Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1989, pp. 535–44.

[63] Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 3, pp. 911–12, 1102.

[64] Muhammad Kāzim Marvī, 1369/1991, Vol. 3, pp. 1083, 1088.

Khān Qājār. The real personality of stature in this period within the context of Central Asia and greater Khurasan was Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, who had been one of Nādir Shāh's commanders (see Chapter 11). He is the true founder of the present-day state of Afghanistan.

In Persia proper Karīm Khān Zand created a fairly strong state, though he did not control northern Iran and Khurasan. Out of respect for Nādir Shāh, until the end of his life Karīm Khān officially recognized the rule of Shāhrukh in Khurasan. During his 30-year rule (1750–79), Karīm Khān strove to maintain security and peace in his dominions. He governed from Shiraz, where he left several beautiful monuments as his memorial. Karīm Khān's foreign policy was successful in the areas of relations with the Ottoman empire and trade with Britain and Holland, despite conflicts with the Arabs settled along the coasts of the Persian Gulf.

Karīm Khān ruled under the ambiguous title of *wakīl* (deputy), an abbreviation of *wakīl ul-ri ᶜāyā*; this could mean both 'people's deputy' and 'deputy over the people'. Karīm Khān supposedly acted as regent for the Safavid puppet king Ismāᶜīl III to whom he pretended to submit. This first pretension to 'power in the people's interest' in modern Persian history is interesting, in spite of the ambiguity of the term and the lack of any immediate consequences for the people. The death of Karīm Khān in 1779 was followed by conflict and disorder in the Zand dominions. Āghā Muhammad Khān Qājār took advantage of this to begin to extend his power and in 1794 he had Lutf ᶜAlī Khān, the last of the Zands, put to death (see below).[65]

Part Three

THE EARLY QAJARS AT THE THRESHOLD OF THE MODERN WORLD (1795–1848)

From the beginning, the Qajar tribe had been an influential component of the Qizilbāsh army. At the end of the Safavid era, one of the army commanders, Fath ᶜAlī Khān Qājār, had become Shāh Tahmāsp II's commander-in-chief, but Nādir, seeing him as an obstacle to his own advancement, persuaded the shah to have him killed. Muhammad Hasan Khān, the son of Fath ᶜAlī Khān, lived in hiding for many years after the death of his father, every now and then launching attacks against Astarabad (south-east of the Caspian Sea)

[65] For an overview of the final period of Nādir Shāh and the period of Karīm Khān Zand, see *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1991, Vol. 7, pp. 63–103. And for a special study of Karīm Khān Zand's rule, see Perry, 1979.

with troops from his tribe. In one of the battles, his son Āghā Muhammad became Nādir's prisoner and was castrated. In the time of Karīm Khān Zand, Muhammad Hasan Khān had sought to challenge him, but was defeated. Āghā Muhammad Khān, too, was taken prisoner and sent to Shiraz. Towards the end of Karīm Khān's life, Āghā Muhammad Khān escaped from Shiraz. After the death of Karīm Khān in 1779, Muhammad Khān gathered together the Qajars and led two military expeditions to Fars and Kirman, in the end defeating and executing Lutf ᶜAlī Khān Zand in 1794. He then ascended the throne at Tehran in 1795 and founded the Qajar dynasty.[66]

The first two Qajar shahs, Āghā Muhammad Khān (1795–6) and Fath ᶜAlī Shāh (1796–1834), were traditional rulers. The third, Muhammad Shāh (1834– 48), although traditional, nevertheless understood the need for change. His son, Nāsiru'ddīn Shāh (1848–96), who will be dealt with in the following volume, had necessarily to face the ever greater intellectual and practical contradictions arising out of the conflict between tradition and modernity.

During the Qajar period, the military and economic pressure of the West grew day by day. Persia was confronted by the British in the south (the Persian Gulf) and the east (India and Afghanistan) and by Russia in the north. From now on much of the country's energy would be devoted to the overt or covert struggle with these two powers. On the home front, the effort for modernization in Persia, which was perceived as indispensable only by a small group, failed to gather strength. The need to learn from the West was felt first of all from a mainly military point of view, during the war with Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth century; from Muhammad Shāh's reign, this concern extended increasingly to other fields. During the early years of the reign of Nāsiru'ddīn Shāh, the Dāru'l Funūn (Polytechnic) was opened in 1851.

Āghā Muhammad Khān Qājār (1795–6): the founder of the dynasty

Āghā Muhammad Khān,[67] after being victorious over Lutf ᶜAlī Khān Zand and warding off other pretenders to the throne, took steps to establish a centralized government. He attacked Khurasan and took Shāhrukh Afshār prisoner in 1796, putting an end to Afshar rule in Khurasan.[68] He then went on a campaign in Georgia. Erekle, the king of Georgia, had

[66] For a general survey of the Qajar period, see *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1991, Vol. 7, pp. 144–212, 297–313, 426–589, 705–31.

[67] On Āghā Muhammad Khān, see Muhammad Taqī Sipihr, 1337/1958, Vol. 1, pp. 18–48; Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 9, pp. 115–303.

[68] Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 9, pp. 273–84.

taken advantage of the disorder in Persia, and in accordance with a treaty with Catherine II, placed himself under Russia's protection. In order to prevent Georgia's transfer to Russian suzerainty, Āghā Muhammad Khān entered Tiflis on 11 September 1795 and his soldiers perpetrated a general massacre in the city.[69] He then returned to Tehran. Russia's efforts in Georgia bore no results because of the tsarina Catherine's death in November 1796. Āghā Muhammad Khān had earlier decided to lead a campaign in Georgia a second time, but during a halt at Shushi north of the Arax river, he was murdered by his attendants on 29 July 1796.

Fath ᶜAlī Shāh (1796–1834): the last ruler from the *Thousand and One Nights*

Since Aghā Muhammad Khān had no sons, he was succeeded by his nephew Fath ᶜAlī. The latter lived in splendour like a legendary king,[70] spending his time waging war, hunting, travelling and stocking his harem. Paintings which depict him with an enormous beard and jewel-studded clothes in the midst of courtiers and commanders, women and female dancers, today adorn the collections of some of the world's great museums (Fig. 1).[71] This image is, however, partly an exaggeration. Indeed, during almost all the time that his son ᶜAbbās Mīrzā was fighting the Russians in the Caucasus, he himself was grappling with the problem of Herat in Khurasan and other parts of Persia, or with various local uprisings.

The Russian government, under Tsar Alexander I, considered Georgia to have been annexed by Russia and so decided to go to war with Persia over it. Fath ᶜAlī Shāh dispatched ᶜAbbās Mīrzā, the heir apparent, to the Caucasus in order to resist the Russian advance. These wars may be seen as falling into two rounds: the first, which lasted from 1803 to 1813, ended with the conclusion of the treaty of Gulistan (1813), and the second, which lasted from 1826 to 1828, resulted in the treaty of Turkaman Chāy (1828).

The beginning of these wars coincided with Napoleon Bonaparte's wars with Britain, Prussia and Russia. In order to undermine the British by threatening India, Napoleon decided to become an ally of the Persian king. Fath ᶜAlī Shāh's keen desire to attract foreign support for his war against the Russians led him to conclude a treaty with France (the treaty of Finkenstein, signed on 4 May 1807). The alliance with France, which was aimed

[69] See the assessment of these events given in Gvosdev, 2000, pp. 64–76; Muhammad Taqī Sipihr, 1337/1958, Vol. 1, p. 43; Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 9, pp. 269–71.

[70] For a description of his jewels, pleasure parties, library, etc., see Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 10, pp. 104–5.

[71] Falk, 1972, Pls. 12, 15–16, 19–20; *Royal Persian Paintings*..., 1998, pp. 175, 180, 182–7, 205–10.



Fig. 1. Portrait of Fath ᶜAlī Shāh. Louvre Museum. (Photo: © R.M.N./© Hervé Lewandowski)

at recovering Georgia, obliged the shah to declare war on Britain. But Napoleon signed the treaty of Tilsit (8 July 1807) with Alexander I, two months after signing the treaty of Finkenstein, and so abandoned Persia.[72] In these circumstances, the British offered assistance to Fath ᶜAlī Shāh, but when Napoleon attacked Russia in 1812, the circumstances changed again, and the British once more became an ally of Russia. The result was the treaty of Gulistan, which Persia was forced to conclude with Russia in 1813. According to the terms of the treaty, Persia relinquished all claims over Georgia and the lands which roughly correspond to the territory of the present-day Republic of Azarbaijan (including Baku).

The second round of wars began at the instigation of the *ᶜulamā'* and as a result of the Persian government's erroneous appraisal of Russia's strength. The Qajar forces were defeated and the shah was compelled to accept the treaty of Turkaman Chāy in 1828. On the basis of the treaty, a portion of the territory of Armenia (including Yerevan) was lost to Russia, and the Arax river was fixed as the border.[73] A side effect of this treaty

[72] See Amini, 1995.

[73] For a general historical consideration of these events from a Western point of view, see Atkin, 1980; Baddeley, 1969; Gvosdev, 2000, pp. 77–134.

was increased interference by the British, who had now become concerned by the Russian advance southwards at the cost of Persia.

At the time of Āghā Muhammad Khān Qājār, Mahmūd – the grandson of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and brother of Zamān Shāh, the king of Afghanistan – held Herat. Āghā Muhammad Khān, who did not devote much attention to the east because of the problems of Georgia, had accepted a verbal submission from Mahmūd.[74] Mahmūd's subsequent unsuccessful revolt against Zamān Shāh obliged him to seek refuge with Fath ᶜAlī Shāh in 1797.[75] The British, who feared an attack on India by Zamān Shāh, supported Mahmūd and Fath ᶜAlī Shāh. Zamān Shāh, in his turn, supported the claims of Nādir Mīrzā Afshār, who had revolted against the Qajars in Khurasan. In the end, Nādir Mīrzā was killed and Mahmūd was victorious over Zamān Shāh in 1801.[76] After his victory, Mahmūd disregarded Persian claims to Herat and appointed another brother of his, Fīrūzu'ddīn, as governor. The latter was defeated by the shah's army on 29 June 1807 and, though retaining power at Herat, was forced to pay tribute (*kharāj*) to the Qajar government. Similar events occurred two years later, in 1809.[77]

When the Qajar forces were defeated in the Caucasus by Russia, some of the khans of Khurasan and the south-east coast of the Caspian Sea revolted. At the same time, while Fīrūzu'ddīn attacked Ghūryan, Kāmrān Mīrzā, a son of Mahmūd, set out from Kandahar to conquer Herat and Khurasan. For this reason, after the treaty of Gulistan, new Persian forces were dispatched to Khurasan, and for a short time the situation reverted to its previous state.[78]

The next year, on 25 November 1814, Persia, out of fear of Russia, signed a treaty with the British which was harmful to the long-term interests of both the Persians and the Afghans. In return for promises of help for Persia against the Russians, two articles of the treaty stipulated that, in the event of the Afghans invading India, Persia was bound to give aid to the British, whereas if a conflict arose between the Persian and the Afghan authorities, the British were to remain neutral.[79] Twenty-three years later the British were to abandon this part of the treaty altogether and to take sides in a new conflict over Herat.

In 1817 Fīrūzu'ddīn (in Herat) proclaimed his submission to Fath ᶜAlī Shāh.[80] However, he was driven out of the city by Fath Khān Bārakzāi, Mahmūd's headstrong minister, after

[74] Rizā Quli Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 9, pp. 284–5.
[75] Ibid., pp. 321–3.
[76] Ibid., pp. 342–3, 348–50, 358–9, 362–4, 374–80, 383–7.
[77] Ibid., pp. 383, 432–5, 473.
[78] Ibid., pp. 495–508.
[79] Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 9, pp. 510–13.
[80] Ibid., pp. 516–73.

which Fath Khān dispatched his own brother Kīndil, known as Kuhandil, to wage war in Khurasan.[81] The increased power of Fath Khān and the overthrow of Fīrūzu'ddīn greatly worried Mahmūd, and he sent his son, Kāmrān, again to Herat in 1817. Kāmrān sought a reconciliation with Fath ᶜAlī Shāh,[82] but the following year the regime of Mahmūd himself, owing to his bitter vendetta against the Bārakzāis, was overthrown by the latter, and Mahmūd and Kāmrān took refuge in Herat. Meanwhile Fīrūzu'ddīn sought refuge at the Qajar court.[83] Fath ᶜAlī Shāh was content with an outward submission on Kāmrān's part acknowledging that the shah had made Kāmrān's 1826 victory over his father Mahmūd possible.[84]

After the conclusion of the treaty of Turkaman Chāy with Russia and other agreements with the Ottomans, which brought an end to the conflicts in western Iran, ᶜAbbās Mīrzā set out to subjugate Khurasan in 1831.[85] While establishing his authority in Khurasan, in 1833 he even informed Yār Muhammad, Kāmrān's skilful minister, that the ultimate goal of the Qajars was to extend their borders to Kabul and Balkh.[86] In the autumn of 1833, Muhammad Mīrzā, the son of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā, laid siege to Herat, but the death of his father in Mashhad on 22 May 1833 prevented him from completing his task.[87] He was obliged to abandon the siege, and set out for Mashhad and then Tehran. A little later, on 10 May 1834, Fath ᶜAlī Shāh died and power passed to Muhammad Mīrzā, who took the title of Muhammad Shāh.

Muhammad Shāh (1834–48): ailing warrior and mild modernizer

Muhammad Shāh was a warrior whose nature was essentially that of a dervish; he had a genuine concern for his country and people. At the beginning of his rule, with the help of his effective vizier Mīrzā Abū'l Qāsim Qā'im Maqām, he successfully resisted the claims to the succession put forward by his uncles. Soon afterwards, however, Qā'im Maqām himself, a victim of slander, was put to death on the orders of the shah. In his place, Muhammad Shāh installed his childhood tutor Hājj Mīrzā Āghāsī as prime minister (*sadr-i aᶜzam*). In

[81] Ibid., pp. 555–7.
[82] Ibid., pp. 558–73.
[83] Regarding Afghanistan, see Ch. 11 in the present volume. On the circumstances in Afghanistan surrounding this event from an Afghan point of view, see Mīr Muhammad Ghulām Muhammad Ghubār, 1995, pp. 397–403. For the Qajar version, see Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 9, pp. 573–4.
[84] Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 9, pp. 658–9.
[85] Ibid., pp. 747–52.
[86] Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 10, pp. 30–1.
[87] Ibid., pp. 54–62.

contrast to Fath ᶜAlī Shāh and later Nāsir'uddīn Shāh (1848–96), Muhammad Shāh and his vizier did not pay much attention to the ᶜ*ulamā*', nor did they persecute people who held ideas contrary to those of the Shiᶜite orthodoxy.

This attitude can be seen in the tolerance initially extended to ᶜAlī Muhammad Shirāzī (d. 1850), known as the Bāb (Gate). The Bāb's ideas were greatly influenced by the theories of Shaykh Ahmad Ahsā'ī (d. 1826). To begin with, ᶜAlī Muhammad saw himself as the'Gateway' and considered himself to be the representative of the Hidden Imām (the Twelfth Imām, the Mahdī), but in the end he came to identify himself with the Imām himself.[88] The short but dramatic uprising of the Bābis and the germination of Bahaism out of their ideas belong, however, to the period of the next volume.

Muhammad Shāh had great faith in his vizier, Hājj Mīrzā Āghāsī. This sagacious and mild-natured man had the misfortune to hold office during the interval between the ministries of two eminent personalities, Qā'im Maqām and Mīrzā Taqī Khān Amīr Kabīr, and so has been much criticized for his ineffectiveness. Yet he strove to introduce the new sciences, and in particular to foster progress in agriculture and military technology.

During the reign of Muhammad Shāh, the tension between Britain and Russia over the latter's expansion into Central Asia increased markedly. When Muhammad Shāh persisted in establishing Qajar rule in Herat, and the Russians gave him support, the British turned hostile. The earlier military campaign against Herat had come to naught due to the death of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā, but Muhammad Shāh resumed operations in 1837 and himself encamped outside Herat on 23 November.[89] John McNeill, who was the British envoy in Persia, followed Count Ivan Simonitch, the Russian envoy extraordinary, and installed himself outside Herat in March 1838.[90] Simonitch had come to encourage the shah, whereas McNeill was there to dissuade him and to offer assistance to the forces of Kāmrān. A British officer, Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, then assumed command over the besieged troops.[91] McNeill continued to send money secretly to Kāmrān from within the shah's camp.[92] Such help was in violation of the explicit terms of section 9 of the 1814 agreement between Britain and Persia, as well as of two previous agreements.[93]

[88] The Bāb was executed at the age of 31 in 1850 during the early years of Nāsiru'ddīn Shāh's reign. On the Bāb, see MacEoin, *EIr*, Vol. 1, pp. 278–84.

[89] Watson, 1866, p. 300.

[90] Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 10, p. 241; Wright, 1977, p. 57.

[91] Watson, 1866, p. 299.

[92] Wright, 1977, p. 57.

[93] See the text of the treaty given in Ahmad Tājbakhsh, 1337/1958–9, p. 172. See also Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 10, p. 241.

When McNeill failed to undermine the shah's determination, he broke off diplomatic relations between his country and Persia on 7 June 1838. Leaving the shah's camp, he headed westward in order to leave the country via Ottoman Turkey.[94] *En route*, he sent an ultimatum to the shah, informing him that the British viewed his decision to annex Herat or any part of Afghanistan to Persia as a hostile act. For this reason five British warships entered the Persian Gulf and occupied Kharg island.[95] Lord Auckland, the British governorgeneral of India, had sent these troops from India to Persian territorial waters in June.[96] On receiving news of the British naval threat, Muhammad Shāh lifted the siege of Herat on 9 September 1838.[97] In later years, when Kāmrān and especially his vizier Yār Muhammad no longer saw the necessity of a British presence in Herat, they entered into negotiations with Muhammad Shāh's government, and having killed the British officers stationed there, they plundered their residence in the winter of 1841.[98]

In 1842 Kāmrān was deposed and murdered by his minister Yār Muhammad, who made himself the master of Herat. Yār Muhammad's death in 1851 encouraged Muhammad Shāh's successor, Nāsiru'ddīn Shāh, to attack and occupy Herat in 1856 – this act led to a short but full-scale war between Britain and Persia the following year. Thereafter Persia renounced all claims on Herat. Muhammad Shāh suffered greatly from gout, and this ailment finally led to his death on 20 March 1848.[99]

[94] Watson, 1866, p. 31.
[95] Ibid., pp. 312–13.
[96] Kaye, 1851, Vol. 1, p. 332; Dupree, 1973, p. 373.
[97] Watson, 1866, pp. 317–19; Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, 1960, Vol. 10, p. 224.
[98] English, 1971, pp. 25–7.
[99] Muhammad Taqī Sipihr, 1337/1958, Vol. 2, p. 207.

11

AFGHANISTAN*

Mir Hussain Shah

Contents

Afghanistan, as known at the present time, is mainly the result of two historical events: the uprising of Mahmūd the Ghilzāi against Safavid rule (1501–1736) and the establishment of the Durrānī empire under Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's leadership in the eighteenth century. Later, the presence of the British in the south and the rise of Russian influence in the north played a decisive role in the delimitation of the frontiers of Afghanistan as a state.

Towards an Afghan state

THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE TIMURID EMPIRE (1506)

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Khurasan, a part of which came to be included in modern Afghanistan, was ruled by the Timurid Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā (1469–1506). Herat, probably the most magnificent city in Central Asia at the time, was his capital; and his kingdom extended from Khwarazm (Khāwrazm) to Kandahar (Qandahār). The provinces were usually entrusted to members of the Timurid family or their kinsmen. Zunūn (Zuł-Nūn) Beg Arghūn was invested with the viceroyalty of Ghur and Zamīndāwar. He ruled in the area in 1479, after which Farah and Kandahar were added to his fief and Kandahar became his capital. He also held Garmsir and Sistan. He died fighting the Uzbeks

* See Maps 2, 5 and 6, pp. 923–4., 929, 930.

on behalf of his master's family in 1507 and was succeeded at Kandahar by his son, Shāh Beg Arghūn, as a practically independent ruler.[1]

Badakhshan and Kabul, now in eastern Afghanistan, were also ruled over in 1500 by Timurid princes. The history of Badakhshan has already been related in Chapter 9. As for Kabul its ruler Ulugh Beg, the son of Sultān AbūSa[c]īd, died in 1501–2, leaving the throne to be occupied by his son [c]Abdu'l Razzāq, a minor. Seizing this opportunity, Muhammad Muqīm, a son of Zunūn Beg Arghūn, occupied Kabul in 1503, but he lost it the following year to the Timurid prince, Bābur (see below).[2] For Bābur, Kabul was henceforth the main seat of his power – it was from here, in 1525, that he would set out to conquer northern India (see below).

In the early sixteenth century the principality of Kabul comprised the following three areas: the plain running from Ghazni to Kabul; the valley of Kohdāman; and the highland of Kabul lying to the north and north-east of the city. Bajaur, Swat and Peshawar were under independent Afghan chiefs. Similarly, Afghan tribes occupied the whole territory from the eastern limits of Kabul to the Indus and from the lower Kabul river to Siwi (Sibi) in north-eastern Baluchistan. To the west of Kabul, the Hindu Kush and Hazara mountains were inhabited by other ethnic groups: the Hazaras and the 'Tatars' (but now a Persian-speaking population) in the south and south-east and the Aimaks of Turkic origin in the north and north-west.

Kabul's annual revenues amounted to 800,000 *shāhrukhī*s (a *shāhrukhī* was a silver coin worth two-fifths of the later Mughal rupee). Kabul itself was an important trading centre, astride the main route between Central Asia and India.[3] From the Central Asian steppes came 7–10,000 horses annually to be taken to India, which sent slaves, calico, sugar and aromatic roots in return. According to Bābur, some 10–20,000 persons were involved in the caravans carrying these goods.[4]

To the north of the Amu Darya (Oxus), as to the south, the Timurid empire had been divided into virtually independent principalities, each ruled by a Timurid prince and all in conflict with each other. These now encountered the growing power of the Uzbeks, who, under the leadership of Shaybānī Khān (1500–10) (see Chapters 1 and 2), took possession of Samarkand. From among the quarrelling and demoralized Timurids, however, emerged a leader in the person of Bābur, who laid the foundation, first, of a kingdom in Afghanistan and, then, of a stable empire in India.

[1] For a fairly detailed account of Zunūn Beg's career, see Ma[c]sūm, 1938, pp. 80–102.
[2] Ma[c]sūm, 1938, pp. 97–9. For Bābur's own account, see Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 195–9.
[3] See Bābur's classic description of Kabul and its territories in Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 199–227.
[4] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 202.

BĀBUR IN AFGHANISTAN

Zahīru'ddīn Muhammad Bābur (see also Chapters 1 and 2) was born in Ferghana on 14 February 1483[5] and became the ruler of his small principality in Central Asia in 1494. He was driven out of Ferghana soon after his accession and was continually engaged in the struggle to repossess his ancestral kingdom, which, in his view, not only comprised Ferghana but also included Samarkand. In 1497, taking advantage of the prevailing anarchy in Central Asia, Bābur captured Samarkand from his cousin Bāysunqur. But he not only lost Samarkand, he also lost his ancestral kingdom of Ferghana not long afterwards. Ultimately, he decided to give up the unequal contest and join the court of his kinsman, Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā, the ruler of Herat.

In June 1504 Bābur left Ferghana. On his arrival on the left bank of the Amu Darya, opposite Termez, he was joined by Baqī Chaghāniānī (the younger brother of Khusrau Shāh, the ruler of Badakhshan), who paid homage to him and promised to serve him. From Termez, Bābur proceeded to Kahmard (south of Balkh) and then to Ajar, where he received a letter from Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā declining to extend the welcome Bābur had expected. Greatly disappointed, he decided to move to Kabul. In 1503 he crossed the Hindu Kush with a small group of companions. In October 1504 he captured Kabul, Ghazni and their dependent districts.[6] As the Timurids and their followers fled from the Uzbeks to join his banner, the resources of the Kabul principality proved quite insufficient for his needs.[7] Crossing the Safid Kuh, he raided Kohat and Bannu and reached the Indus. He did not attempt an expedition into India proper until late in 1519, but employed the intervening period for the gradual expansion of his power to the southern areas of Afghanistan. He finally seized Kandahar from the Arghūns in 1517.[8]

By 1525 Bābur felt that his base in Kabul was sufficiently secure. Before him lay India, including the Lodi empire, which was then torn by internal dissension. On 18 October 1525 he set out on his march to Delhi. The battle between Bābur and Ibrāhīm Lodī was fought at Panipat on 20 April 1526 and ended in the total defeat of Ibrāhīm's forces; Ibrāhīm himself was killed.[9] Bābur spent the next four years trying to eliminate all threats to his new conquests, while also finding time to lay out gardens and write his memoirs. He died in 1530 at Agra. His body was carried to Kabul, where he lies buried.

5 This date is not given by Bābur, but is recorded by Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 173.
6 Hasan, 1985, p. 32.
7 Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 281.
8 Ma^csūm, 1938, pp. 109–12. Cf. Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, pp. 284, 290.
9 For Bābur's own remarkable account of the battle, see Bābur, 1922, pp. 464–75.

THE EARLY PHASE OF MUGHAL RULE IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE RAUSHANI UPRISING

Bābur was succeeded by his son Humāyūn (1530–56). In 1530 Humāyūn was driven out of India by Sher Shāh Sūr, the Afghan leader who established the short-lived Sūr dynasty (1540–55). Despite Sher Shāh's invocation of the Afghan cause, he made no attempt during his reign (1540–5) to cross the Indus into 'Roh', the Afghan homeland. Kabul itself remained in the possession of Humāyūn's brother, Kāmrān, until 1545, when Humāyūn, returning from Persia, captured it from him, having earlier seized Kandahar. Humāyūn recovered his dominions in India 10 years later, and, on his death in 1556, was succeeded by his son Akbar, the great conqueror (1556–1605).

The Mughal position in present-day north and east Afghanistan became considerably weaker after the departure of the main Mughal forces for India in 1555. Balkh was already in the hands of the Uzbeks, though its ruler at the time, Pīr Muhammad Khān, was practically independent of Bukhara. Kandahar was lost in 1558 to the Safavids, who now, with their major regional seat of power at Herat, were in control of a large part of eastern Khurasan. Mughal possessions in Afghanistan were thus confined to the following two territories: Kabul, governed by Akbar's younger brother, Mīrzā Hakīm, as an independent king (1556–85); and Badakhshan, held first by Mīrzā Sulaymān (1529–75) and then by his grandson Shāhrukh (1575–84). In 1584 the Uzbeks under ᶜAbdullāh Khān II (1583–98) occupied Badakhshan, after which that province and Balkh became firmly part of the Uzbek dominions. There was only a transient occupation of the two provinces by the Indian Mughals in 1646–7, when Shāh Jahān (1628–58) launched his unsuccessful invasion of Balkh and Badakhshan.

Mīrzā Hakīm's reign of some 30 years at Kabul is memorable for the rise of the Raushani ('Illuminationist') movement of Bāyazīd Ansārī (1525–73), whose writings in Pashto marked the beginnings of Pashto literature, and whose call to arms against the Mughals took the form of a quasi-nationalist uprising.[10] After his death, his son Jalālu'ddīn succeeded to the leadership (though not, apparently, to prophethood) and continued the struggle.

Akbar's annexation of Kabul on Mīrzā Hakīm's death in 1585 failed to stem the movement, though Jalālu'ddīn in fact had had an audience with the emperor in 1581, when Akbar was marching to take temporary possession of Kabul. Despite Akbar's assurance to Jalālu'ddīn and his followers that they had the'freedom to follow their religion and

[10] See Rizvi, 1965–6, for a biography of Bāyazīd Ansārī. Contrary to the general title of Rizvi's essay ('Rawshaniyya Movement'), he does not deal with the movement after the founder's death.

customs, and to obey and reverence the son of their prophet (as they call him)',[11] the Raushanis were not satisfied. Practically from the moment Akbar annexed Kabul in 1585, the Afridi and Urakzāi tribes, astride the Khyber Pass, rose under Jalālu'ddīn's leadership; and when they were subdued, the Yūsufzāis in Swat and Bajaur revolted once again, this time at Jalālu'ddīn's instigation. (They had previously caused the death of one of Akbar's favourite nobles, Rājā Birbal, in 1586.) Jalālu'ddīn was driven into exile in Uzbek country, where he remained from 1588 to 1592; he then returned to incite revolt in the area extending from Swat to Bangash. He was killed in 1601 in a fight near Ghazni with the Hazaras and the Mughal troops.[12]

Jalālu'ddīn was succeeded by his nephew Ihdād (1601–26), a grandson of Bāyazīd. Ihdād was unrelenting in his endeavours to continue the struggle during the reign of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr (1605–27), but was ultimately brought to bay by the Mughal commander Zafar Khān at a fort called Lawāghar (unidentified), where he was shot dead. His son and successor, ᶜAbdu'l Qādir (1626–37), made a successful raid on Zafar Khān's camp, but was subsequently induced to surrender and accept a *mansab*[13] of 1,000 *zāt*s in 1633–4, granted to him by Emperor Shāh Jahān.

The characteristic imperial Mughal strategy of incorporating opponents within the aristocratic apparatus now followed. When ᶜAbdu'l Qādir died in 1637, Ilāhdād, a son of Jalālu'ddīn, the first successor of Bāyazīd, was given the title of Rashīd Khān by the Mughals. He rose fairly rapidly in service, so that at his death in 1648 he held the *mansab* of '4,000' and was the governor of a province in the Deccan.[14] The family thereafter retained its high status in the nobility, but was carefully excluded from holding any post in Afghanistan.

THE MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE REGIONS OF KABUL AND KANDAHAR (1585–1739)

Akbar acquired Kandahar from the Safavids in 1595. He made it a subprovince of the larger province (*sūba*) of Kabul, which also included Kashmir. However, both Kandahar and Kashmir were under separate governors, so that in practice the Mughal dominions in

[11] Monserrate, 1922, pp. 141–2.

[12] The official account of the Raushanis' revolt and the Mughal operations against them will be found in Abū'l Fazl, 1939, Vol. 3, pp. 777, 782–3, 795, 802–3, 810, 928, 957, 983, 1051, 1160.

[13] A *mansab* was a rank in Mughal India: it determined the salary received in direct proportion to the number of persons that the rank indicated; it was also a determinant of personal status and salary (see Ch. 12 in the present volume).

[14] See Kaykhusrau, 1983, Vol. 1, pp. 278–86, for a reliable, nearly contemporary account of the Raushani movement. The dates and *mansab*s have been checked (and in one case, viz., ᶜAbdu'l Qādir's death, corrected) against Mughal histories.

these areas were now made up of two separate provinces, Kabul and Kandahar.[15] We are fortunate that a detailed geographic description, along with administrative, revenue and ethnographic details, of both Kabul and Kandahar is provided in Abū'l Fazl's monumental *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (*c.* 1595), which contains a remarkably detailed geographic and statistical description of Akbar's empire.[16]

In the Kabul*sūba*, the Afghans and Hazaras were the main groups among the inhabitants, while in Kandahar, the Afghans and Baluch predominated. A number of dialects are mentioned by Abū'l Fazl, viz. 'Afghāni, Pashā'i, Parāchi, Gabari, Baraki and Lamghāni'; of these, Gabari is possibly the dialect of what is now called Nūristāni; the others are local dialects spoken by populations of various localities. Afghani or Pashto was still not the dominant literary language of the region, as it was later to become. Abū'l Fazl not only mentions Persian (doubtless spoken in dialectical forms by the Hazaras and the Tajiks), but also Turkish, Mongolian and Arabic as being spoken, surely a testimony to the cosmopolitan character of Kabul.

The possession of Kabul was considered so crucial by the Mughal emperors that not only Akbar, but also his successors Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb (1659–1707) visited Kabul as often as they could and held court there. Large forces were posted there, the commanders enjoying special concessions in regard to the contingents they were to maintain.[17] The emperors took special care to keep the routes open, building bridges and caravanserais that survive to this day.[18] The concern stemmed not only from the prestige attaching to Kabul as the only part of the original dominions of Timur still held by the Mughals, but also from a perception of its strategic importance. 'Kabul and Kandahar', Abū'l Fazl had remarked, 'are the two gates of Hindustan, one leading to the Turkic lands, the other to Iran.'[19] Kandahar, however, proved to be too difficult to hold: after regaining it from the Safavids in 1595, the Mughals lost it to them in 1622, and after recovering the city in 1638, they lost it again and permanently to the Safavids in 1649. The city of Kabul enjoyed considerable prosperity under Mughal rule, profiting also from the great trade in horses that passed through it. Visiting it between 1608 and 1611, William Finch described it as 'a great and faire citie with two castles and many sarayes [caravansarais]'.[20]

[15] These are mapped in detail in Habib, 1982, Sheets 1 A-B and 2 A-B, which cover practically the whole of Afghanistan, except the Herat region.
[16] Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, pp. 585–96.
[17] Athar Ali, 1997, pp. 54–5.
[18] See Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, pp. 370–1, for the bridges at Gandamak and Surkhab built under Shāh Jahān.
[19] Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 592.
[20] Foster (ed.), 1927, p. 168.

In general, high-ranking nobles were appointed as governors of Kabul. The first was Mān Singh (1586–8), Akbar's favourite Rajput commander, but the others were drawn exclusively from among the Persian or Turkic nobility. Princes too held the post: Kabul was the seat of Aurangzeb's son, Muᶜazzam, from where he proceeded to compete successfully for the throne in 1707, reigning for five years under the title of Bahādur Shāh (1707–12).

The deliberate exclusion of Pashtoon nobles and commanders from Kabul meant that many of them migrated to India to join the ranks of the Mughal soldiery. Although not denied high positions in India, these Afghans could no longer harbour ambitions of acquiring power in their own homeland. But even if the Mughal yoke in eastern Afghanistan was light, it was still resented. The previously mentioned Raushani uprising was one reflection of this. The great Afghan uprising during the reign of Aurangzeb, which we will now touch upon, was another.

First, in 1667, the Yūsufzāis of Swat and Bajaur rose and proclaimed a king of their own, Muhammad Shāh. The large forces sent against them by Aurangzeb finally quelled the rebellion. In 1672 the Afridis under Ajmal Khān rebelled and closed the Khyber Pass. A great victory over the Mughal governor, Muhammad Amīn Khān, led to the revolt spreading to Bannu and Kohat, where the Khataks rose. Khushhāl Khatak, the national poet of the Pashtoon Afghans, had served the Mughal forces well in the operations against the Yūsufzāis, but now he gave expression in his verses to a consuming hatred of the Mughals and fought them as bitterly with arms. A string of reverses for the Mughal forces brought Emperor Aurangzeb himself to Hasan Abdāl, near Islamabad; from here in 1674–5 he organized the successful suppression of the rebellion, even though the Mughal forces suffered some reverses.[21] The policy of subsidies to chiefs and the instigation of differences between them followed by the wily governor, Muhammad Amīn Khān, during his long tenure (1678– 98) ultimately served to restore Mughal authority. Indeed, the province of Kabul remained surprisingly calm and peaceful until the Persian ruler Nādir Shāh seized it on his way to Delhi in 1738–9 (see below).

THE SAFAVIDS AND UZBEKS IN THE REGIONS OF HERAT AND BALKH

The rise of the Mughal dynasty in India coincided with that of the Safavids in Persia (see Chapter 10). In 1510, after establishing himself in western and central Iran, Shāh Ismāᶜīl marched eastward and defeated and killed the Uzbek ruler, Shaybānī Khān, at Merv (see

[21] For the Mughal accounts of the two rebellions, see Kāzim, 1868, pp. 1039–60; Khāfī Khān, 1860–74, Vol. 2, pp. 230–3, 237–46. For an early record of traditions about Khushhāl Khatak, see Elphinstone, 1839, Vol. 1, pp. 254–9. A recent appreciation is in Caroe, 1965, pp. 230–46.

Chapters 1 and 10). Ismāᶜīl then occupied Herat and Balkh. However, the overthrow of his troops in Transoxania in 1512 led to an Uzbek recovery, and Balkh too fell to the Uzbeks.

With the Mughal empire established in India, the Safavids in Persia and the Shaybanids in Transoxania, the present territory of Afghanistan came to be shared by the three contending powers. Kabul had come under Bābur's rule in 1504, while the Safavids controlled eastern Khurasan and the Uzbeks the region of Balkh. Later, in 1558, the Safavid ruler Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76) occupied Kandahar. The Uzbek ruler ᶜAbdullāh Khān II, who was already in possession of Balkh, seized most of Badakhshan in 1584. Akbar the Mughal emperor recaptured Kandahar in 1595. Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629) drove the Shaybanids out of Herat again and then recaptured Kandahar in 1622. In 1638 Shāh Jahān retook Kandahar from the Persians. Shāh Jahān's armies reconquered Balkh and Badakhshan from the Uzbeks in 1646, but withdrew the next year. Shāh ᶜAbbās II (1642–66) moved against the Mughals in 1648 and reoccupied Kandahar, which the Mughals were unable to recover, despite three sieges of the fort in 1649, 1652 and 1653. Henceforth Safavid Persia was in possession of the whole of Khurasan, Sistan and Baluchistan and eastwards as far as the Bolan pass. It was events within the Safavid possessions, especially in Kandahar and Herat, that were to prove so crucial to the formation of Afghanistan as it exists at the present time.

The formation of the Afghan state

THE GHILZĀI UPRISING IN KANDAHAR

Kandahar, as we have seen, was an important centre for trade between India, Kabul and Persia. Not only is Kandahar the gateway to Kabul from the south-west, it also commands an important route, through the Bolan pass, into India. It was due to this commercial and strategic significance that control over Kandahar was always a high priority for the Safavids. The city and its suburbs were then inhabited by the Ghilzāis, a Pashtoon tribe. The Hotaks were a major clan of the Ghilzāis. For a long time, they showed a preference for Persian rule over any allegiance to the competing power of the Mughals. The reason for this predilection was the tolerant and liberal attitude of Shāh ᶜAbbās II,[22] who had reduced taxes and left the Pashtoon people largely free in their internal administration.

At the end of the seventeenth century, Shāh Sultān Husayn (1694–1722) made the mistake of departing from the tolerant policy of Shāh ᶜAbbās II.[23] Safavid rule in Kandahar and its surrounding area turned into a military occupation, and thus violent trials of strength

[22] Lockhart, 1958, p. 83.
[23] Ibid.

between the Safavids and the Ghilzāis became inevitable.[24] In 1696 or 1699 Sultān Husayn appointed a Georgian apostate, ᶜAbdullāh Khān, as governor of Kandahar. The Ghilzāis were outraged, but before they could react, the Baluch, under Mīr Samandar, took the initiative and attacked the Safavid garrison at Kandahar in 1703. They defeated ᶜAbdullāh Khān's army and killed his son.[25]

Greatly alarmed, Shāh Sultān Husayn appointed Gurgīn (Georgiu, locally called Gurgīn), a Georgian prince, as governor-general of Kandahar. Gurgīn proceeded immediately with an army of 20,000, which included a contingent of Georgians. Assured of the approbation of his master, Gurgīn took harsh measures to suppress opposition and at the same time tried to sow dissension among the Pashtoons by seeming to favour one tribe against the other.

The most prominent among the Kandahar chiefs was Mīr Ways Khān (originally Mīr Uways), the head of the Hotaki clan of the Ghilzāi tribe. He was not only a valiant soldier but also a skilled tribal leader.[26] The office of *kalāntar* (headman), which he held, enhanced his ability to make his influence felt.[27] Mīr Ways, though ostensibly subservient to Gurgīn, was secretly hostile. A clandestine council of local chieftains decided to send a delegation with a petition to the Persian court asking the shah to remedy their grievances. Mīr Ways signed the petition. The delegation, however, failed to make any impression on the shah.

Meanwhile, Gurgīn decided to punish those he believed were at the root of the movement to overthrow his regime. He arrested Mīr Ways and sent him to Isfahan under heavy guard.[28] In Isfahan, Mīr Ways recognized that the Safavid court was terminally weak, and a successful revolt in Kandahar could therefore succeed. When the shah allowed him to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, Mīr Ways secured there a critical *fatwā* (religious legal opinion) authorizing and affirming the righteousness of a Sunni revolt against the Safavid Shiᶜites.[29] Armed with this *fatwā* that he kept secret from the Safavid authorities, Mīr Ways returned to Kandahar and was again appointed the chief of his tribe.[30]

At a council of chieftains in Manja, a village in the vicinity of Kandahar, it was unanimously decided to rise against Safavid rule.[31] Shortly thereafter, in 1709, the Ghilzāis, with the help of other tribes, rose under the leadership of Mīr Ways and slaughtered Gurgīn and

[24] Tate, 1973, p. 40.
[25] Dupree, 1980, p. 322.
[26] Ibid., p. 323.
[27] Malleson, 1969, p. 213.
[28] Dupree, 1980, p. 322.
[29] Ibid., p. 323.
[30] Ali, 1958, p. 13.
[31] Habibi, 1989, p. 243.

his Georgian soldiers at a time when most of the Safavid troops were away on a punitive mission against the Kakar tribe.[32]

When the news of Gurgīn's death reached Isfahan, Sultān Husayn sent a message of protest to Kandahar.[33] Mīr Ways imprisoned the envoy and threatened a second emissary with the same fate. The shah then ordered Kay Khusrau, Gurgīn's nephew, to attack Kandahar with his Qizilbāsh and Georgian troops and to punish the rebels. Kay Khusrau encamped in Farah. Several other military officers including the governors of Herat and Kirman joined him there.[34] Kay Khusrau advanced towards Kandahar and laid siege to it, but was unsuccessful and was killed during the retreat.[35] Another Safavid expedition under Muhammad Zamān, the *qurchī-bāshī* (cavalry commander of the Qizilbāsh), dispatched against Kandahar never reached it; the commander died on the way and his forces dispersed.

In the rather exaggerated hope of obtaining assistance from the Mughals, Mīr Ways read the *khutba* (Friday sermon) in the name of Bahādur Shāh (1707–12), who in return granted him the *mansab* of '6,000' and the title of ᶜAlī Mardān Khān, sending him a robe and presents.[36] Nothing came of this relationship, however, and the Afghans at Kandahar pursued their aims independently.

Once he was well established in Kandahar, Mīr Ways concentrated on consolidating his power in the territories he had reclaimed. His domain extended as far as Farah in the west and included the valleys of the Helmand and Lora. Content with having the reins of government in Kandahar, he did not assume the royal title and was simply called *wakīl* (deputy, regent).[37] Mīr Ways died at the end of 1715. He was buried at Kokaran, in the vicinity of Kandahar, where his tomb is popularly regarded as a shrine.[38]

Mīr Ways had two sons, Mahmūd and Hasan, aged 18 and 17 respectively at the time of his death. Since they were both considered too young to rule, the elders of the tribe chose ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz (also known as ᶜAbdullāh), Mīr Ways' brother, as their leader in 1715. The new emir was, however, a man of very different character. He was peace-loving and cautious to the point of being timid.[39] ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz decided to make peace with the Safavids and sent an embassy to the court of Isfahan bearing a conditional offer of submission. The conditions were: first, the annual tribute previously paid should not be reimposed;

[32] Dupree, 1980, p. 323.
[33] Lockhart, 1958, p. 88.
[34] Habibi, 1989, p. 246.
[35] Dupree, 1980, p. 323.
[36] Kamwar Khan, 1980, pp. 121, 124. The name of the Mīr is given as Mīr Uways.
[37] Lockhart, 1958, p. 92.
[38] Ali, 1958, p. 15.
[39] Lockhart, 1958, p. 93.

second, no foreign troops should be sent into the province; and, third, the governorship of the province should be made hereditary in the family of ^{c}Abdu'l ^{c}Azīz.[40] Before anything could come of this, ^{c}Abdu'l ^{c}Azīz was deposed and murdered by Mahmūd, the elder son of Mīr Ways, in March 1716.

The fall of the Safavids and the conquest of Persia

Unlike his uncle, Mahmūd the Ghilzāi was a warrior and a man of vast ambition. He was determined to seize the earliest opportunity to strike a blow at the Safavid dynasty. This opportunity soon presented itself.[41] But before this happened, a rival Afghan power arose, one that also weakened the shah. In 1717 the Abdālis (see below), led by their old chief, ^{c}Abdullāh Khān, seized Herat and declared their independence. Two years later, a decisive battle was fought against Qizilbāsh troops at Kafir Qal^{c}a (now known as Islam Qala) near the present Iran–Afghan border, which resulted in the Safavid forces being routed. The Abdālis, however, failed to capture Farah, held by the Ghilzāis, and ^{c}Abdullāh the Abdāli, the victor of Kafir Qal^{c}a, was killed in the battle.[42]

Ghilzāi ambitions now turned to greener pastures than the possessions of their Abdāli rivals. In 1720 Mīr Mahmūd extended his territories to Kirman almost without opposition.[43] After making peace with Lutf ^{c}Alī, the local governor of the city, Mīr Mahmūd returned to Kandahar.[44] Two years later he renewed the campaign against the Safavids with a larger and better-equipped army and with complete success. He now overran the whole of southern Persia, taking city after city, and finally became the master of Isfahan. Shāh Sultān Husayn abdicated and surrendered the capital to the conqueror in 1722.

At the beginning of his reign in Persia, the new monarch showed qualities of good statesmanship. He reappointed his predecessor's ministers and high officials to their posts but appointed one of his own men to act jointly with each. During his short reign, he also undertook major military expeditions. He did not live long, however, and died (or was killed) in April 1725.[45]

[40] Malleson, 1969, p. 235; Habibi, 1989, p. 249.
[41] Malleson, 1969, p. 237.
[42] For these events, and for the emergence of Ghilzāi power in Kandahar, a very reliable account will be found in Singh, 1959, pp. 4–9.
[43] Dupree, 1980, p. 324.
[44] Habibi, 1989, p. 250.
[45] For all these details, see Lockhart, 1958.

THE BATTLE FOR PERSIA: ASHRAF VERSUS NĀDIR SHĀH

Mīr Mahmūd was succeeded by his cousin Ashraf, the eldest son of ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz, on 26 April 1725. In honour of the event, gold coins were minted at Kashan and silver coins at Isfahan, Kashan, Mashhad, Astarabad, Qazvin, Tabriz and Rasht. Ashraf was a man of talent and energy, but he came to power at a very critical time. The Russians were active in the north while the Turks were encroaching upon Persian soil from the west. Inside the country, Ashraf had to face another opponent, a soldier of fortune who was to gain a worldwide repute as a great conqueror. This was Nadr Qulī (the later Nādir Shāh, 1736–47), who had entered the service of the Safavid Shāh Tahmāsp II, the heir of Shāh Husayn, as a general in his army. As soon as he took the field, Ashraf boldly advanced to face him but was utterly defeated. He did not give up and waged war vigorously for some years until finally, having sustained a succession of defeats, his army was either destroyed or dispersed. He was forced to flee the country with only three or four personal attendants. On his way to Kandahar he was killed in Sistan in 1730.[46] The previous year, Nādir had succeeded in reducing the Abdāli-held town of Herat, after which a number of Abdālis entered his service.[47]

After his capture of Isfahan, Mīr Mahmūd had nominated his younger brother Husayn as ruler in Kandahar. Husayn was a peace-loving, scholarly young man with a love of the arts. His domain extended to Farah and Isfizar in the north and bordered on Ghazni to the north-east. The Afghan forces had by then seized Shāl (Quetta), Pishin, Dera Ismaᶜil Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan (Baluch territories, now in Punjab) and threatened Multan.[48]

In the meanwhile, Nādir Shāh had overthrown the Ghilzāi power in Persia, defeated the Turks and thwarted the Russians, and in 1736 he proclaimed himself shah of Iran. He now embarked on his great campaign to the east. Arriving at Kandahar, he found that the city's defences were too formidable to give him hope of an early surrender. He therefore constructed a ring of forts with towers at intervals of some 90 m around the city, and built a walled town for his army, an encampment named Nadirabad. His troops captured Bust in the south-east and Kalat-i Ghilzāi in the north, and emptied not only the surrounding country, but also the province of Kirman of supplies for the support of his army. The siege of Kandahar nevertheless went on for a year. On learning that Nādir Shāh had brought his heavy cannon to bombard the citadel, Husayn decided to surrender in March 1739. Nādir Shāh treated the Ghilzāis kindly and enlisted many of them in his army. Husayn and his family and followers were sent to Mazandaran as prisoners. In Kandahar, Nādir Shāh

46 Lockhart, 1938, pp. 43–5.
47 Ibid., pp. 31–4.
48 Habibi, 1989, p. 21.

befriended the Abdāli chief Zu'lfiqār and his younger brother Ahmad (the later Ahmad Shāh Durrānī: see below). They too were sent to Mazandaran. Shortly afterwards Ahmad rejoined Nādir Shāh to serve as an officer of his escort.

Nādir Shāh had already decided that the capture of Kandahar would be only the first step towards his invasion of the Mughal empire. Capturing Ghazni on the way, he stormed Kabul in June 1738, putting the Mughal garrison to the sword. Almost immediately afterwards he started for India. Peshawar, the summer capital of the Mughal *sūba* of Kabul, fell to him in November 1938, and Lahore in January the following year. The victory at Karnal over the main Mughal army and the sack of Delhi came next. The Mughal emperor Muhammad Shāh (1719–48) was forced to cede him the *sūba* of Kabul (which Nādir Shāh had already occupied) and the *sūba* of Thatta or southern Sind.[49]

Nādir Shāh's son, Rizā Qulī, had occupied Balkh in 1737, and then subjugated Badakhshan (1737–8), taking both principalities from the Uzbeks. These events were a prelude to Nādir Shāh's own invasion of Transoxania, on which he embarked in 1740 directly upon his return from India.[50] By his success against the Uzbeks, as much as by his success against the Mughals, Nādir Shāh ensured that Afghanistan was now entirely included in his empire. What he could not have anticipated was his own assassination in 1747 and the rapid disintegration of the empire he had built.

The establishment of the Afghan state

THE DURRĀNĪ EMPIRE UNDER AHMAD SHĀH (1747–72)

The Durrānīs are a Pashtoon tribe, originally named Abdālis. They formed one of the leading tribes of Kandahar province. The tribe claims descent from Torin and his youngest son Bar Torin, or Abdāl; hence the name Abdāli.[51] In the sixteenth century their chief Saddo obtained concessions from the Safavid ruler Shāh ᶜAbbās I. When the Persian empire went into decline, the Abdālis built up their own independent power at Herat, as we have seen. In 1729, however, they had no choice but to submit to Nādir Shāh. Realizing their value as soldiers, Nādir Shāh won them over by arranging for their return to Kandahar and enlisting large numbers of them in his army.[52]

Ahmad Khān, the founder of the Durrānī dynasty, was from the Saddozāi clan. Born in 1722, his father was Muhammad Zamān Khān, the Abdāli ruler of Herat, who had

[49] For a detailed account of Nādir Shāh's campaign against Kandahar and his invasion of Mughal dominions, see Jadunath Sarkar's chapter on Nādir Shāh's invasion in Irvine, 1995, Vol. 2, pp. 307–79.
[50] Lockhart, 1938, pp. 185–96.
[51] Ludwig, 1995, p. 7.
[52] Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 352.

succeeded ᶜAbdullāh Khān (see above) but had died in 1722–3 after a reign of barely two years. On Nādir Shāh's conquest of Herat in 1729, Ahmad fled to the court of Husayn, the Ghilzāi chief in Kandahar. However, when in 1738 Nādir Shāh also captured Kandahar, Ahmad Khān joined the conqueror's army and greatly distinguished himself, rising to command the 3–4,000 Abdāli horsemen who were always in attendance on the shah.[53]

When Nādir Shāh was assassinated at Khabushan (modern Quchan) in 1747, the Afghan and Uzbek contingents in Nādir Shāh's army held together, and the Afghans decided to return to their native land. On their way to Kandahar, they captured a treasure convoy, together with the famous diamond, the Koh-i Nur.[54]

As the Afghans marched towards Kandahar, the chiefs of the various tribes chose Ahmad Khān to head them and he was thereupon crowned king at Kandahar in July 1747.[55] He took the title Durr-i Durrān (lit. Pearl of Pearls) and changed the name of the Abdāli tribe to Durrānī. The seizure of a rich caravan from Punjab added further to his resources.[56]

The young king then attempted to organize his new state on the Persian model while allowing for the Afghan temperament and customs. He appointed Abdāli chiefs to important posts[57] and formed a council of chiefs for consultation on all important matters.[58] He usually followed their advice. His aim was to govern as the first among equals. Though this concept of government was rare in Asia, it proved successful in his case.

Ahmad Shāh was aware that he had a talent for war and ruled a people who appreciated such ability.[59] He therefore tried his best to win the affection of his people and then proceeded to conduct a series of important campaigns. The circumstances were propitious. On one side of his domain was the anarchy in India following the disintegration of the Mughal empire and, on the other side, was the internecine strife in Persia after the death of Nādir Shāh, which reduced the country to impotence for many years.[60]

Ahmad Shāh's first mission was to bring together various Afghan districts into one political unit. Leaving Herat for a later occasion, he decided to begin with Ghazni and Kabul.[61] The two cities were held by Nāsir Khān, who, after the death of Nādir Shāh, had proclaimed his allegiance to the Mughal emperor.

[53] Singh, 1959, p. 18.
[54] Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 352.
[55] What transpired at the meeting is reconstructed by Singh, 1959, pp. 25–7, but this is not free from legend.
[56] Tate, 1973, p. 69.
[57] Fletcher, 1965, p. 43.
[58] Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 353.
[59] Fletcher, 1965, p. 44.
[60] Tytler, 1953, p. 62.
[61] Singh, 1959, p. 36.

The commander of Ghazni tried to block Ahmad Shāh's passage, but he was defeated.[62] Nāsir Khān attempted to recruit Hazaras, Aimaks and Uzbeks, but this was not sufficient to deter Ahmad Shāh. Nāsir Khān first retired to Peshawar and then fled to Delhi. Kabul was occupied in 1747 and an Afghan chief was appointed as the city's governor.

Following upon this success, Ahmad Shāh occupied Peshawar and crossed the Indus in 1748 with an army of 30,000 horsemen. He took Attock without much difficulty. The Mughal governor of Punjab, Shāh Nawāz Khān, fled from Lahore in January 1748. Sensing victory, Ahmad Shāh advanced towards Delhi with a small force of 12,000 men against the seemingly defenceless Mughal emperor Muhammad Shāh. The emperor, however, dispatched a strong force led by his eldest son, Ahmad Shāh, and the vizier Qamaru'ddīn Khān to repel the invasion. After occupying Sirhind, the Afghan army waited for the Mughal army. The ensuing battle on 3 March 1748 was hard-fought: the vizier was killed, and a wagon loaded with explosives exploded in the Afghan ranks. Ultimately, the Afghan army retreated and vacated Punjab, of which Qamaru'ddīn Khān's son, Muᶜīnu'l Mulk, became governor on behalf of the Mughals.

Muhammad Shāh died about a month after the battle of Sirhind. His son Ahmad succeeded him under the title of Ahmad Shāh. In November 1748 the Afghan king returned to India. Muᶜīnu'l Mulk, the governor, received no assistance from Delhi, and he agreed to the terms by which all territory west of the Indus was formally ceded to the shah and *jāgīr*s (land revenue assignments) worth Rs. 1.4 million were to be assigned to Ahmad Shāh Durrānīin Punjab. The khans of Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismaᶜil Khan and the Brahui khan of Kalat swore fealty to the shah as he passed through their region on his way home. Soon after his return to Kandahar, Ahmad Shāh discovered an assassination plan against him and executed not only the plotters but also 10 members of each of the clans involved.[63]

Ahmad Shāh was simultaneously trying to expand Afghan dominion over Khurasan, which had been under the nominal rule of Shāhrukh Mīrzā, a grandson of Nādir Shāh. Herat was governed by an Arab chief, Amīr Khān. The campaign began in the spring of 1749. The city of Herat fell to the Afghans after a siege of 14 months. Ahmad Shāh appointed Darwish ᶜAlī Khān, a Hazara chief, as his governor.[64] The Afghan king then marched on and occupied Mashhad, but reinstated Shāhrukh Mīrzāas governor, and continued his advance toward Nishapur. The city of Nishapur shut its gates to him, and soon winter set in

[62] Singh, 1959, p. 37.
[63] Dupree, 1980, p. 335.
[64] Singh, 1959, p. 86.

and his troops suffered heavy losses. Ahmad Shāh still persisted in the siege, but a severe snowfall forced him to retire.

In 1751 Ahmad Shāh recruited new troops and once again besieged Nishapur. This time, he cast a cannon that fired projectiles each weighing some 214 kg. After the destruction his cannonade had wrought on the city, the citizens and soldiers panicked and surrendered. After the surrender of Nishapur, Ahmad Shāh signed a treaty with Shāhrukh Mīrzā and received from him Jam, Bakharz, Turbat, Khaf and Turshiz, bordering on Herat province. Sistan also became a part of the newly formed kingdom of Afghanistan, with Bam in south-eastern Persia as an outpost.

On his return home, Ahmad Shāh sent an expedition to the north of the Hindu Kush that secured him the possession of Balkh, Khanabad, Maimana and Badakhshan.[65] Kashmir was added to his domains in 1752. The same year he marched into Punjab, defeated Mu^cīnu'l Mulk and imposed a treaty on the Mughal court by which the *sūba*s of Lahore and Multan were ceded to him. Mu^cīnu'l Mulk, who continued as governor of Lahore under the aegis of the Afghans, died in 1753. An interregnum followed in which the Mughal court tried to impose its authority on Lahore. This brought Ahmad Shāh once again into India. He reoccupied Lahore in 1756, and, advancing further, occupied Delhi in 1757. His forces devastated a considerable area around Delhi, and as he retired, he left his son Tīmūr Shāh to govern Lahore.

In 1758 the Afghans had to abandon Punjab in the face of a Marāthā invasion.[66] This initiated a conflict between these two major new powers, which ultimately ended in the battle of Panipat, where in 1761 Ahmad Shāh decimated the Marāthā army. After this battle, for the moment at least, Ahmad Shāh was at the apex of his power.

After his victory, Ahmad Shāh decided to build a new capital in Kandahar. Nadirabad, built by Nādir Shāh, had became overcrowded and unhealthy.[67] Ahmad Shāh selected a tract of 12 plough-lands (about 365 ha) and personally laid the foundations of the new city under the name of Ahmad Shāhi Qandahār, officially entitled Ashraf-ul-Balad (Noblest of Cities).[68] Indian and Persian engineers were employed to design and construct buildings and fortifications. The various tribes were invited to build houses for themselves in specified quarters. The land around the city was divided into 12,000 allotments. The fiscal arrangements for the city built by Ahmad Shāh remained in force until the regime of the Bārakzāi *sardār*s (chiefs) in the nineteenth century.

[65] Singh, 1959, p. 99.
[66] The Marāthās, who inhabit the present-day state of Maharashtra in India, had by *c*. 1750 acquired a dominant position over a very large part of India.
[67] Tate, 1973, p. 86.
[68] Singh, 1959, p. 270; Tate, 1973, p. 87.

Nādir Shāh had nominated Mahabbat Khān as governor of Baluchistan province. After his death, his brother Hājī Khān succeeded him. But Ahmad Shāh removed him from power, imprisoned him and designated Nāsir Khān, the chief of Kalat, in his place. Nāsir Khān had accompanied Ahmad Shāh in three campaigns in India and is said to have performed his duties loyally and well. But in 1758, on hearing that the Marāthās had conquered Punjab and ousted the Afghans from that province, he declared his independence. In the summer of 1758 Ahmad Shāh advanced into Baluchistan. He met considerable resistance. According to a local chronicle, the small fortress of Kalat detained the shah for 40 days. Ultimately, Nāsir Khān was forced to submit. He was allowed to retain his domains on condition he acknowledged the shah's sovereignty and furnished contingents for his campaigns. The Baluch chief was exempted from the annual tax and tribute. Quetta and Mastung were ceded to him. Subsequently he took an energetic part in Ahmad Shāh's expedition against the Sikhs in 1764–5.[69]

In 1767–8 Ahmad Shāh's attention was drawn to Khurasan and to the hostile activities of Nasrullāh Mīrzā, son of Shāhrukh Mīrzā. Ahmad Shāh marched to Khurasan via Herat in 1769–70 and occupied Turbat-i Jam. Nasrullāh Mīrzāretreated to Mashhad with all his forces. Ahmad Shāh then besieged the city. Though Shāhrukh and Nasrullāh Mīrzā surrendered, Ahmad Shāh treated Shāhrukh kindly and again left him in full possession of Mashhad and Khurasan. Shāhrukh married his daughter, Gauhar Shād, to Ahmad Shāh's son Tīmūr Shāh, and promised to furnish a contingent from Khurasan to serve the Afghan emperor.[70]

Ahmad Shāh's last years were troubled by disturbances in his realm. Punjab was practically lost after his campaign failed to subdue the resurgent Sikhs in 1766–7, and the projected expeditions into Punjab in 1769 and 1771 proved abortive.[71] Failing health and fatigue forced Ahmad Shāh to quit campaigning and return to Kandahar to rest. He retired to a newly built palace at Toba Maruf in the Sulayman range, in Achakzāi territory, about 145 km to the east of Kandahar. He was probably suffering from a facial cancer. In the last few months of his life, he proclaimed Tīmūr Shāh as his designated heir. Ahmad Shāh died on 23 October 1772. He was buried in a garden inside the city of Kandahar and a mausoleum was built over his tomb by his son Tīmūr in 1777.[72]

[69] See Nūr Muhammad, 1939, for a contemporary metrical account of Nāsir Khān's exploits in this campaign.
[70] Singh, 1959, p. 322.
[71] On Ahmad Shāh's Punjab campaigns generally, see Grewal and Habib (eds.), 2001, pp. 169– 211.
[72] For Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's career generally, see Singh, 1959, a trustworthy account based on Persian and other sources. For Ahmad Shāh's Indian expeditions, Singh may be supplemented by Sarkar, 1988; 1991–2.

The death of this untiring and great ruler forms a convenient point to pause and look back at his remarkable career. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī was not only a visionary leader but also a talented military man. He believed in uniting Afghanistan's different ethnic groups and did not indulge in the harassment of the Shi^{c}ite communities within Afghanistan. Before his rise to power, the country now known as Afghanistan was either divided up among powers whose centres lay outside of the country, or, when these powers retreated, became a welter of tribal chiefdoms, frequently at war with each other. The chief merit to be ascribed to Ahmad Shāh is his consolidation of the Afghan tribes and other peoples of the land into a state. One could almost say that out of tribes, he forged a nation. Here it needs to be emphasized that the state he built was in no sense an 'Indo-Afghan empire', the name given to it by Gommans.[73] Durrānī power originated well outside the Indian Mughal empire; and with Kandahar as the capital, Ahmad Shāh prized his authority over Khurasan as much as over Punjab. It should also be noted that the Afghan chiefs in India, notably the Bangash and the Rohilas, seldom offered him more than temporary verbal allegiances and pursued their own ambitions quite independently of his wishes or interests.[74]

As a person Ahmad Shāh was generous and affable, flexible and resolute. He was literate and well versed in the main languages of his country. He had good taste in poetry and composed verses in Pashto. A Pashto *dīwān* (compilation of lyrical works) is attributed to him. He was a great admirer of Wāqif, a poet of Batala (Punjab), and invited him to his court at Kandahar.[75] Nizāmu'ddīn ^{c}Ishrat, his other favourite poet in Persian, was ordered by him to write an account of his reign. Thereupon he composed the *Shāh-nāma-i Ahmadia*, a *masnawī* (poem in couplets) of 614 pages.

AHMAD SHĀH'S SUCCESSORS (1772–1818)

Timūr Shāh (1772–93)

Ahmad Shāh had eight sons. Tīmūr, the second oldest, was ruling at Herat when his father died. The vizier, Shāh Walī, placed Prince Sulaymān, his own son-in-law, on the throne in Kandahar. Several Durrānī chiefs regarded the decision as unfair and some went to Herat and joined Tīmūr.[76] Tīmūr then marched on Kandahar at the head of a powerful force. Sulaymān fled to India; Shāh Walī submitted to Tīmūr at Farah, but was promptly

[73] Gommans, 1999.
[74] Cf. Husain, 1994.
[75] Singh, 1959, p. 332.
[76] Tate, 1973, p. 88.

executed.[77] In order to weaken the power of the Durrānī chiefs, Tīmūr Shāh moved his capital to Kabul.[78]

In Kabul, he undertook a reorganization of the government, but he clearly lacked the administrative and leadership skills of his father. Sardār Pāyenda Khān, son of Hājī Jamāl Khān, was confirmed as chief of the Bārakzāi section of the Durrānīs and came to be known as Sarfarāz Khān. The principal advisers were, however, selected from among Tīmūr's personal followers and a bodyguard of 12,000 Qizilbāsh cavalry was raised, commanded by Sardār Muhammad Khān Bayāt. Tīmūr assumed that this cavalry was likely to be more trustworthy than his Afghan tribal subjects.[79] He appointed his sons Zamān, Humāyūn, Mahmūd, ᶜAbbās and Kohandīl as governors of the provinces. On his death, his sons were to start a struggle for power that eventually cost the Saddozāi rulers their throne (see below).[80]

From 1774 to 1781 Tīmūr was preoccupied with crushing internal rebellions in his domain and the constant challenge from the Sikhs in Punjab. Three times the Afghan army was sent to Khurasan to bolster the feeble rule of Shāhrukh Mīrzā. Another army was sent to Sind after the Sindhi emirs of the Kalhora tribe were deposed by Fath ᶜAlī Talpur.[81] The Talpurs came to peace terms and Mīr ᶜAlī Khān was thereupon confirmed as ruler, being obliged to pay an annual tribute. From this time onwards, Sind became practically independent and paid only nominal homage to the Afghan crown.[82] Tīmūr Shāh was also confronted with rebellions in Kashmir.

In Balkh, an uprising was instigated by Shāh Murād Beg of Bukhara (1785–1800). Tīmūr Shāh ultimately signed an agreement with the emir of Bukhara whereby the latter agreed to recognize Tīmūr's authority over Balkh and the adjoining district lying south of the Amu Darya.[83]

During his 20-year reign, Tīmūr Shāh was faced with two internal revolts: the first was that of a Durrānī *sardār*, ᶜAbdu'l Khāliq; and the second was that of Fayzullāh Khān, a chief of the Khalīl tribe near Peshawar. (Fayzullāh Khān plotted to assassinate Tīmūr and replace him with Iskandar Mīrzā, the son of his exiled brother Sulaymān.) The first rebellion was suppressed with difficulty. In the second attempt, the shah escaped with his

77 Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 368.
78 Ludwig, 1995, p. 230.
79 Tytler, 1953, p. 66.
80 Ludwig, 1995, p. 231.
81 Fletcher, 1965, p. 59.
82 Ali, 1958, p. 96.
83 Fletcher, 1965, p. 59.

life, with the assistance of loyal soldiers of his guard. Fayzullāh Khān and his son and the other conspirators were executed in 1778.[84]

In the spring of 1793 the king fell ill and died in Kabul of internal inflammation, which may have been caused by poisoning.[85] Tīmūr Shāh was an efficient and tolerant ruler, though he lacked his father's talents and vigour. Lieutenant Vigne, a British officer who visited Afghanistan some 50 years after Tīmūr's death, commented that his reign was still remembered by the oldest inhabitants of Kabul as that in which the city enjoyed its greatest prosperity.[86]

Zamān Shāh (1793–1801)

Tīmūr Shāh had 24 sons and many daughters. Among these sons the three strongest candidates for the throne were Humāyūn, Mahmūd and Zamān. The first two, ranking first and second in age, were governors of Kandahar and Herat respectively. Zamān was the fifth in age, but his position as governor of Kabul gave him an advantage. The military and civilian officers, who were in Kabul, declared him king on 23 May 1793.[87] Zamān Shāh owed his position largely to the support of Sardār Pāyenda Khān, chief of the Muhammadzāis(a branch of the Bārakzāi Durrānīs).[88]

Since his brothers in Kandahar and Herat contested his accession, Zamān immediately marched from Kabul against Kandahar and defeated and blinded Humāyūn. He then proceeded to Herat. In Herat the two brothers reached an agreement allowing Mahmūd to retain the governorship of the province.[89] Having thus secured his position within the country, Zamān turned his attention to foreign affairs. He dreamed of repeating the career of his grandfather, Ahmad Shāh, and contemplated an invasion of India to drive out the British. He was encouraged in his mission by some of the Indian princes, foremost among them Tipu Sultān of Mysore, who pledged to pay him a subsidy towards meeting his military expenses. In 1796 Zamān Shāh entered Punjab, only to retire because of the occupation of Mashhad by Āghā Muhammad Shāh Qājār.[90] Until then western Khurasan had been under the rule of Shāhrukh Afshār, who sometimes vaguely recognized a Durrānī suzerainty. Tīmūr re-entered Punjab late that year and early in 1797 occupied Lahore. But now the news of a rebellion by Mahmūd at Herat forced him to return to Afghanistan.

84 Tate, 1973, p. 91.
85 Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 370.
86 Fletcher, 1965, p. 60.
87 Tate, 1973, p. 94.
88 Bellew, 1880, p. 33.
89 Ali, 1958, p. 99.
90 Elphinstone, 1839, Vol. 2, pp. 316–17.

Zamān Shāh was an energetic and ambitious ruler, but he lacked tact. To the Afghan tribal khans and *malik*s (chiefs), the king was in no sense a superior being; he was merely an equal, who through fortune and family had acquired power.[91] Zamān Shāh wanted to have supreme power exclusively in his own hands and therefore tried to abolish many of the hereditary posts established by Ahmad Shāh. He tried to remove the Durrānīs, including the Bārakzāis, from important positions and replace them with chiefs of other tribes. This alarmed the Durrānī chiefs. The king then went further and alienated the chiefs by a system of 'silent persecution'.[92] His choice of Wafādār Khān as his vizier was another blunder. The chief of the Bārakzāis, the Qizilbāsh and other notables planned a conspiracy against the king. Their plan was first to replace Zamān Shāh with his brother Shujā^{c}u'l Mulk (Shujā^{c}), and then to keep the appointment of emirs in their own hands.[93] The plot was discovered, however, and the ringleaders, including Sardār Pāyenda Khān, the head of the Bārakzāis, were arrested and executed. Similarly, a large number of other influential notables of the capital fell victim to the machinations of the vizier, Wafādār Khān.

The cold-blooded massacre of the heads of different clans increased the general unpopularity of the shah and his vizier. Pāyenda Khān had 21 sons; the oldest, Fath (Fateh) Khān, was a gallant soldier and a competent statesman. He immediately fled to Persia, then ruled by Fath ^{c}Alī Shāh, and persuaded Mahmūd, the brother of Zamān Shāh, to return to Afghanistan and make a bid for the throne. Mahmūd proceeded to Farah and, on being joined by the Bārakzāis and other tribes, captured Kandahar. Zamān sent an army to recover Kandahar, but his soldiers deserted to Mahmūd. Mahmūd marched against Kabul and defeated Zamān Shāh, who was captured while attempting to flee; his eyes were put out and he was imprisoned in the Bala Hisar fort at Kabul.

Zamān Shāh is now admired as the last powerful king of Afghanistan. With him vanished the glorious days of the Durrānī dynasty. After his rule the country fell into anarchy and chaos, which lasted for a quarter of a century, reducing Afghanistan from an empire to a kingdom.

Mahmūd: first reign (1801–3)

After the defeat of Zamān Shāh, his treasure, reputedly amounting to Rs. 20 million, fell into the victor's hands. Mahmūd divided the money among his followers. On 25 July 1801 Mahmūd was proclaimed king in Kabul. He assumed the title of Shāh Mahmūd.[94] Fateh

[91] Fletcher, 1965, p. 62.
[92] Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 381.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Bellew, 1880, p. 34; Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 382.

Khān, chief of the Bārakzāis, and Akram Khān, chief of the Alīzāis, became the viziers.[95] The other chiefs were also suitably rewarded.

Having established himself in Kabul, the new king seized Peshawar from his brother Shujāᶜ, who fled at Mahmūd's approach. Shortly thereafter the Ghilzāis revolted. They were defeated by Fateh Khān, but revolted again the following year, only to suffer defeat once again.[96] Meanwhile, Shujāᶜ was not inactive. With a force of 2,000 men he attacked Peshawar, but once more he was defeated.

Shāh Mahmūd's fall was hastened by a deadly feud that erupted between the Shiᶜites (mainly the Qizilbāsh) and the Sunnis. Finally, the citizens of Kabul rose against their ruler. Sher Ahmad Khān of the Bamizāi tribe sent a message to Shujāᶜ asking him to take over the throne. Fateh Khān thereupon fled to Kandahar.

Shāh Shujāᶜ (1803–9)

The young Prince Shujāᶜ hastened to Kabul, where he was joined by a number of volunteers from Kohistan, to the north of Kabul. He was warmly received by the people and proclaimed king in July 1803. On his coronation he assumed the title of Shāh Shujāᶜ. Mahmūd was imprisoned; he was only spared having his eyes put out through the intercession of Sher Ahmad Khān, to whom Shāh Shujāᶜ owed his crown. Sher Ahmad Khān became vizier and Zamān Shāh was released from imprisonment.

High on Shāh Shujāᶜ's agenda was the recapture of Kandahar, held by Mahmūd's son, Kāmrān, and the old vizier Fateh Khān. Shujāᶜ dispatched his nephew Qaysar, son of Zamān Shāh, to reclaim Kandahar. He reoccupied the city without significant resistance. Fateh Khān arranged for Kāmrān to abandon the city and take refuge at Herat. Fateh Khān himself outwardly submitted to Shāh Shujāᶜ and retired to Bārakzāi Nava, near Girishk. Shujāᶜ thereby lost the support of the Bārakzāi tribe.[97]

Shāh Shujāᶜ was young and energetic, but lacked the ability to restore order in a country that had been torn by internal dissension and anarchy for more than a decade. His reign was plagued with constant revolts and court intrigues.[98]

In 1804, while Shāh Shujāᶜ was suppressing an uprising in Kashmir, Fateh Khān incited Prince Qaysar to revolt and claim the throne as the legacy of his father. The king returned to Kandahar. Qaysar was defeated and fled, but did not give up. With the help of Fateh Khān, he made another bid for power. This second revolt again brought Shāh Shujāᶜ back

95 Malleson, 1969, p. 314.
96 Bellew, 1880, p. 34.
97 Habibi, 1989, p. 275.
98 Fletcher, 1965, p. 66.

to Kandahar. Qaysar capitulated and Shāh Shujā[c] received him kindly and reinstated him in his office. Shāh Shujā[c] was also successful in recovering Kashmir; its defiant governor [c]Abdullāh Khān was forced to surrender on terms, to an army commanded by the vizier himself.

Another problem for Shāh Shujā[c] was the growing rift with his vizier Sher Ahmad Khān. In 1808, with Shujā[c] absent on a campaign in Sind, the vizier carried out a coup détat and put Prince Qaysar on the throne. The plan, however, failed. The vizier was killed in the ensuing battle at Peshawar and his head was carried on a pole through the bazaars of Kabul. This action proved as fatal to Shāh Shujā[c] as had the execution of Pāyenda Khān to Zamān Shāh. Meanwhile the former king, Mahmūd, escaped from the prison of Bala Hisar fort and, escorted by Dost Muhammad, the most famous of the 22 Bārakzāi brothers, reached the fort of Girishk (west of Kandahar), the native town of the Bārakzāis.[99]

In 1809 a mission from the English East India Company was dispatched under Mountstuart Elphinstone to the court of Shāh Shujā[c] in Peshawar. Here the British envoy met the Afghan king and negotiated a treaty in June 1809, this being the first official dealing of the British with the Afghans. The main article of this treaty stipulated that neither the French nor any other foreign European state should be permitted to have a footing in Afghanistan. Elphinstone was later to publish a monumental geographic and ethnological survey of Afghanistan based on the information that he had collected.[100]

During the time that the British emissary was in Peshawar, a crisis developed in Afghanistan. Mahmūd, the former king, invaded Kabul and advanced towards Peshawar. Shāh Shujā[c] assembled troops from the frontier tribesmen and in June 1809 set off for Kabul. The two armies met at Nimla (midway between Peshawar and Kabul). Shāh Shujā[c] was defeated and fled into the mountains among the Afridis, leaving his treasury and all his jewels to his rival.[101] During the next three years, Shāh Shujā[c] made frequent efforts to regain the throne but he received no support even from his former allies among the eastern tribes. In 1813 he gave up and joined his brother Zamān Shāh at Ludhiana, where he also became a pensioner of the British government.[102]

Mahmūd: second reign (1809–18)

With the return of Shāh Mahmūd to Kabul as king, accompanied by Fateh Khān, the leader of the Bārakzāi Durrānīs, as his vizier, the state underwent sweeping changes. The

[99] Malleson, 1969, p. 331.
[100] Elphinstone, 1839.
[101] Zafar and Said, 1965, p. 327; Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 388; Malleson, 1969, p. 333.
[102] Bellew, 1880, p. 35.

Bārakzāis were now dominant throughout the country, while Shāh Mahmūd was content with the trappings of royalty. Fāteh Khan gave generous handouts to gain popularity, a common tool in tribal societies. He reestablished law and order. The emirs of Sind and Baluchistan returned to their nominal allegiance, while even the Hazaras were forced into obedience.[103]

After restoring peace throughout the kingdom, Fateh Khān's main concern was torecover Kashmir, held by ^{c}Ata Muhammad Khān. He marched towards Kashmir with a sizeable army and forced ^{c}Ata Muhammad Khān to surrender unconditionally in 1811. He appointed Amān Khān, his own brother, as governor and returned to Kabul.

On reaching the capital he learned that the Persians were threatening Herat. Its ruler Fīrūz (better known as Hājī Fīrūz), the younger brother of Shāh Mahmūd, had appealed to Shāh Mahmūd for help. Fateh Khān now marched rapidly towards Herat with a strong force. Entering the city, he immediately arrested Hājī Fīrūz and sent him to Kabul.[104] Fateh Khān's success and popularity aroused the suspicions of Shāh Mahmūd and the jealousy of his son Kāmrān. In 1818 Fateh Khān was imprisoned by Mahmūd on some trivial pretence and handed over to Kāmrān, who had his eyes put out – yet another fatal mistake by a Durrānī monarch.

All the Bārakzāi chiefs, brothers and sons of Fateh Khān, now rose in revolt. Kāmrān's troops deserted to the rebels. Shāh Mahmūd was driven from Kabul by Dost Muhammad Khān. Shāh Mahmūd made his last stand at Ghazni, where he was joined by Kāmrān, who brought the unfortunate Fateh Khān with him and put him to death under the most horrible torture.[105] The death of the vizier was in reality the death knell of the Durrānī dynasty. The tribes joined the powerful Bārakzāi brothers, and Shāh Mahmūd and Kāmrān were forced to retire to Herat in 1818. The remaining parts of the kingdom were parcelled out among the Bārakzāi brothers.[106]

THE BĀRAKZĀI REGIME: DOST MUHAMMAD (1826–63) AND THE FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR (1839–42)

Afghanistan now disintegrated into a number of principalities. Badakhshan became independent under Murād Beg, the Uzbek chief. Balkh was seized by the ruler of Bukhara. A large part of the Afghan dominions were occupied by Ranjit Singh (d. 1839), who took Multan in 1818, conquered Kashmir in 1819 and finally annexed Peshawar in 1834. The

[103] Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 389.
[104] Ali, 1958, p. 140.
[105] Bellew, 1880, p. 36.
[106] Ali, 1958, p. 141.

Talpur emirs of Sind and the chiefs of Baluchistan became independent. The three 'dil' brothers, Kohandil, Rahmdil and Purdil, ruled Kandahar. Of the two Bārakzāi Muhammadzāi leaders, Nawāb Jabbār Khān held Kashmir and Sultān Muhammad Khān governed Peshawar before these were lost to the Sikhs. Officially, Muhammad ᶜAzīm Khān was the head of the family, but the other members paid little heed to his requests and throughout the country the chiefs of the tribes did as they pleased.[107] Ghazni fell to Dost Muhammad, who then established his supremacy at Kabul and Jalalabad in 1826 and thus became the most powerful of the Bārakzāi *sardār*s. In 1834 he helped the Bārakzāi chief Kohandil Khān of Kandahar to repel a British-incited invasion by Shāh Shujāᶜ. In 1837 he assumed the title, not of shah, but of *amīr al-mu'min īn* (the commander of the faithful). The Bārakzāi Muhammadzāi dynasty thus replaced that of the Saddozāis.[108]

Dost Muhammad was a very capable and intelligent ruler. In 1832 the British agent Alexander Burnes could not but record his admiration for'the accomplished address and manners of Dost Mahommed Khan'.[109] Yet he could not prevail over circumstances that were not even remotely of his making.

In 1836 a dispatch from the 'Secret Committee' of the East India Company initiated a strategy of intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan, with the professed aim of raising'a timely barrier against the impending encroachments of Russian influence'. Burnes was again dispatched to Kabul to persuade Dost Muhammad to accept British tutelage, but without receiving anything (such as Peshawar) in return. Not unexpectedly, Burnes returned empty-handed from Kabul in April 1838. Immediately thereafter the British-brought Shāh Shujāᶜ back from the obscurity of Ludhiana and, along with Ranjit Singh, made him the third party in a tripartite treaty (July 1838). This meant that the British no longer recognized Dost Muhammad as ruler and were committed to putting Shāh Shujāᶜ on the throne of Kabul. This could only be achieved by war. Although Ranjit Singh refused to take part in the actual invasion, the British army marched through Sind, entered southern Afghanistan and rapidly occupied Kandahar and Kabul in 1839. Shujāᶜ was installed as king, while Dost Muhammad surrendered the next year to be sent as prisoner to Calcutta.

Paradoxically, the disaster for the British began when they had to all appearances fully succeeded. This was because the Afghan people simply would not accept the British presence. Everywhere risings occurred. In 1842 the British retreat from Kabul to Jalalabad

[107] Fletcher, 1965, p. 71.

[108] A notable account of the successors of Ahmad Shāh Durrānīis found in Elphinstone, 1839, where the story is brought up to 1838.

[109] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, pp. 140–1. However, Masson, whose record of travels in Afghanistan (1826–38) is rightly held to be a classic, denies that Dost Muhammad was popular among the Afghans (Masson, 1842, Vol. 1, p. ix).

began in the hope of gaining passage into the Sikh territories. The entire force of 4,500 troops and 12,000 camp followers was destroyed. The British commander, General Elphinstone, was captured by Dost Muhammad's son, Akbar Khān. Ghazni too fell and Shāh Shujāc was murdered. Although the British reoccupied Kabul in September and blew up its covered bazaar in revenge, the evacuation of Afghanistan was now unavoidable. Dost Muhammad was allowed to return and resume his throne in 1843, but, to his honour, he would not accept any conditions. Symbolically, he rebuilt the covered bazaar that the British had destroyed.

Dost Muhammad spent the remaining part of his reign in trying to bring the whole of Afghanistan under his control. He retook Balkh from the Uzbeks in 1851 and annexed Badakhshan in 1859. Kandahar fell to him in 1855. There was a long contest with Persia over Herat, with the British now veering to one side, now to the other. Ultimately, they inclined towards Kabul, and Herat came into Dost Muhammad's full possession in 1863, just before his death.

Dost Muhammad's relations with the British after his restoration were initially cool. In 1848–9 he even sent troops to support the Sikhs in the second Punjab war. But later, by the treaty of Peshawar (1855), he secured a promise of non-interference from the British. By a supplementary treaty in 1857 he even obtained an annual subsidy of Rs. 100,000. He was the first Afghan ruler to employ foreigners in order to modernize his army.[110] Dost Muhammad's principal achievement was thus to have reunited Afghanistan under difficult circumstances. This was important, especially because Afghanistan had still to face two more British invasions. But their story belongs to the next volume.

[110] For two British accounts of Dost Muhammad's reign, see Bellew, 1880, pp. 36–46; Sykes, 1940, Vol. 1, pp. 392–411; Vol. 2, pp. 1–68.

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THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AND ITS SUCCESSORS*

M. Athar Ali

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Political history

THE MUGHAL EMPIRES FIRST PHASE (1526–40)

At the beginning of the sixteenth century India was divided into a number of regional states. Within the area included in Central Asia for the purposes of this volume[1] were found the independent principality of Kashmir, the Langāh kingdom of Multan (southern Punjab) and the kingdom of Sind under the Jāms. Punjab, with its capital at Lahore, was a province of the Lodi empire, which under Sultān Sikandar (1489–1517) extended from the Indus to Bihar. The newly founded city of Agra was the sultan's capital, while Delhi was in a

* See Map 6, p. 930.

[1] The term 'Central Asia' is used here in the broader sense given to it for the series to which this volume belongs and includes Kashmir and the Indus plains (Punjab and Sind).

state of decay. A large part of the ruling class in the Lodi sultanate consisted of Afghan immigrants, though there was considerable accommodation with local elements.

When Zahīru'ddīn Muhammad Bābur (1483–1530), the Timurid prince celebrated for his memoirs,[2] fled from his ancestral principality of Ferghana, he established himself in Kabul in 1504. Here he proclaimed his undiminished ambitions by disdaining the designation of *mīrzā* (in Persian, son, descendant of *amīr* and ruler, hence prince, noble) and adopting the style of *pādshāh* (king).[3] An alliance with Shāh Ismā^cīl of Persia (1501–24) put Samarkand into his hands(1511–12), but a great Uzbek victory over the Safavids drove him back to his safe haven of Kabul. Henceforth Afghanistan and northern India were the fields at whose expense aggrandizement could take place.

It is often overlooked that in subjugating Indian territories, Bābur was in fact preceded by a kindred clan, the Arghūns, who had long been connected with the Timurid kingdom of Herat. Expelled from Kandahar (Qandahār) in 1517, Shāh Beg Arghūn (d. 1522) established himself at Shāl (Quetta), above the Bolan pass, and at Sibi (Siwi), below. From these bases, he conquered Sind in 1520, his remaining two years being spent in defending and consolidating his possession of that province. His son Shāh Hasan (1522–55) expanded his dominions northwards, and early in 1527 occupied Multan.[4]

The successes of the Arghūns, which otherwise would have appeared fairly respectable in scale, were soon overshadowed by Bābur's conquest of the Lodi empire. This large polity was torn with dissension under Sikandar Lodī's son and successor, Ibrāhīm (1517–26). In 1520 Bābur raided western Punjab and in 1524 obtained the submission of Lahore. In 1526, marching upon Delhi, he crushed Ibrāhīm Lodī's host at Panipat. The battle is significant for Bābur's use of musket and cannon. He again used them to good effect at Khanwa near Agra, where he defeated Rāna Sangrām Singh of Mewar and his allies in 1527, and at the battle on the Ghagara river in the east where he defeated and dispersed the remnants of the Afghan opposition in 1529.[5]

Bābur died in 1530, to be succeeded by his eldest son, Humāyūn (1530– 56). Bābur had hardly had any time to alter the administrative structure that he took over from the Lodis, and Humāyūn was apparently more interested in the purely ceremonial aspects of royalty.[6] The practical independence enjoyed by Humāyūn's brother, Kāmrān, now in occupation

[2] Bābur, 1995; 1922.
[3] Cf. Williams, 1918, p. 95.
[4] The most detailed and reliable source for these events is Ma ʿsūm, 1938, pp. 112–27, 141–60. Other authorities date the fall of Kandahar to Bābur to 1522 (Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 432–5), which does not suit the chronology of the Arghūn progress in Sind. Both the years 1517 and 1522 belong to periods that Bābur's own memoirs do not cover.
[5] These battles are best analysed in Williams, 1918.
[6] As may be seen from Khwānd Amīr, 1940.

of Kabul, Kandahar and Punjab, greatly reduced Humāyūn's resources. Nevertheless, his early military successes were quite creditable. In 1532 he routed a fresh Afghan army raised in Bihar by Sultān Mahmūd Lodī, and then in 1535 conducted a brilliant campaign against Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat (1526–37), in the face of the powerful artillery commanded by his opponent. But the revival of Afghan power in the east, this time under the leadership of the redoubtable Sher Khān Sūr, called him away; and in his absence, Mughal forces rapidly abandoned Gujarat in 1536.

Sher Khān Sūr had made himself the master of Bihar after 1532, and then in 1536 he greatly increased his power by conquering Bengal. When Humāyūn, sensing a fresh danger, marched against him, Sher Khān let Humāyūn advance into Bengal and then cut off his supply routes. As Humāyūn's demoralized troops retreated westwards, he was decisively defeated by Sher Khān at Chausa in 1539. Humāyūn fled towards Agra and tried to gather his troops again, but the defeat at Kanauj across the Ganges in May 1540 made further resistance impossible. Meanwhile Sher Khān had himself crowned, adopting the title Sher Shāh, and he swiftly occupied Agra, Delhi and Lahore.

THE SŪR DYNASTY (1540–55) AND THE MUGHAL RESTORATION (1555–6)

Sher Shāh Sūr (1540–5) founded an empire that included not only the territories of the old Lodi empire, but also Bengal, Malwa, much of Rajasthan and Multan. During his five-year reign, he was continuously engaged in military operations and died as the result of a gunpowder explosion at the siege of Kalinjar in central India in 1545.

Despite his short reign, Sher Shāh's administrative measures were remarkable in their scope. He sought to systematize land-revenue assessment and collection by undertaking a crop-wise land survey and fixing rates of tax in kind according to crop (this method was called *zabt*). Tax was, however, collected in money through commutation at notified harvest prices. The currency system was reformed by his coining of a pure silver rupee, the ancestor of the modern currencies of India and Pakistan. He sought to encourage trade by establishing caravanserais at appropriate distances on the main highways. Finally, he sought to enforce the full maintenance of the cavalry by instituting a branding system. Most of these measures were subsequently continued and perfected by the Mughal emperor Akbar.[7]

Sher Shāh's successor Islām Shāh (1545–54) maintained his father's administrative rigour, but faced continuous defiance from within the Afghan nobility, which he suppressed with a heavy hand. While Sher Shāh had built the Purana Qila fort at Delhi, seeming to

[7] Most of our information about Sher Shāh comes from ᶜAbbās Khān Sarwānī, 1964. Qanungo, 1965, is the standard modern biography.

prefer it as his capital, Islām Shāh made Gwalior his main seat. His death led to internal dissension and the preferring of rival claims to royalty within the Sūr clan; and this gave Humāyūn an opportunity to attempt a recovery of his lost dominions.

After his defeat at Kanauj, Humāyūn had fled to Lahore. Since his way to Kabul was barred by his brother Kāmrān, he marched into the Arghūn principality of Sind, where, not unnaturally, he did not receive a warm welcome. After some vain wanderings during the course of which his son Akbar was born at Umarkot in eastern Sind in 1542, he finally left Sind and made his way to Persia through Kandahar and Sistan. In 1544 he received a magnificent reception at the court of the Safavid Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76). With the aid of Persian troops he occupied Kandahar in 1545,[8] and then went on to recover Kabul from Kāmrān. However, he only managed to consolidate his position in Afghanistan with much difficulty. In 1555 he led an expedition into India, and after defeating the troops of Sikandar Sūr occupied Delhi in the same year. It was here that he died after falling down the stairs in 1556.

AKBAR (1556–1605) AND HIS CONQUESTS IN CENTRAL ASIA

A 14-year-old boy at his accession, Akbar's reign began under the tutelage of his *atāliq* (regent), Bayrām Khān. The latter, by his determination, saved the newly restored regime by a victory at the second battle of Panipat (November 1556) over a largely revitalized Afghan army sent by the Sūr ruler ᶜĀdil Shāh under his commander Hemu Vikramajit. The reoccupation of Delhi followed, and the Sūr empire finally collapsed.

In 1560 Akbar carried out a coup against his powerful regent and sent him into exile. The unfortunate man was murdered in Gujarat by some Afghans while on his way to Mecca in 1561. Those who like Akbar's foster-mother, Maham Anka, had incited him against Bayrām Khān soon discovered that Akbar was his own master. It is worth noting, however, that he established his position without a spate of executions or massacres. It may be supposed that there were three keys to his success: a continuous series of conquests; the incorporation of fresh groups into the nobility; and a determined effort at administrative systematization.

Malwa was annexed in 1561; Chittor, the capital of Mewar, fell in 1568; Gujarat was conquered in 1572–3; and Bihar in 1574. The 1575 victory at Takorai over the Afghans opened the gates of Orissa for Akbar's commanders, and the conquest of Bengal, a long-drawn-out process, was now begun. By 1579 Akbar was the master of most of northern India, with his dominions touching both the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea.

[8] For a study of Humāyūn's sojourn in Iran, see Ray, 1948.

Though Akbar was himself a general of no mean ability, and his suppression of a rebellion in Gujarat in 1573 by a lightning campaign launched from his capital Fatehpur Sikri was a brilliant enterprise, he allowed many of his later military undertakings to be conducted by his commanders. These, as well as his bureaucrats, were drawn from varied sources. Akbar promoted Iranians as well as Indian Muslims, along with the Turanians (who had formed the original core of the supporters of the dynasty). From 1562, with the induction of Bhāramal of Amber into the high ranks of the nobility, Akbar began his policy of incorporating Rajput chiefs (often initially subjugated by brute force) into the nobility. Marriages of Rajput princesses into the imperial family cemented the alliances. (This, of course, was also the case with families of higher Turanian and Iranian nobles, who similarly provided brides for the imperial family.) At Akbar's death in 1605, Mān Singh of Amber was one of the two highest nobles of the empire. The patronage also extended to other sections. Akbar's famous finance minister, and an able commander, was Todar Mal (d. 1589), a Hindu of the mercantile Khatri caste; and his principal intellectual counsellor, already prominent by 1579, was Abū'l Fazl (d. 1602) (see below), the celebrated historian and assembler of economic and fiscal statistics.

Akbar's major administrative measures belong to the year 1574–5. He overhauled the revenue system by having permanent revenue rates per unit of area fixed on the basis of information obtained for 10 years (1570–80); these varied according to the crop and were stated in money. To ensure the success of the project, he dispensed with the *jāgīr*s (territories assigned to nobles) in most of his empire and instituted a system of numerical ranks (*mansab*s) that determined both the size of the rank-holder's contingent and the salary to be paid to him. Akbar followed this up in 1580 by dividing his empire systematically into *sūba*s (provinces) and limiting the powers of the governors by placing high-ranking officers within each province who were directly accountable to the corresponding central ministers. He thus created the basic structure of the Mughal empire which lasted until the eighteenth century.

The year 1579 is important, first, because Akbar's departure from Islamic orthodoxy began in that year, with the debacle of the theologians' statement of testimony (*mahzar*) recognizing his authority as the interpreter of Muslim law (see below). A second reason is that hereafter the north-west bordering upon Central Asia became increasingly important for him, especially in view of the rise of the Uzbek leader ᶜAbdullāh Khān (1583–98).

Until now Kabul had been in the hands of Akbar's younger brother, Mīrzā Hakīm, and though Akbar had a built a strong fort at Attock on his side of the Indus, he had allowed Hakīm to reign in Kabul. In 1580 Mīrzā Hakīm appeared in Punjab to take advantage of a serious rebellion that had broken out in the east against Akbar. Akbar marched personally

into Kabul in 1581; and when Mīrzā Hakīm died in 1585, he sent Mān Singh to annex Kabul permanently to his empire.

Akbar's attention turned next to Kashmir. There had already been certain Mughal incursions into Kashmir under Bābur; and in 1530–1 Kāmrān had sent in an army that had remained in occupation of the valley for some time. Soon afterwards in 1532–3, the historian Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt, then in the service of Sa^{c}īd Khan of Kashghar (1514–33), led a raid into the valley that caused much devastation. He retired, only to return in 1540 from the south, after he had left Humāyūn's demoralized camp at Lahore. Haydar Dughlāt managed to rule in Kashmir until 1551, when he was killed while leading a night attack.

The overthrow of Haydar Dughlāt did not ease matters in Kashmir, where the Chak family, itself riven with dissension, had seized power while continuing to exercise it in the name of the sultans of the Shāh Mīr dynasty. In 1561 the old dynasty was finally supplanted by the Chaks, whose first ruler was Ghāzī Shāh (1561–3). It was during the reign of Yūsuf Shāh (1579–86) from this same dynasty that Akbar finally decided to annex Kashmir. An army under his commander Bhagwāndās entered Kashmir in 1585 and Yūsuf Shāh surrendered. But it required another expedition in 1586 under Qāsim Khān before the last sultan of Kashmir, Ya'qūb Shāh (1586–8), would surrender. Akbar himself visited Kashmir in 1588.[9]

Kashmir had barely been subdued when it was the turn of Sind. This large kingdom, ruled by Shāh Hasan Arghūn (1522–55), received a jolt when Humāyūn's fugitive forces occupied large parts of it in 1541–3. Multan had been seized earlier by Kāmrān and was now devastated by a local Langāh chief. Thereafter it was occupied by Sher Shāh Sūr; and from the Sūrs it passed ultimately to Akbar. When Shāh Hasan Arghūn died in 1555, he was succeeded at Thatta in southern Sind by Mīrzā ^{c}Īsā Tarkhān (1555–67), while Sultān Mahmūd Khān, another officer of the Arghūns, became master of northern Sind with his headquarters at Bhakkar. While sometimes seeking Shāh Tahmāsp's protection, Sultān Mahmūd finally sought a way out of his local difficulties by a request made just before his own death in 1574 that Akbar take over Bhakkar. Northern Sind thus passed peaceably into Akbar's hands; it was treated as part of the *sūba* of Multan when the *sūba*s were formed in 1580 (see above).[10]

The Tarkhān family continued to govern lower Sind until in the reign of Jānī Beg Tarkhān (1585–92) (see below), Akbar sanctioned a full-scale invasion under ^{c}Abdu'l Rahīm Khān-i Khānān from 1590 to 1592. After considerable resistance, Jānī Beg

[9] The most reliable modern narrative of the events in Kashmir described here will be found in M. Hasan, 1974, pp. 117–93.
[10] Ma^{c}sūm, 1938, and Nisyani, 1964, are the best sources for Sind during this period.

capitulated on terms. He was now to continue as governor, but with a much reduced territory placed under his direct control.[11]

Kandahar had been seized by Shāh Tahmāsp in 1558. It was now recovered for Akbar by ᶜAbdu'l Rahīm Khān-i Khānān in 1595. Akbar thus obtained an eminently satisfactory north-western frontier for his empire. As the historian Abū'l Fazl noted, Kabul and Kandahar were the two gateways of Hindustan; and Akbar himself was anxious that the Uzbeks too should recognize the Hindu Kush mountains as their boundary with the Mughal empire.[12]

Akbar remained in the north-western parts of his dominions throughout 1585–98 and Lahore was his capital during this entire period. The death of ᶜAbdullāh Khān in 1598, and the internal strife in the Uzbek khanate following upon this event, set Akbar's mind at ease in regard to threats from that quarter. He now left Lahore directly to go to the Deccan. Here Berar had been seized from the Nizāmshāhi kingdom of Ahmadnagar in 1596, and Akbar personally oversaw the annexation of Ahmadnagar itself between 1599 and 1601. In 1601 the client kingdom of Khandesh was also converted into a Mughal province. The last four years of Akbar's life were spent at Agra, somewhat darkened by a quarrel with his son Salīm, though a reconciliation was attained before his death in 1605.

Akbar was an exceptional individual. His political ambitions did not obstruct the continuous growth of humanitarian ideas. The views he ultimately came to hold about the inequity of men's oppression of women, his dislike of slavery and forced labour, his rejection of all formal religions and his espousal of tolerance for all of them, and his stout support of reason and interest in technological innovation, all make him seem particularly modern. When one adds his great feats as a builder, his purposeful pursuit of realism in painting and his patronage of literature and of translations from Sanskrit, one finds it difficult adequately to express the greatness of the man.[13]

AKBAR'S SUCCESSORS (1605–1707)

Akbar had the further good fortune of having three fairly able successors: Jahāngīr (1605–27), Shāh Jahān (1628–58) and Aurangzeb (1659–1707). Jahāngīr inherited the cultural interests and tolerant ideas of his father. His memoirs are not only an important historical source but also an example of how simple, effective prose could be produced in

[11] See Bilgrami, 1997, for the most detailed and careful account of the military and diplomatiᶜhistory of the annexation.

[12] Abū'l Fazl, 1867–72, Vol. 1, p. 592; 1873–87, Vol. 3, p. 705.

[13] The main source for Akbar is Abū'l Fazl, 1873–87, Vols. 2 and 3. Badāūnī, 1964–9, Vol. 2, offers a contemporary critic's view. Among modern biographies, Srivastava, 1962, is the most detailed, but not always trustworthy. See Moosvi, 1994, for a selection of contemporary sketches and narratives.

Persian.[14] In 1611 he married Nūr Jahān (1579–1645), a widow belonging to a family of Persian origin. A talented woman, her wide human sympathies, diplomatic wisdom and public works won her a large circle of admirers, including some who were politically hostile to her. Jahāngīr's later years (1622–7) saw considerable poli-tical instability, owing mainly to the rebellion of his son Khurram (the future emperor Shāh Jahān). In the Deccan, the Abyssinian statesman Malik Ambar (d. 1626) was able to resurrect the Nizāmshāhi kingdom; and in the north-west, Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629) seized Kandahar in 1622.[15]

Shāh Jahān was able to mount the throne in 1628, just when he had been driven into exile in the Deccan after yet another futile rebellion against his father; and this made him compare himself to Timur, who had had similar turns of fortune. He also had dreams of recovering such parts of the original Timurid dominions as he could. In 1638 he gained Kandahar by the defection of its Persian governor ᶜAlī Mardān Khān; and in 1646 his armies crossed the Hindu Kush to occupy Balkh and Badakhshan. The aggressive policy was, however, not successful. Balkh and Badakhshan had to be abandoned in 1647, and Shāh ᶜAbbās II (1642–66) recovered Kandahar for Persia by an expedition in 1648–9. Three sieges (1649, 1652 and 1653) by large Mughal armies failed to dislodge the Persians from Kandahar. Shāh Jahān was more successful in the Deccan: in 1636 he destroyed the Nizāmshāhi kingdom; and through two wars, in 1655 and 1656–7, large areas were seized from the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkunda.

For many people, Shāh Jahān's greatest claim to fame rests perhaps on his magnificent buildings: the Taj Mahal, the mausoleum at Agra built for his wife Mumtāz Mahal (d. 1631), is a monument known throughout the world (see Chapter 18, Part Two).

Shāh Jahān had the misfortune of being deposed in 1658 by his son Aurangzeb, who defeated Shāh Jahān's own chosen successor, his eldest son, Dārā Shukoh. Shāh Jahān's remaining years (1658–66) were spent as a prisoner in the Agra fort.[16] Aurangzeb ᶜālamgīr, who formally crowned himself emperor in 1659, was undoubtedly the most militarily active among Akbar's successors. His major concerns, though, lay not in Central Asia, but in the Deccan, where he faced a most skilful opponent in the Marāthā leader ShivĀjī (d. 1680). Aurangzeb himself spent his last 26 years (1681–1707) supervising the annexation of Bijapur (1686) and Golkunda (1687) and capturing and executing Shivājī's successor Shambhujī (1689). The Marāthās, however, recovered and gained increasingly in strength,

[14] Jahāngīr, 1863–4.

[15] For the standard biography of Jahāngīr, see Prasad, 1962.

[16] Lāhorī, 1866–72, furnishes the detailed official history of Shāh Jahān's reign (the first 20years). Its continuation by Muhammad Wārīs, covering the third decade, has not yet been published. See Saxena, 1958, for a modern biography.

so that by the time of Aurangzeb's death in 1707, large areas in the Deccan had come under their control.

Industrious and stern, Aurangzeb maintained a semblance of administration throughout the empire to the last. Unlike his predecessors he introduced an element of religious discrimination, culminating in the imposition of the *jizya* (poll-tax on non- Muslims) in 1679. Otherwise, however, he largely maintained the religiously heterogeneous nature of the Mughal nobility.[17]

The imperial structure

The centralized administration, organized on systematic lines, was a notable feature of the Mughal empire in its classical period (1556–1707). This was very largely the creation of Akbar. At the centre, the emperor appointed ministers such as the *wakīl* (deputy), whose office after Bayrām Khān's dismissal in 1560 became largely titular and was often unoccupied. The *dīwān-i a*[c]*lā* (head of the revenue and finance department) came to be the most important minister. He controlled the revenues derived from the emperor's personal domain (*khālisa*, lands whose revenue was directly collected for the monarch's own treasury), determined the assessment figures (*jama*[c]) on whose basis the *jāgīr*s were assigned, and was in charge of the payment of all expenditure, including cash salaries. He issued instructions to his subordinates, called *dīwān*s, in the provinces (*sūba*s). The *mīr-bakhshī* was in charge of the granting of *mansab*s, the upkeep of the army and the intelligence service. He had his own subordinates (*bakhshī*s) in the *sūba*s. The *sadru'l sudūr* (head of the *sadr*s, or 'eminences') controlled charity grants and the appointment of *qāzī*s (judges).[18]

In 1580, as already mentioned, Akbar divided the empire into *sūba*s, each having a governor (*sipahsālār*, *sāhib-i sūba*, *nāzim*) appointed by the emperor. The governor's powers were greatly restricted by those of other officers, the *dīwān*, the *bakhshī* and the *sadr*, who were directly subordinate to the respective ministers at the centre.

Each *sūba* was divided into *sarkār*s (districts), delimited largely for territorial identification. *Faujdār*s (commandants) maintained law and order over areas which did not necessarily coincide with *sarkār*s. Each *sarkār* was divided into *pargana*s (sub-districts), each having a *qāzī* and two semi-hereditary officers called *qānūngo* and *chaudhurī*, who were respectively concerned with land-tax assessment and its collection.[19]

[17] For Aurangzeb, the standard biography is Sarkar, 1912–24. See Athar Ali, 1997, for a different interpretation from that of Sarkar.
[18] Ibn Hasan, 1970, is still the major standard work on the Mughal central administration.
[19] Cf. Saran, 1973.

All higher offices (which until the eighteenth century never became hereditary and had, in practice, only short incumbencies) were filled by persons who belonged to the *mansab* cadre. Each of them held a *mansab* indicated by two numbers – for example, 5,000 *zāt*s, 3,000 *sawār*s (now conventionally represented in writings of modern historians as 5,000/3,000). The lowest *mansab* was 10/10. The first rank broadly indicated status and personal pay; the second determined the size of military contingent to be maintained by the rank-holder, and the pay due on it. Thus every *mansab*-holder was supposed to be a military officer as well; the higher *mansab*-holders were called *amīr*s, or commanders. Apart from maintaining his contingent, the *mansab*-holder could be appointed to any office or post, for which he received no additional salary. The *mansab* was granted by the emperor alone, and a man rose in service as he received *mansab* enhancements. Imperial disapproval was usually shown by reductions in *mansab*s, while enhancements in *mansab*s indicated promotions and favour.[20]

The holders of *mansab*s, or *mansabdār*s, received their pay either in cash (*naqd*) or in the form of *jāgīr*s from which they were entitled to collect the land revenue and all other taxes imposed or sanctioned by the emperor. Land reserved for the income of the crown was called *khālisa sharīfa*; and such areas as were due to be assigned, but for the time being were managed by imperial officers, were known as *pāybāqī*.

Since a *jāgīr* was given in lieu of a cash salary, it was essential that it should yield as much as the salary to which the holder was entitled. *Jama*^{c} was the term given to figures officially determined as representing the net revenue expected from each unit of territory (village, *pargana*, etc.). The *jāgīr*s were by their very nature transferable. That no person should have the same *jāgīr* for a long period was an established principle of the Mughal empire. In practice the transfers were continuously made because a *mansabdār*, when sent to serve in a *sūba*, had to be assigned a *jāgīr* there; similarly, those recalled from a *sūba* would require *jāgīr*s elsewhere. Thus each such transfer, owing to the adjustment with the *jama*^{c}, necessitated other transfers. Under this system, nobles could never call any part of the empire their own and they all remained dependent on the will of the emperor.

Regarding the fiscal rights of the *jāgīrdār*s (holders of *jāgīr*s), the assignment orders described in set terms the rights that the emperor granted to *jāgīrdār*s. They were entitled to collect the authorized revenue (*māl-i wājib*) and all claims of the state (*huqūq-i dīwānī*) within the assigned territory. No right other than that of collecting the land revenue and authorized taxes was delegated to the *jāgīrdār*, and he was expected to exercise this right, too, in conformity with imperial regulations. Simple statements requiring the *jāgīrdār* not to take more than half the produce occur in the revenue records and other literature of

[20] On the *mansab* system, see Athar Ali, 1997.

Aurangzeb's reign. The *jāgīrdār* had to employ his own agents to collect the revenue and taxes within his *jāgīr*s. A practice that particularly appealed to the smaller *jāgīdār*s was that of *ijāra* (revenue-farming). It became very common during the reign of Shāh Jahān and was held to be one of the causes for the ruin of the peasantry.[21]

The French traveller François Bernier (who was in India from 1658 to 1667) presented a closely reasoned analysis of the causes of the weakness of the Mughal empire, arguing that the system of the transfer of *jāgīr*s led inevitably to oppression and the devastation of the country.[22] However, the *jāgīr* system in its standard form worked with tolerable efficiency down to the middle of Aurangzeb's reign. Towards the close of his reign, because of the increasing strain of the Deccan wars on the empire's resources and thed dislocation of the administration owing to the emperor's absence from northern India, the complicated machinery under which *jāgīr*s were assigned was subjected to great strain. The crisis which shook the *jāgīr* system appeared in the garb of what contemporaries called *bī-jāgīrī* (absence of [available] *jāgīr*s): it occurred because more commanders and officers had to be accommodated on the imperial payroll than could be found *jāgīr*s. Ultimately, in the reign of Farrukh Siyār (1713–19), many *jāgīr* assignments by the court were merely made on paper, so that a large number of persons who were granted *mansab*s never obtained *jāgīr*s. Once this happened, the essential framework under which the empire had so far functioned utterly broke down.[23]

The Mughal nobility was theoretically the creation of the emperor. It was he alone who could confer, increase, diminish or resume a *mansab*. In recruitment to the ranks of the nobility, the main factor taken into account was family status. The *khānazād*s, or sons and descendants of *mansabdār*s, had the best claim of all. But a son did not normally succeed to the full *mansab* of his father. As a result, a large number of recruits always consisted of persons who did not belong to families of those already holding a *mansab*. Such persons came from a variety of classes from practically all regions within the empire. A number of them were *zamīndār*s (local hereditary chiefs). Akbar gave great importance to this class by granting *mansab*s to many of the chiefs, especially Rajput rulers. The chiefs were allowed to retain their ancestral domains, which were treated as their *watan-jāgīr*s (permanent assignments held in *jāgīr*), but as government officers, ordinary *jāgīr*s were also assigned to them in all parts of the empire.

There were nobles and high officers of other states, notably Persia and the Uzbek khanates, who were given a place in the Mughal nobility. The Persian diaspora assumed

21 For a detailed description of the functioning of the *jāgīr* system, see Habib, 1999, pp. 298– 341.
22 Bernier, 1916, p. 227.
23 Chandra, 1959.

greater importance for the Mughal empire in the seventeenth century than the Turkic (Turanian). Similarly, in the Deccan, military requirements dictated that the large number of nobles and officers of the independent states, both in times of peace and war, be won over to the Mughal side. Almost all the Deccani (Southern) *mansabdār*s, including Marāthās and Abyssinians, belonged to this category. A small portion of the Mughal nobility was recruited from professional classes of office clerks and accountants. Such were the members of the Hindu castes of Khatris, Kāyasthas and Nāgar Brahmans. Finally, *mansab*s were also awarded to scholars, religious divines, men of letters, etc. Both Abū'l Fazl in the time of Akbar, and Sa^cdullāh Khān and Dānishmand Khān during the reign of Shāh Jahān, owed their high rank to their scholarly accomplishments.

The social and economic framework

Beneath the imperial structure existed a more stable class, that of the *zamīndār*s. It is noteworthy that the general revenue regulations issued in the period from Akbar to Aurangzeb excluded the *zamīndār*s from the framework of the standard revenue machinery, the peasants being expected to pay revenue directly to the treasury. Yet there is considerable evidence that the *zamīndār*s paid the revenue on behalf of whole villages. A possible explanation seems to be that every locality had some lands under *zamīndār*s, who from the point of view of the revenue authorities were often seen as simple revenue-payers, or *asāmī*s.

Summary assessments of land revenue and collection through *zamīndār*s must have considerably simplified the task of the *jāgīrdār*s and their agents. Yet it was also from the *zamīndār*s that the *jāgīrdār*s met the greatest opposition. A high assessment would deprive the *zamīndār*s of their income and, in that case, they might use their armed retainers, backed in some cases by the peasants, to defy the *jāgīrdār*s. For such defiance, the *zamīndār* might forfeit his *zamīndārī* rights. But *zamīndār*s could not legally be dispossessed or appointed by anyone except the emperor.

Aurangzeb's reign saw a great increase in the pressure of the Mughal administration upon the *zamīndār*s as a class. According to Manucci, 'usually the viceroys and governors [of the Mughal empire] are in a constant state of quarrel with the Hindu princes and *zamīndār*s – with some because they wish to seize their lands; with others to force them to pay more revenue than is customary'. There was usually'some rebellion of *Rāja*s and *zamīndār*s going on in the Mughal kingdom'.[24]

The peasants were largely included in the terms *ra^cīyat*, pl. *ri^cāyā* (whence the Anglo-Indian 'ryot'). That they were a greatly differentiated class is suggested by the distinction

[24] Manucci, 1907–8, Vol. 2, pp. 431–2, 462.

made between *muqaddam*s (headmen), *kalāntar*s (great men), etc., on the one hand, and the *reza ri^{c}āyā* (small peasants) on the other. A *farmān* (order) of Aurangzeb established a separate category for peasants who were so indigent as to depend wholly on credit for their seed, cattle and subsistence. Whether the peasants had ownership rights on the land may be doubted; but since land was not scarce, the authorities were more interested in keeping the peasants tied to the land they had been cultivating than in stressing their own claim to evict them at will.

The village was the unit around which peasant society revolved. It was also the real unit of assessment of the state's revenue demand, which was distributed among villagers by the headman (*muqaddam* or *kalāntar*) and the village accountant (*patwārī*). It thus had a financial pool, from which not only tax payments but also minor common expenses (*kharch-i dih*) were met. This seems to have formed the basic factor behind the celebrated, but often elusive, Indian village community.[25]

Commerce seems to have penetrated the village economy to a great extent, since peasants needed to sell their crops in order to pay their taxes. There was little left them with which to buy any goods on the market. Even so, commerce must have intensified the already existing differences due to the unequal possession of agricultural and pastoral goods (seed, ploughs and cattle). The peasants were usually divided among castes. Even the administration recognized caste hierarchy by varying the revenue rates according to caste, as documents from Rajasthan especially show.

By and large, artisans were in the same position as peasants: they were technically'free', but hemmed around by many constraints. Though some artisans were bound to render customary services as village servants, most could sell their wares in the market. The need for advances, however, often forced them to deal only with particular merchants, brokers or other middlemen. A small number worked in the workshops (*kārkhāna*s) of nobles and merchants.

Merchants formed a numerous and fairly well-protected class in the Mughal empire. This class was also quite heterogeneous in composition. There were, on the one hand, the large bands of the *banjāra*s (transporters of goods in bulk), who travelled with pack oxen over enormous distances; on the other, there were specialist bankers (*sarrāf*s), brokers (*dallāl*s) and insurers (the business of *bīma*, or insurance, being usually carried on by *sarrāf*s). Some of them, at the ports, also owned and operated ships.

The theory has been put forward by Steensgaard (following Van Leur) that the merchants engaged in Asian and Indian commerce (seaborne as well as inland) were essentially 'pedlars', so that the intrusion of the Dutch and English East India Companies introduced

[25] Habib, 1999, pp. 123–68.

radically superior commercial techniques for controlled responses to price variations in different markets. There is, however, little justification for this thesis.[26] There were undoubtedly 'small men' in Indian commerce, men like the jewel merchant Banārsīdās of Agra (*fl.* 1605), who has left his memoirs. But then there were also large merchants (*sāh*s), who had numerous agents (*bāpāri*s, *banjāra*s) at different places. One of these large merchants, Virji Vora of Surat (*fl.* 1650), often financed the English East India Company. He had agents not only in all the important towns in India, but also in several ports abroad. A fairly efficient system of bills of exchange (*hundī*s) and insurance (*bīma*) were important aids to the smooth functioning of commerce.[27] This was aided by the uniform currency in gold, silver and copper that the Mughals provided throughout their dominions.[28]

There is an interesting ongoing debate as to whether the Mughal empire had a middle class and so possessed the potential to develop into a capitalist economy. It has been argued that such was the case.[29] Leonard has even tried to apply the 'Great Firm' theory to explain the decline of the Mughal empire.[30] Essentially, proponents of the theory point to the development of commerce, banking and the existence of large professional classes. Opponents of the thesis include Irfan Habib, who has argued that the Mughal urban economy and commerce rested heavily on the system of land-tax extraction and was incapable of independent development into capitalism.[31]

High culture

The Mughal court was the nucleus of a splendid flowering of art and culture, based on a blending of Indian and Perso-Islamic traditions. The most visible evidence of this high culture survives in the great buildings left behind by the Mughals. Akbar built Fatehpur Sikri beside the forts of Agra, Lahore, Allahabad, Srinagar and Attock. Shāh Jahān not only created the Taj Mahal, 'a dream in marble', but also built the Red Fort at Delhi and laid out the city of Shahjahanabad adjacent to it.[32] Under the Mughal emperors' patronage, a distinct school of painting took shape. Descended from the Persian school, it freely accepted both Indian and European influences. It produced such masters of miniature painting as Abū'l

[26] See Steensgaard, 1974. Cf. Habib, 1990, for a criticism of the theory.
[27] For economic conditions in the Mughal empire, see Raychaudhuri and Habib, 1982; Moosvi, 1987.
[28] Cf. Hodivala, 1923.
[29] See Smith, 1944; Khan, 1975.
[30] Leonard, 1979.
[31] Habib, 1995, pp. 180–220.
[32] A recent (though not uniformly reliable) work on Mughal architecture is Asher, 1992.

Hasan (who flourished under Akbar), Mansūr (under Jahāngīr) and Bichitr (under Shāh Jahān).[33]

Persian was the language of the Mughal court and administration, and Akbar's court brought together a notable assemblage of Persian writers. The poets cUrfī Shīrāzīand Fayzīhave permanent niches in the history of Persian literature. Abū'l Fazl (d. 1602) was not only a master of Persian prose of the very ornate kind, but also a reflective writer; he compiled two distinctive works in Persian, a detailed history of Akbar's reign (*Akbar-nāma*) and a largely statistical description of Akbar's empire and its administrative structure (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*) (*c.* 1595). The Mughals did much to spread the use of Persian; ultimately, in the eighteenth century, a literary language based on a blending of Hindi and Persian appeared in the form of Urdu, whose very name proclaimed its association with the court (*urdū* means 'camp').

Akbar also patronized a truly liberal school of thought. Unfortunately, this new rational attitude did not extend to an inquiry into European scientific and technological discoveries: yet there were valuable achievements even after Akbar's time. Sādiq Isfahān compiled a singular atlas of the Old World in 33 sheets (at Jaunpur in 1647), for example. But the most notable achievement was the work on astronomy by Sawāi Jai Singh (d. 1744), based on records of observations established by him at Delhi, Jaipur, Mathura, Varanasi and Ujjain; yet despite the use of some of de La Hire's astronomical tables, Singh's universe remained strictly Ptolemaic.

State and religion

Called upon to govern a multireligious country, Akbar invoked pantheistic principles to justify a semi-divine monarchy, one that was not associated with any particular religion. Much has been written about the evolution of Akbar's religious ideas. It was probably in the realm of the relations between political sovereignty and theological law that the vital contradiction germinated in 1579. There is also no doubt that Safavid Persia exercised a considerable influence on the thought and manners at Akbar's court. Since the Safavid shah was also a religious figure, and superior to all religious divines in the country, it was not unnatural that Akbar should aspire to such a status within a Sunni framework. It was obviously with this in view that at the cIbādat Khāna (Prayer House, where later on people of all religions assembled to discuss theological problems) consultations with theologians had been initially undertaken in 1570. Akbar hoped to implement what the theologians told him, and in return secure from them a recognition of his own supreme position. In

[33] See Brown, 1924; Verma, 1994, pp. 47–55.

1579 they were at last persuaded to sign a statement of testimony (*mahzar*) recognizing that Akbar possessed a particular religious and juridical status as a 'just sovereign'. The authority assigned him was, however, soon found to be of marginal import – yet it was a novelty whose implications were considered dangerous enough to arouse the hostility of traditionalist Muslims. It therefore marked the end of Akbar's dialogue with orthodox Islam.

Akbar had already begun looking towards other religions, first out of curiosity and then, perhaps, out of an increasing desire to put his own position beyond the narrow framework of traditional Islam. A serious rebellion in 1580–1 set the seal on his alienation from Islamic orthodoxy, and a phase now opened in which Akbar defined his own views more and more sharply.

Akbar wished to assert his strong belief in God in all circumstances, but his concept of the way God should be worshipped was independent of both Islam and Hinduism. He believed, as do the Sufis, that God is to be grasped and worshipped according to the limitations of each person's individual knowledge. God is formless (*be-sūrat*); and to worship such a being, physical action in prayer (*sūrī-paristish*) is suitable only for the unawakened. Akbar therefore deprecated both the image-worship of the Hindus and the prayer rituals of the Muslims. In time, his ideas came to be heavily influenced by the pantheism of Ibn ᶜArabī: God creates visible differences whereas Reality is always the same. Akbar saw a close relationship between the Divine Sovereign and the temporal sovereign. Just to see a sovereign (*farmāndeh*) was indeed a form of worship of God; and for the sovereigns themselves, in return, the dispensing of justice and administering the world was the real mode of worship.

One may pass over the principal injunctions and petty rituals that Akbar instituted for his 'disciples'. Akbar insisted that his religious ideas had to be reflected in his own practice. While the real doctrine of pantheism was to be prudently conveyed to a select group of disciples, the principle of *sulh-i kul* (Absolute Peace) that flowed from it was held to be of general import for imperial policy as well as ordinary conduct in all spheres.

A noteworthy element of Akbar's policy was not only a general tolerance of men of all faiths, but also his tolerance of Shiᶜites and his prohibition of Sunni-Shiᶜite conflict. Jahāngīr could say with justifiable pride that while elsewhere Shiᶜites persecuted Sunnis and vice versa, in his father's empire'Sunnis and Shiᶜites prayed in one mosque.'

In a way, then, Akbar made the Mughal empire a neutral force as regards the controversies within Islam as well as the relations between Islam and other faiths. But there is also the complaint in orthodox texts that Islam as a whole suffered during Akbar's last years.[34]

[34] See Athar Ali, 1982, pp. 14–39.

When Jahāngīr succeeded Akbar in 1605, he continued the policy of tolerance pursued by his father and maintained a distance from orthodoxy. He was an admirer of the Vaishnavite divine Chitrarup (d. 1637–8) and put the anti-Shi^c^ite cleric Shaykh Ahmad Sirhīndī (d. 1624) in prison.

Textbooks often present Shāh Jahān as an orthodox Muslim ruler, and indeed he did take some pride in calling himself a king of Islam. But he basically continued the tolerant policy of his two predecessors. In 1637, for example, out of a total of 194 known holders of high *mansab*s, 35 were Rajputs. Shāh Jahān also patronized Hindi poetry, the poet Sundar Kavi Rāi being one of his favourite courtiers. But beyond this, it was in his reign that there again emerged a movement to bridge the gap between Hinduism and Islam and evolve a common language for both religions. This was associated with his son Dārā Shukoh.

Dārā Shukoh (d. 1659), the eldest son of Shāh Jahān and heir apparent, had taken a great interest in religious matters from an early age and he was an admirer of the famous Qadri mystic, Miyān Mīr of Lahore. Dārā Shukoh's interest extended from Muslim mysticism to Hindu Vedantic philosophy. His studies led him to the conclusion that the difference between Islam and Hinduism was merely verbal (*lafzī*), and to prove this he wrote a tract called the *Majmū^c al-bahrayn* [Meeting of Two Oceans]. In this he gave an exposition of the Hindu view of Truth and the Universe, giving Sanskrit terms and explanations of their meanings.[35] From this small tract, Dārā Shukoh went on to attempt a more ambitious enterprise: a translation into Persian of speculative philosophy, the ancient texts of the *Upanishads*. This was completed in 1657 under the title *Sirr-i Akbar* [The Great Secret]. Much of the modern interest in the *Upanishads* in a sense goes back to Dārā Shukoh because it was his Persian translation of these philosophical texts that first introduced them to the outside world.

Shāh Jahān's successor Aurangzeb adopted a more orthodox religious policy than his predecessors, perhaps as a means of gaining firmer Muslim support. He doubled customs duties on non- Muslims in 1665, sanctioned the destruction of temples in 1669 and imposed the *jizya* in 1679. These measures were not applied universally, however. Many great ancient temples as well as numerous minor ones were allowed to stand, and the Rajputs and Hindu officers were exempted from the *jizya*. The Rajput and Marāthā component in the nobility was not substantially affected by the new policy. The Rajput revolt of 1679–81 involved only the Marwar and Mewar principalities, and the ruler of the latter reaffirmed his allegiance to the Mughal emperor in 1681. On the whole, while one might deplore the long-term effects of Aurangzeb's religious policy, especially the way its echoes poison and embitter modern minds, the short-term effects were probably not as significant.

[35] Dārā Shukoh, 1929; see also Hasrat, 1982, pp. 12–14.

Aurangzeb was greatly interested in Muslim jurisprudence and patronized the compilation of the *Fatāwā-i ᶜālamgīrī* in Arabic, this being the largest compendium of Muslim jurisprudence (based on the Hanafite school but also drawing on other schools) prepared in India. He was not greatly inclined to mysticism though he was not unfriendly to the Naqshbandi order of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhīndī. His attitude towards Shiᶜism was one of aloofness, but he did not allow this to influence his policy towards the influential Persian nobles who were mostly of that persuasion.

Decline of the empire (1707–1857)

Aurangzeb's death in 1707 plunged the empire into a gruelling war of succession among his sons. The short reign of the victor, Bahādur Shāh I (1707–12), was followed by yet another bitter conflict in which, upon Farrukh Siyār's (1713–19) success, notable supporters of a defeated claimant were for the first time executed *en masse*. Muhammad Shāh's long reign (1719–48) saw a steady decline of Mughal power as the Marāthās extended their power over central India and Gujarat. Provincial governors, like those of Bengal and the Deccan, tended to become autonomous. Finally, in 1739–40 Nādir Shāh's invasion and sack of Delhi proved a devastating blow from which the empire never recovered. The Kabul*sūba* and southern Sind were seized by Nādir Shāh; and henceforth the Mughal emperor was virtually powerless to impose his authority on any part of the empire nominally owing allegiance to him.[36] The Mughal dynasty formally continued in existence (after 1803, under British tutelage) until 1857, when the British deposed the last emperor Bahādur Shāh II – an exceptionally fine Urdu poet – and sent him as a prisoner to Rangoon.

There have been numerous attempts to explain the fall of the Mughal empire. For historians like Irvine and Sarkar, the decline could be explained in terms of a personal deterioration in the quality of the kings and their nobles, who are thought to have become more luxury-loving than their seventeenthcentury predecessors. Sarkar, in his monumental *History of Aurangzeb*, also dwells on Hindu–Muslim differences: Aurangzeb's religious policy is thought to have provoked a Hindu reaction that undid the unity that had been so laboriously built up by his predecessors.[37]

More recently, there has been an attempt at a more fundamental examination. Chandra seeks to find the critical factor in the Mughals' failure to maintain the *mansab* and *jāgīr* system, whose efficient working was essential for the survival of the empire as a centralized polity.[38] Habib, on the other hand, has explained the fall of the Mughal empire as a

[36] Irvine, 1995, and Sarkar, 1988, 1991–2, offer the best surveys of this period.
[37] Sarkar, 1912–24, Vol. 3, pp. 283–364.
[38] Chandra, 1959, pp. xiii–xiv.

consequence of the working of this very system: the *jāgīr* transfers led to intensified exploitation, and such exploitation led to rebellions by *zamīndār*s and the peasantry.[39] All these factors are sometimes supposed to be compounded by yet another – the rise of'nationalities' (such as Afghans and Marāthās), which subverted and shattered the unified empire. This thesis, developed by Soviet scholars like Reisner and maintained by a school of popular Indian Marxist writers, has received corroboration from scholars who have found new regional power groups emerging in the states that arose during the eighteenth century.[40]

In following the scholarly discussion over the break-up of the Mughal empire, one is often struck by the fact that the discussion should have been conducted in such insular terms. The first part of the eighteenth century did not only see the collapse of the Mughal empire – the Safavid empire also collapsed; the Uzbek khanate broke up; and the Ottoman empire began its slow, but inexorable decline. Are all these phenomena mere coincidence? It would be somewhat implausible to assert that the same fate overcame all the large empires of the Indian and Islamic worlds at precisely the same time, but owing to quite different (and miscellaneous) factors operating in each case. One can, perhaps, plausibly argue that the decline of the Mughal empire derived essentially from a cultural failure, a failure shared with the entire Islamic world: the failure to learn from Europe and to make advances in the fields of science and technology. It was perhaps this same failure that had tilted the economic balance in favour of Europe well before European armies reduced India and other parts of Asia to Europe's colonial possessions, protectorates and spheres of influence.[41]

Kashmir, Punjab and Sind under the Mughals and their successors[42]

KASHMIR

Once Kashmir had finally been annexed to the Mughal empire in 1586–8, it became a highly prized possession on which the Mughal emperors lavished much care. Akbar himself visited it three times (in 1588, 1592 and 1597) and Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān kept up the tradition of regular visits. Akbar had the land-revenue system reformed to reduce the revenue burden to half the produce; he also forbade the land tax being levied in money

[39] Habib, 1999, pp. 364–405.
[40] See Bayly, 1983, pp. 164 et seq.
[41] Cf. Athar Ali, 1975, pp. 385–96.
[42] For the political and economic geography of these regions in the Mughal empire, see the maps and text in Habib, 1982.

instead of in kind as hitherto. When he built the Nagar fort at Srinagar in 1599, he had an inscription placed on the gate[43] proclaiming that he had not used any forced labour (*begār*) and everyone working on it had received wages from the treasury.[44] Akbar also abolished the obligation imposed on the peasants to pick out saffron seeds from saffron and to bring wood from distant places for official purposes. Such practices persisted, however, and in 1633 Shāh Jahān issued a strongly worded proclamation giving details of these and other practices and forbidding them altogether. For good measure, the proclamation was prominently inscribed on the gateway of the principal mosque in Srinagar.[45] The Mughal emperors also built canals, laid out gardens,[46] and constructed caravanserais on the high road leading from Punjab to Kashmir.

Yet Mughal rule in Kashmir was not a simple story of a benevolent government anxious to lighten the burden on the people. In 1597 Xavier reported widespread complaints about the oppression of Akbar's officials, who 'bleed the people by their extortions'.[47] The people's complaints might, it is true, have been louder than usual just then because a famine raged there at the time; Kashmir was visited by another famine in 1640.

Under Mughal rule, Kashmir was certainly'opened up' for the admiration of the world. The classic account in Abū'l Fazl's *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* was followed by those of a succession of writers and poets. Jahāngīr, who described Kashmir so enthusiastically in his memoirs, directed his artists to paint its flowers. The famous French traveller François Bernier, who accompanied Aurangzeb's entourage to Kashmir in 1663, left a memorable account of it.[48]

Aurangzeb's 1663 visit to Kashmir was the last by a reigning Mughal emperor. Kashmir inevitably suffered from the increasing laxity of imperial control after Aurangzeb's death in 1707. Under Muhammad Shāh, Kashmir was entrusted to Amīr Khān (1728–36), who governed entirely *in absentia*, leaving everything to deputies. Safdar Jang (the famous Awadh nawab), who was given charge of it in 1745, did the same. Finally, in 1752, the last Mughal governor (or sub-governor) Abū'l Qāsim Khān was defeated and taken prisoner by ᶜAbdullāh Khān, the commander of a force sent by the Afghan ruler, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.

The Afghan regime in Kashmir was inaugurated by a spate of depradations. An Indian governor, Sukh Jīwān (1754–60), sought to establish an autonomous government when he failed to meet the excessive demands from the Afghan court, but he was ultimately deposed and executed. Another governor, Amīr Khān (1770–6), built the Amirakadal bridge in

43 Habib, 1999, pp. 255, 257–8, 263–4, 277.
44 Inscription seen personally by the author.
45 The inscription is still preserved *in situ* in the mosque. For the text, see Pīr G. Hasan, 1954, Vol. 2, pp. 500–1.
46 Pīr G. Hasan, 1954, Vol. 1, pp. 292–7.
47 Quoted in Habib, 1999, p. 371*n*.
48 Bernier, 1916, pp. 358–428.

Srinagar but is accused of having ravaged many Mughal buildings for the purposes of his own constructions. In its later stages, the Afghan regime was affected by the recurring internecine struggles in Afghanistan; and finally in 1820 Kashmir was occupied by the troops of the Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh.

Ranjit Singh's regime was no less rigid than that of the Afghans: the slaughter of cows and the repair of mosques were both prohibited. However, 'Colonel' Mahān Singh (governor, 1834–41) established an effective administration, which made attempts to maintain low prices and encourage cultivation. Sikh rule ended after the first Punjab war, when the British victors sold Kashmir to the Dogra ruler of Jammu, Gulāb Singh, for a consideration of Rs. 7.5 million by the treaty of 1846. The Dogra principality of'Jammu and Kashmir' itself came under British'paramountcy', which lasted until India's independence in 1947.[49]

PUNJAB

Punjab, as we have seen, was the first territory in India to fall to Bābur, and Lahore was the imperial seat under Akbar from 1585 to 1598. Thereafter until 1712, it continued to be treated, along with Agra and Delhi, as one of the three capital cities of the empire. Under the arrangements for provinces (*sūba*s) made in 1580, the region was divided between two *sūba*s, Lahore and Multan. A large tract where Panjabi is spoken, comprising the *sarkār* (territorial division) of Sirhind, was part of the *sūba* of Delhi.

Lahore in around 1600 was considered to be a very large city, and its population has been estimated at over 250,000.[50] Multan too was a commercial centre of considerable importance, so much so that Hindu merchants in Iran and Transoxania were often called 'Multanis'. In 1696 a local historian expressed the opinion that Punjab benefited greatly from the security against foreign raids afforded by the Mughal possession of Kabul, so that there had been a large expansion of cultivation and growth of new towns.[51]

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the rise of Sikhism in Punjab (see Volume IV, Part Two, pp. 89–90). Relations between the Mughal administration and the Sikh *gurū*s began to sour after 1606 when Gurū Arjān, the fifth in line from the founder Nānak (1469–1539), was executed. The situation deteriorated still further when the *gurū*s acquired armed followers and began to create an area under their authority in the Himalayan sub-hills. After Gurū Tegh Bahādur's execution in 1675, his son Gobind Singh (d. 1708), the last *gurū*, carried on a dogged struggle in an area near Sirhind against the Mughals and the

[49] For a detailed though not always reliable history of Kashmir under the Mughals, Afghans and Sikhs, see Pīr G. Hasan, 1954, Vol. 2.
[50] Habib, 1999, p. 83.
[51] Sujan Rai, 1918, pp. 66–7. For Punjab in the seventeenth century generally, see Singh, 1991.

hill chiefs allied with them. After a truce with the Mughals he was murdered by an Afghan at Nander in the Deccan; but a major revolt broke out under his disciple Banda, first in the Sirhind area and then in Lahore province itself (1709–10 and 1713–16). In late 1715 Banda Bahādur and his followers were finally surrounded and captured by the governor of Lahore, ᶜAbdu'l Samad Khān, at Gurdaspur. They were taken to Delhi and killed in a series of public executions.[52]

Lahore province thereafter enjoyed a long period of peace under the governorship of ᶜAbdu'l Samad Khān (1713–26). He subsequently took charge of Multan (1726–37) while his son, Zakarīya Khān, succeeded him as governor of Lahore (1726–45). From 1737 onwards Zakarīya Khān governed Multan province as well. Even after Nādir Shāh's invasion in 1739–40, he still managed to hold on to these two provinces on condition of remitting an annual tribute of Rs. 2 million to the conqueror.

After Zakarīya Khān's death in 1745, Punjab fell prey to conflicts caused by factional feuds and was then subjected to repeated Afghan invasions. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's unsuccessful invasion of 1748 was followed by a raid the following year during which the governor, Mu'īnu'l Mulk (1748–53), was compelled to accept the same terms from Ahmad Shāh that Nādir Shāh had imposed on his predecessor. In 1752 Mu'īnu'l Mulk was further compelled to accept the transfer of both Lahore and Multan to Afghan suzerainty. After his invasion of 1756–7, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī left his son Tīmūr Shāh as governor at Lahore, but in 1758 Tīmūr Shāh was driven out by the Marāthās. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's great victory over the Marāthās at Panipat in 1761 removed all threat from the Marāthās, but there was now a revival of Sikh power which rapidly undermined the Afghans' possession of Punjab.

The Sikhs had developed a number of institutions enabling them to wage a dispersed and yet united war. Bands, known as*misal*s, operated independently under their chiefs, ravaging different areas. However, the concept of a single Khalsa (from Persian *khālisa*, the special domain [of the *gurū*]) was fortified by the practice of an annual meeting of the chiefs to decide on issues by consensus, the decisions being known as *gurmatā*. Ahmad Shāh's numerous expeditions into Punjab proved unavailing against such a foe, and by the time of his death in 1772 Lahore province had been irretrievably lost.

The Sikhs still needed to be forged into a single power, for their very successes now led to constant internecine struggles. Ultimately, out of these struggles, a man of exceptional ability emerged to enforce the writ of a single authority – this was Ranjit Singh. A sturdy opponent of the Afghan ruler Zamān Shāh during his invasion of 1798–9, Ranjit Singh established himself in 1799 in Lahore, from where he reigned until his death in 1839.

[52] Cf. Grewal and Habib, 2001, pp. 110–62, for Banda Bahādur's rebellion.

There were to be four major pillars on which he built: an appeal to the Sikh faith and soldierly tradition; the institutions of Mughal administration; the Hindu symbols and rituals of royalty; and the reorganization of his army on European lines. His territorial acquisitions gave him a fairly large realm: the successive annexations included Amritsar (1805), Multan (1818), Kashmir (1819), Dera Ghazi Khan (1831) and Peshawar (final occupation, 1834).

The negative aspects of Ranjit Singh's regime, especially his lack of any great vision and only limited concern for public welfare, together with the contradictions inherent in having a modernized army without modern education or social institutions, perhaps explain the succession of crises in which, after his death, the Sikh state was enveloped. Nonetheless, the heroic resistance offered to the British in the first and second Punjab wars (1845–6 and 1848–9) by the forces of the Khalsa (Sikh community) was a testimony to the military power that Ranjit Singh had created. But when the wars were over, the whole of Punjab lay prostrate before the might of the British empire.[53]

SIND

When Akbar subjugated the Tarkhān principality of Thatta in 1592, Sind (present official spelling'Sindh') was shared by two provinces: northern Sind (Bhakkar, adjacent to modern Sukkur, being its headquarters) belonged to Multan, while central and southern Sind, with Thatta as the capital, was made into a separate province. Akbar allowed the Tarkhān ruler Jānī Beg to retain his governorship of Thatta, though he was forced to remain at the imperial court until his death in 1600. Thereafter his son, Ghāzī Beg, took charge in conditions of de facto local autonomy. When Ghāzī Beg died in 1612, the province was taken away from the Tarkhān family and the standard provincial administration of the Mughal system was established there.

Akbar had been greatly interested in Sind because of the access it gave him to the Arabian Sea from his then capital at Lahore. He had harboured grandiose plans of building seagoing ships at Lahore to be launched from Lahari Bandar, the outer port of Thatta. Indeed two such ships were actually built.[54] Lahari Bandar remained an important port throughout the seventeenth century, while Thatta itself was a large centre of the textile industry and probably had a population of over 200,000 in 1635.[55] A major market crop cultivated for export was indigo, the Sehwan indigo being especially valued. But for

[53] See Grewal, 1990, for the most recent scholarly interpretation of Sikh history.
[54] Habib (ed.), 1997, pp. 144–6.
[55] Habib, 1999, pp. 83–4.

reasons not easy to establish, its cultivation seems to have declined over the first half of the seventeenth century.[56]

A remarkably detailed survey of the various localities in Sind and their administrative history was compiled in 1634 by Yūsuf Mīrak.[57] The author is highly critical of the oppressive nature of the Mughal administration in Sind, especially Sehwan. However, apart from skirmishes with the hill and desert tribesmen, Sind remained largely at peace during the period of Mughal rule.[58]

In 1740, after his sack of Delhi, Nādir Shāh marched into Sind to enforce the treaty by which the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shāh had ceded lower Sind to him. After Nādir Shāh's assassination in 1747, the Afghans, under Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, claimed a similar suzerainty over Sind, demanding a fixed annual tribute.

Just before Nādir Shāh's expedition, the appointment in 1737 of Nūr Muhammad-Khudāyār Khān as governor of Thatta as well as Sehwan and Bhakkar had signified the establishment of the Kalhora dynasty in Sind (and the unification of upper and lower Sind). Both Nādir Shāh and the Afghans remained content simply to recognize as governors such members of this family as succeeded in establishing their authority on the basis of their own strength.

Under the Kalhoras, a new shift in the urban settlements of Sind became permanent. The Kalhoras' initial seat at Shikarpur in northern Sind, away from the Indus but *en route* to the Bolan pass, became an important commercial centre, at the obvious cost of Bhakkar (and Sukkur). Similarly, Karachi, west of the Indus delta, unheard-of in the seventeenth century, replaced Lahari Bandar as Sind's major seaport. Finally, Nirun, which a mighty shift in the course of the Indus placed on its left instead of its right side, became the site of the new capital of Hyderabad, established by the Kalhora ruler Ghulām Shāh (1760–72); the old capital, Thatta, accordingly declined.

The Kalhora regime was overthrown by the Baluch clan of Talpurs under their *amīr* (*mīr*) ᶜAbdullāh (1780–1), an event which provoked a devastating Afghan invasion. Finally, in 1783 the Talpurs under Mīr Fateh ᶜAlī Khān (1783–1801) expelled the last Kalhora ruler ᶜAbdu'l Nabīand obtained a diploma of recognition from the Afghan ruler Timur Shāh. The Afghan king Shāh Shujāᶜ's invasion of 1803 was the last major attempt by the Afghan kings to force the emirs of Sind to pay them tribute (Rs. 1 million were paid to buy off Shāh Shujāᶜ). Sind itself was carved up among different branches of the Talpur family, but Hyderabad was held to be the principal seat.

56 Ibid., p. 48*n*.
57 Mīrak, 1962.
58 For a study of Sind during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Ansar Zahid Khan, 1980.

The start of British interest in Sind was marked by a treaty concluded in 1809 with the Sind emirs headed by Ghulām cAlī Khān (1802–11). This stipulated'eternal friendship' between the two governments and obliged the emirs to exclude'the tribe of the French' from Sind. Another treaty in 1820 widened the scope of those excluded from Sind to cover'any European or American'. The British imposed yet another treaty in 1832, this time on Murād cAlī Khān (1828–33), providing, with supreme irony, that neither of the contracting parties would'look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other'.

In 1838 it was 'discovered' by the British that though Shāh Shujāc had not been the ruler of Afghanistan for decades, the emirs of Sind still owed him large arrears of tribute that the British government had arrogated to itself the right to impose on Shāh Shujāc's behalf. In 1839, by the device of a separate treaty, Khairpur was detached from Sind. Sind itself was obliged to accept British troops and to pay for their expenses by the terms of the treaty of 5 February 1839, concluded with Nūr Muhammad Khān (1832–40). Finally, when Nūr Muhammad's successor Muhammad Nāsir Khān (1840–3) refused to accept yet another treaty, which would have ceded large chunks of Sind territory to the British, the British commander Charles Napier marched on Hyderabad and routed the emirs' troops at Miani in February 1843. The massacre and the subsequent plunder were both on a considerable scale. Napier himself took £70,000 as 'prize money', and he fittingly described the British action as 'a piece of humane [!] rascality'. Sind stood annexed to the British empire and, as we have seen, the turn of Kashmir and Punjab was soon to come.[59]

[59] For extensive translations of texts on the history of Sind down to the British annexation, see Fredunbeg, 1903, Vol. 2. For an account sympathetic to the emirs, see Eastwick, 1973.

13

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*

Iqtidar A. Khan and Irfan Habib

Contents

* See Map 1, pp. 921–2.

Part One

INTER-STATE RELATIONS (*c.* 1500–1850)

(*Iqtidar A. Khan*)

Eastern Central Asia

The disintegration of the Timurid principalities at the beginning of the sixteenth century created a political vacuum in Transoxania. Among the Turco-Mongol tribes from the north-east and north-west seeking to fill this vacuum, the most conspicuous were the Uzbeks, who traced their origin to the early Mongol settlers in the north-western steppes. Others competing with them were the Mongol and Kyrgyz tribes from East Turkistan. From about the first ten years of the sixteenth century, a three-cornered struggle for the control of Transoxania developed between the Mongol chiefs claiming descent from Chinggis Khan's son Chaghatay, the Uzbek tribes led by Shaybānī Khān (1500–10) and the Timurids defending their position as the dominant ruling power.

By 1505 this struggle had resulted in the total elimination of the Timurids from their strongholds north of the Amu Darya (Oxus) at the hands of the Uzbeks. Simultaneously, the ambition of the Chaghatayid khans to carve out a principality for themselves outside their home territories in East Turkistan was also finally frustrated by the growing power of the Uzbeks.[1] Shaybānī Khān, who established himself at Bukhara, uprooted the vestiges of Timurid power in the adjoining region of Khurasan as well. Although he was largely able to achieve this without much difficulty following the death of Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā of Herat in 1506, it brought him face to face with the newly established Safavid empire of Persia (see Chapter 10).[2]

Two other parts of Central Asia affected by the weakening of Timurid political authority were the territories of Kashghar and Moghulistan (modern Dzungaria), which together

[1] For a detailed account of this struggle from the Timurid viewpoint, see Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 146–99.

[2] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 257, 327. Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā died on 5 May 1506 at BābāIlāhi while leading an army against Shaybānī Khān. The conquest of Khurasan by the Uzbeks was completed after its capital Herat was occupied by Shaybānī Khān on 27 May 1507.

constituted East Turkistan. The territory of Kashghar extended from the confines of Ferghana in the west up to the Karakoram range in the south-east. It was demarcated from Badakhshan by the Pamir ranges. Located within this territory were important towns like Kashghar, Yangi Hisar, Yarkand (Yārqand) and Khotan, all well-known stations on the Silk Route. The territory of Moghulistan, on the other hand, was largely an unsettled tract to the north of the Tarim basin, limited by the Tian Shan mountain range on its south and a stretch of the Gobi desert on its north. The Mongol and Kyrgyz tribes of this tract frequently made inroads into the more settled neighbouring regions, Ferghana and Tashkent in the west, Kashghar in the south and the Turfan depression in the east. In the fifteenth century the Chaghatayid khans had their seats in Moghulistan from where they also controlled Kashghar.

With the decline of the Timurids, it was tempting for the Chaghatayid khans to take advantage of the internecine conflicts between the Timurid princes and the Uzbek military pressure on them. The Chaghatayid ruling family had been closely connected with the Timurids both by family ties and by political alliances since the time of Timur in the fifteenth century. As political uncertainty grew in Transoxania, the Chaghatayid khans time and again moved with their Moghul (Muslim Mongol) tribal retinues into Timurid Central Asia with the idea of carving out a principality in the sedentary tracts. They could only hope to achieve this by sidelining the Timurid princes whom they pretended to help, as well as by beating off the Uzbeks who aspired to remove all rivals from Transoxania.[3]

But the long absences from East Turkistan of the khans and their retinues tended to weaken their authority in Moghulistan. It was this that enabled Mīrzā Abū Bakr, a Mongol adventurer distantly related to the ruling Chaghatayid family, to take power in Kashghar in 1481.[4] He ruled firmly over Kashghar from his seat at Yarkand down to 1516.[5] This considerably undermined the authority of the Chaghatayids in Moghulistan, which in turn appears to have contributed to the collapse of the Mongol presence in Transoxania proper, culminating in the execution of Sultan Mahmūd, the reigning khan, by Shaybānī Khān in 1508.[6]

[3] See, for example, Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt's account of Yūnus Khan's entering the Timurid realm in 1472–3 and routing a large Uzbek army led by Abū'l Khayr. Eventually, he was forced to vacate Tashkent and other places in northern Transoxania, taking a vow not to aspire to settle in the more civilized territory of Transoxania (Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 94–5).

[4] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 106.

[5] Ibid., pp. 251–9, 311–25.

[6] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 120.

Subsequently, the remnants of the Chaghatay *ulūs* in Moghulistan headed by Sultān Mansūr Khan, a grandson of Yūnus Khan, moved to Turfan on the Chinese frontier.[7] There, in alliance with the Uighur ruler of Hami, Sultān Mansūr became involved in 1513 in a conflict with the Ming imperial government that continued for some 12 years. It ended in 1524 with an agreement recognizing the Uighurs of Hami as the allies and formal subjects of the Chaghatayid khanate; but with both of them being obliged to pay tribute to the Ming emperor.[8] This agreement stabilized the situation on the Chinese frontier with East Turkistan for the next 125 years. At the same time it created a legal basis for Chinese intervention in the affairs of East Turkistan in the eighteenth century. The forward policy of the Qing emperor Qianlong (1735– 96) with regard to East Turkistan, culminating in the annexation of Dzungaria and Kashghar in 1755–8,[9] was partly rooted in the claims of Chinese paramountcy arising from the terms of this treaty.

The consolidation of Mīrzā Abū Bakr's position as the ruler of Kashghar enabled him not only to make plundering raids into the Chaghatayid realm across the Tarim basin and south-westwards into Badakhshan but also to send military expeditions towards Ladakh. Raids into the Ladakh region were obviously aimed at gaining a commanding position in relation to the Kashmir valley and controlling the trade that came to Yarkand from India via Kashmir and Ladakh. From the account of Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt (1499–1551), a cousin of Bābur, it would seem that during Mīrzā Abū Bakr's time there were, indeed, several attempts to overrun Ladakh. The new Chaghatayid khan, Sa^{c}īd Khan (Abū Sa^{c}īd), who established his authority in Kashghar after defeating Mīrzā Abū Bakr in 1515, continued to send expeditions into Ladakh, one of which was led by a certain Mīr Mazed within two years of Sa^{c}īd Khan's occupation of Kashghar.

The invasion of Ladakh and Kashmir in 1532 by Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt should be seen as the continuation of a general drive southward since the late fifteenth century. Sa^{c}īd Khan personally marched up to Leh and the Mongol chiefs accompanying Haydar Dughlāt were encouraged to marry women from the families of Kashmiri notables. This suggests that the invasion was by no means a purely marauding raid: it was, apparently, designed to clear the route linking Kashmir with Yarkand and create a social base for Chaghatayid rule in the valley, where the majority of the population were Sunni Muslims. Sa^{c}īd Khan's death during the march back from Ladakh to Yarkand in 1533 and subsequent disturbances in Kashghar, however, did not allow sufficient time for this scheme to come to fruition.[10]

[7] Ibid., p. 125.
[8] Needham, 1986, Vol. 5, Part 7, p. 440.
[9] Fairbank (ed.), 1978–91, Vol. 10, pp. 33, 58. See also Ch. 7 in the present volume.
[10] Cf. Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 417, 420–1, 423–4, 434–7, 441, 443–6.

Subsequently, the rise of the short-lived Sūr empire (1540–55) and the rejuvenated Mughal empire under Akbar (1556–1605) in India, controlling Punjab as well as the whole of the Gangetic plain, created a new situation where the pull on Kashmir from the south became stronger than from the north. This resulted in Kashmir being annexed to Akbar's empire in 1588 (see also Chapter 11).[11]

Timurid principalities in parts of modern Afghanistan, centred at Qalᶜa-i Zafar, Kabul and Kandahar (Qandahār), barely survived the occupation of Herat by Shaybānī Khān in 1507. From this time onwards, the struggle between the Uzbeks and the Timurids for the control of Transoxania was overshadowed by the deadly contest between the Safavids and the Uzbeks over Khurasan (broadly comprising eastern Iran and western Afghanistan). Shāh Ismāᶜīl I (1501–24), the founder of the Safavid dynasty, built up a strong power, based on a resurrected Shiᶜite orthodoxy (see Chapter 10). This lent a new sectarian or religious colour to the ethnic divide that had already existed between 'the Turk' and 'the Tajik' in the eastern Islamic world.

The marked decline of Persian as the medium of common speech (though not as a literary language) in Transoxania subsequent to the Mongol invasion during the thirteenth century, and its replacement by Chaghatay Turki, further accentuated the division. The Safavid–Uzbek rivalry over Khurasan thus acquired the additional dimension of a cultural antipathy, making the struggle between the two powers throughout the sixteenth century particularly bitter and bloody.[12]

The great struggle began in 1509 when Shāh Ismāᶜīl I set out, pretending to take up the cause of the Timurid princes in Khurasan and Transoxania, and crushed the Uzbeks at the battle of Merv in 1510 and killed Shaybānī Khān. The Safavid army crossed the Amu Darya and helped the Timurid prince Bābur regain Samarkand in 1511–12. But the Uzbeks rallied and turned the tide: the ᶜArabshāhids established themselves at Khiva in Khwarazm, and in Transoxania the Shaybanids under ᶜUbaydullāh Khān (1512–39) drove out the Safavids across the Amu Darya in a bloody conflict in 1512. The appearance of the Ottoman sultan Selim I (1512–20) on the western borders of Persia and the defeat inflicted by him on Ismāᶜīl at the battle of Chaldiran in 1514 saved the Uzbeks from Safavid retribution. Thereafter the Safavids remained largely on the defensive, losing Balkh in 1516–17 and almost losing Herat as well in 1520 and 1523.[13]

[11] Abū'l Fazl, 1886, Vol. 3, p. 543.

[12] See Chs. 1 and 10 in the present volume; Spuler, 1970, Vol. 3, Ch. 7, pp. 468–90; Roemer, 1986, pp. 216–18, 235–57.

[13] Sarwar, 1939.

The Ottoman dimension must always be borne in mind when considering the vicissitudes of the Uzbek–Safavid struggle. When after Shāh Tahmāsp I's long reign (1524–76), Safavid power weakened, the Ottoman occupation of Tabriz (1585) was almost immediately followed by the Uzbek seizure of Herat (1586). But under Shāh ^{c}Abbās I (1587–1629), the Safavids took advantage of ^{c}Abdullāh Khān's death to recapture Herat (1598), though an ambitious expedition against Balkh ended in disaster (1602).

A long truce followed with little military activity on either side other than the occasional raid. Both the Uzbek and the Safavid powers appeared to decline together, the former after ^{c}Abdu'l ^{c}Azīz Khān (1645–80), the latter after Shāh ^{c}Abbās II (1642–66). Persia, however, momentarily revived under that singular conqueror, Nādir Shāh (1736–47), first as military commander, then as shah. Nādir Shāh prepared the ground for his brilliant campaign in Transoxania and Khwarazm (1740) by earlier triumphs over the Ottomans (1730–6) and a border settlement with the Russians (1735), and by securing the possession of Afghanistan and Sind through his Indian campaign (1739–40).[14]

Nādir Shāh's murder in 1747 brought about a sudden collapse of the large empire he had constructed, with Afghanistan becoming a separate political entity under his commander Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. But Afghanistan never posed a threat to the Uzbek principalities of Central Asia, though the former Uzbek territories south of the Amu Darya passed under Afghan control.

The Mughal Indian empire and the Uzbeks

The Timurids had every reason to be hostile to the Uzbeks, who had expelled them from Central Asia. Though Sunnis, they were not much bothered by the sectarian policy of the Safavids. They valued their Turkic heritage but were deeply linked to the cultural milieu rooted in Persian idiom and literature. As ruler of Kabul, Bābur (1483–1530) entered into an alliance with Shāh Ismā^{c}īl promising that he would endeavour to encourage Shi^{c}ite doctrines. Following Ismā^{c}īl's defeat of Shaybānī Khān at the battle of Merv in 1510, Bābur was able briefly to install himself at Samarkand (1511–12), though this ended, as we have seen, in a major debacle (see Chapter 12).

Owing to the assistance received from Shāh Ismā^{c}īl and Shāh Tahmāsp at criticalmoments, the Indian Mughals continued to favour the Safavids over the Uzbeks throughout the sixteenth century. And this was despite their long dispute with the Safavids over Kandahar.[15] The Mughal emperor Akbar's grievance over the manner in which Kandahar

[14] Lockhart, 1938.
[15] Riazul Islam, 1970, pp. xix–xxiii.

was seized by Shāh Tahmāsp in 1558 did not prevent him from firmly rejecting the proposals (made in 1577 and again in 1586) of ᶜAbdullāh Khān Uzbek (1557–98) for ananti-Safavid alliance. In his reply to ᶜAbdullāh Khān's letter of 1577, Akbar even admonished the Uzbek ruler for using disrespectful language about the Safavids. When ᶜAbdullāh Khān overran Badakhshan in 1585 (which meant that an Uzbek march into Khurasan, held by the Safavids, was now imminent), Akbar even threatened that, ignoring religious differences ('circumstances of deviation'), he would intervene on the side of the Safavids.

Despite these warnings ᶜAbdullāh Khān marched into Khurasan in 1586 and occupied a large part of the region. This posed a threat to the Mughal position in Afghanistan, where Akbar had annexed his younger brother Mīrzā Hakīm's splinter state of Kabul in 1585. Akbar now tried to persuade ᶜAbdullāh Khān to recognize the Hindu Kush range as the frontier with the Mughal empire; this shows that, in the new circumstances, he was, of necessity, guided primarily by his anxiety to ensure the security of the Mughal empire itself.[16]

Despite Akbar's formal understanding with ᶜAbdullāh Khān in 1587, recognizing the Hindu Kush as the frontier between the two empires, an undercurrent of mutual suspicion and hostility continued to pervade their relations. Akbar's occupation of Kandahar in 1595 does not appear to have been a move directed only against the Safavids. It was a step which also ensured that this strategic point did not pass under the control of ᶜAbdullāh Khān, who now held Herat. Again, Akbar's policy of encouraging Shāh ᶜAbbās I to continue his fight against ᶜAbdullāh Khān in Khurasan as well as his hostility towards the Shaybanid prince ᶜAbdu'l Mu'min, who governed Balkh and Badakhshan during the second half of the 1590s, were clear indications that during this time the Mughals perceived the threat to their north-western possessions as coming mainly from the Uzbeks.[17]

This situation altered entirely, however, when the military strength of the confederacy of the Uzbek tribes of Transoxania rapidly declined as a result of the struggle for succession that broke out on ᶜAbdullāh Khān's death in 1598. The Uzbeks lost much of Khurasan to the Safavids, and the empire built by ᶜAbdullāh Khān split virtually into two units: the khanate of Bukhara, ruled by Imām Qulī Khān (1611–41), and the principality comprising Balkh and Badakhshan, ruled over by his brother Nadr Muhammad (see Chapters 1 and 9).

Although the Uzbeks in Balkh and Badakhshan continued to be hostile towards the Mughals, they were no longer perceived by the latter as posing a real threat to Kabul and Kandahar. Occasional incursions by the Uzbek forces into these territories from the Balkh area – as, for example, the raid led by Yalangtūsh in 1624 – were easily tackled

[16] Cf. Abdur Rahim, 1934–5.
[17] Ibid.

by the governor of Kabul and were thus treated by the Mughal court down to 1648 as minor pinpricks. The casual attitude of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr (1605–27) towards a possible Uzbek alliance – even in 1622 when the Safavids actually occupied Kandahar and there was every reason for Jahāngīr to remain on good terms with the Uzbeks – is borne out by his impolite personal remarks about Imām Qulī (the ruler of Bukhara), reportedly made in the presence of the latter's envoy.[18]

Rather, the temptation for the Mughals was to take advantage of Uzbek dissensions. The Balkh and Badakhshan campaigns of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān (1628–58) in 1646–7 were clearly prompted by this factor. Athar Ali's suggestion that the Mughals were unduly alarmed by the vigorous attempts of Nadr Muhammad (1641–6) to unify the Uzbek khanate is not implausible; but the invasion took place when Nadr Muhammad had actually been expelled from Transoxania.[19] The comparatively easy success of Prince Murād Bakhsh, Shāh Jahān's son, in occupying Balkh in 1646 inflamed Shāh Jahān's ambition, but the expedition proved ultimately to be a military disaster. During its retreat from Balkh, the Mughal army suffered as much from cold and hunger as from the harassing attacks of the Uzbeks.

The Safavid empire and the Mughals

Bābur's alliance with Shāh Ismāᶜīl, dating from 1510, long preceded his domination over northern India in the last four years of his life (1526–30). The Safavids had no role to play in his Indian enterprise. Rather, it was the weakening of Safavid power after their defeat at the battle of Chaldiran in 1514 that enabled Bābur to seize Kandahar in 1517 from Shāh Husayn Arghūn, who had earlier personally submitted to Shāh Ismāᶜīl.[20]

Bābur's son and successor Humāyūn (1530–56) had his hands full in the struggle with the Afghans and Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat, while Kabul and Kandahar passed under the control of Humāyūn's brother Kāmrān. Humāyūn's need for Safavid assistance arose when he lost his dominions in India to the Afghan leader Sher Shāh Sūr (1540–5) and failed to establish himself in Sind. He thereupon made his way to the Safavid court, where Shāh Tahmāsp I received him graciously not as a penniless exile, but as a brother sovereign in 1544.[21] It was with Persian assistance that Humāyūn occupied Kandahar in 1545. He repaid his helpers by expelling them from that fort, despite his earlier commitment to gift it to the shah.

18 Athar Ali, 1964, pp. 1109–17.
19 Cf. Athar Ali, 1968, pp. 163–7.
20 Maᶜsūm, 1938, pp. 107–12.
21 See Ray, 1948.

From now on Kandahar became a constant bone of contention between the Safavid and Mughal rulers. Taking advantage of the death of Humāyūn in 1556 and the consequent weakening of Mughal power in Afghanistan, Shāh Tahmāsp seized Kandahar in 1558. The situation changed after Tahmāsp's death in 1576, and with Akbar's occupation of Kabul (1585) and then of Sind (1590–2). The two roads to Kandahar were now open and it fell easily into Mughal hands in 1595.

The increasing tension in Mughal–Safavid relations in the first half of the seventeenth century was almost entirely due to the dispute over Kandahar, which changed hands three times between the Safavids and the Mughals: Shāh ᶜAbbās I seized Kandahar from the Mughals in 1622; it was reoccupied by Shāh Jahān in 1638; and the Safavids finally annexed it in 1648–9. In the long history of Mughal–Safavid contention over Kandahar, it was only on this last occasion that the dispute turned into a large-scale military conflict. In the course of the ensuing struggle, the Mughals made determined though futile attempts to dislodge the Safavids from Kandahar through three sieges (1649, 1652 and 1653).[22] From this time onwards until the overthrow of Safavid power in Kandahar by the Ghilzāis in 1709 (see Chapter 10), Kandahar remained a part of the Safavid empire. It was captured in 1738 by Nādir Shāh as a prelude to his great Indian campaign (1738–40), which shook the Indian Mughal empire to its foundations. It subsequently became the capital of the Afghan empire established by Nādir Shāh's commander, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (1747–72).

The nomads and the Transoxanian states

As compared to the Safavid and Mughal empires, the centralization of authority within the Uzbek state proved to be limited. The Uzbek ruling families were not able to establish complete autocracies. This was partly because of the influence exercised by the tribal chiefs (*bey*s or *beg*s) from among whom the officers of the khan were recruited. The role played by the religious hierarchy within the tribal confederacy also helped to weaken its centralization. Those Uzbek rulers who were in favour of centralization always came up against resistance from these powerful groups. The only exception appears to have been ᶜAbdullāh Khān: he managed to control the tribal chiefs and build a markedly autocratic polity, and he was able thereby to extend his rule to lands outside Transoxania.

Another factor constantly thwarting the unity of Uzbek power in Transoxania was the mounting pressure of the nomadic tribes of the northern steppes. One such group was that of the Kazakhs (Qazāqs). They were driven towards the lands controlled by the Uzbek

[22] For a brief description of this conflict and a discussion of the causes of the Mughal failure, see Riazul Islam, 1970, pp. 112–16.

khanate of Bukhara during the seventeenth century owing to the expansionist drive of the Russian state along and across the River Volga, a move that had started at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century the Russian authorities constantly encouraged the Kazakh chiefs to be aggressive towards the khanate of Bukhara and create disturbances on its north-western frontier. Apparently, such a policy was operative as early as 1594, when the Kazakh chiefs are reported to have been supplied with troops as well as firearms by the Russians for use against the Uzbeks. While countering the Kazakh military pressure, Imām Qulī, the ruler of Bukhara, succeeded in advancing his khanate's frontier in the north up to the mouth of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) and also occupied Tashkent. But under his successor, ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz (1645–80), these gains were largely abandoned.[23]

The weakening of the Bukhara khanate during the second half of the seventeenth century, combined with the pressure of the Kazakh tribes, led to its break-up in 1723. In that year an Uzbek adventurer, Shāhrukh, who traced his ancestry back to the early Shaybanids, set up an independent principality in Ferghana which became famous as the khanate of Kokand (Khoqand) after the name of the town chosen as the seat of this new state (see Chapter 2, Part Two). The influence of the Khwāja families who had migrated from East Turkistan to the Ferghana valley during the preceding decades meant that this new principality was deeply involved in the trade passing between Kashghar and different places in Transoxania. Kokand's close trade links with Kashghar appear to have contributed to its formally recognizing Chinese suzerainty after the take-over of the whole of East Turkistan by the Qing empire in 1755–8.

The real political unification of the Ferghana valley under Kokand was achieved only during the nineteenth century under ᶜĀlim Khān (1798–1809), who not only gainedTashkent from the khanate of Bukhara but also suppressed an insurrection of the Kazakhs in that region. Under ᶜĀlim Khān's successor ᶜUmar (1816–22), Kokand took Samarkand from the Bukhara khanate and also subjugated the town of Turkestan (Yasi), which had until then been controlled by the Kazakh chiefs allied with Bukhara. This expansionist drive was also continued by the next ruler Madalī (Muhammad ᶜAlī, 1822–42), which finally led to a tribal rising within Ferghana supported by the khanate of Bukhara. The rising enabled the Kipchak (Qipchāq) chief, Muslimān Qulī, to capture power in Kokand. Subsequently, there was a prolonged tussle between the nomads and the settled population of Ferghana for land and political dominance, which continued until the subjugation of the region by the Russians.[24]

[23] For the Bukhara khanate's struggle to ward off the Kazakh pressure, see Spuler, 1970, pp. 480–6.
[24] Cf. Spuler, 1970, pp. 487–91.

One may also consider here the impact of the Dzungar (Kalmuk or Qalmāq) empire, a nomadic Mongol power which dominated the entire area between Transoxania and China proper from the early decades of the seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century. The Dzungars clashed with the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz and practically expelled them from Semirechye.[25] From their base in Dzungaria (the name now given to the territory formerly called Moghulistan) they invaded the largely sedentary khanate of Kashghar, which they had fully subjugated by the end of the seventeenth century.

One might expect these events to have caused much alarm in Transoxania, but there is surprisingly little evidence of it. Indeed, in 1691 Muhammad Amīn Khan (1682–94), the last Chaghatayid khan of Kashghar, sent an embassy to Subhān Qulī (1680–1702), the khan of Bukhara, in a vain effort to win his support against 'the infidel Kyrgyz', doubtless meaning the Dzungars.[26] When Nādir Shāh was conducting his lightning campaign in Transoxania he took care to send envoys and gifts to the rulers of 'Khita and Khotan', i.e. the Dzungars, who sent him a return embassy with gifts in 1745.[27] In between the two events, there was some alarm felt at Nādir Shāh's court in 1743 over the rumours of a possible alliance between the rulers of 'Khita and Khotan' and Mangu Qa'an (corruption of Manchu Qa'an) of China to thwart Nādir Shāh's own designs against Khita (Dzungaria).[28] Nādir Shāh was murdered in 1747, but the threat from the Dzungars to sedentary states in Central Asia disappeared suddenly in a most unexpected fashion. The Qing (Manchu) government of China launched a powerful attack on the Dzungar empire in 1755, and by 1758 had destroyed it utterly.

[25] Barthold, 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 158–65.
[26] Yūsuf Munshī, MS, fols. 99a–b.
[27] Lockhart, 1938, p. 251.
[28] Ibid., p. 231.

Part Two

COLONIALISM AND CENTRAL ASIA

(*Irfan Habib*)

The Portuguese Estado da India and Central Asian trade

The anchoring of the Portuguese fleet under Vasco da Gama in May 1498 at the South Indian port of Calicut is usually reckoned as the beginning of the colonial presence in Asia. This may be deemed a rather distant event for Central Asia, but in 1515 the Portuguese viceroy of India, the Duke of Albuquerque, took possession of the Persian port of Hormuz, which had most of Central Asia for its hinterland.[29] Hormuz was a rich prize for the Portuguese: in 1584 it yielded to the Portuguese Government in Asia (the 'Estado da India') an annual revenue of 170,000 xeraphins, or a quarter (25.06 per cent) of the Estado's total revenues; in 1607, a revenue of 192,000 xeraphins, or 16.2 per cent of the total revenues.[30] Even with this relative decline, the sale-price of its Captaincy continued to dwarf the prices of Captaincies of the other Portuguese-held ports.

There was a highly exploitative element in the extraction of revenue by the Portuguese. Their entire colonial structure was built on the possession of a string of strategically situated ports and coastal strong points, from Hormuz to Macao in China. On these depended what has been called a vast 'redistributive' enterprise. Extensive lines of trade, especially those between the ports held by the Portuguese, were reserved for the trade of their officials and private traders – besides the trade in pepper (from Malabar and Sumatra), which was a royal monopoly. Trade along other routes, such as that to the Red Sea, was utterly prohibited for any merchants other than the Portuguese; this prohibition could only be got round by paying a large fee and a bribe in order to obtain a *cartaz*, or pass. In other words, the Portuguese throughout the sixteenth century strove either to physically constrict Asian trade or to tax it as heavily as possible. Ports and ships that did not accept their demands were sacked or seized. The Portuguese, found no geographically defensive position to establish

[29] How extensive was the hinterland of Hormuz is shown by Bābur's statement (Bābur, 1995, p. 8) that, in his time (*c*. 1500), almonds were carried from Ferghana to Hormuz for sale.

[30] The data are derived from Steensgaard, 1974, pp. 88, 94.

a strong point in the Indus delta: nevertheless in 1565 they appeared in a flotilla at Thatta and plundered it.[31] Thatta, we may note, was the main seaport for the whole Indus basin and maintained a brisk commerce with both Persia and the Red Sea.

Portuguese domination began to weaken early in the seventeenth century owing to two main factors. First, the appearance of the Dutch and the English East India Companies, which challenged the Portuguese monopoly over the seas; and they also lost some of their major possessions in South-East Asia to the Dutch. Secondly, since the increasing power of the Mughal and Safavid empires made the Portuguese land-possessions more vulnerable, they found it increasingly difficult to enforce their monopolies and *cartaz* system against the wishes of these governments. Akbar felt so confident of his ability to protect Red Sea trade that immediately after his annexation of Sind in 1592, he began to develop Lahari Bandar, the outer port of Thatta, as an imperial seaport. He also built two large ocean-going ships at Lahore (1594–6) to be launched from that port, for voyages to the Red Sea.[32] But the *coup de grâce* to Portuguese dominance in the Arabian Sea was given by the Safavids, whose forces, assisted by the English, drove out the Portuguese from Hormuz in 1622, thus depriving them of their most profitable possession.[33]

The seventeenth century: the intrusion of the Companies

The fall of Hormuz ushered in a period during which – at least on the northern seaboard of the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf, where the ports serving Central Asia were situated – there was no identifiable successor to the Portuguese among other potential colonial powers. Even the English were unable to obtain from the Safavids the share of custom revenues, let alone the partial control of Hormuz, that they thought had been promised to them. What the English and Dutch East India Companies, and later the French, obtained was mainly the freedom to conduct their own commerce in both the Mughal and Safavid dominions. A foolish attack by the English against Mughal shipping in 1688 led to their total expulsion from the empire, and the terms agreed to by the English Company in 1690 underscored the point that supremacy on the seas did not necessarily lead to political or commercial gains, if the continental land happened to be held by a stronger opponent.

From the point of view of a large part of Central Asia, the seventeenth century was not even a period of West European commercial penetration. There were no factors of

[31] Tāhir Muhammad, 1964, pp. 111–14.
[32] Habib (ed.), 1997, pp. 144–5.
[33] For the fall of Hormuz, see Steensgaard, 1974, esp. pp. 305–43.

European companies stationed in Lahore, Kabul, Mashhad or Bukhara. But it was certainly a rich period for European exploration of that part of Central Asia which lay within Iran and the Indian subcontinent. Large numbers of merchants, clerics, job-seekers and globetrotters have left accounts of their travels, observations and opinions. Two writers are particularly worth mentioning: François Bernier (in India, 1658–68) for his analysis of Eastern, especially Indian society and polity; and Jean Chardin (Chevalier de Chardin) (in Persia, with an interval, 1666–77) for his comprehensive description of the country.[34] The only areas to escape the inquisitive gaze of the West European traveller were north of the Hindu Kush, there being no pen-wielding successor to Anthony Jenkinson, who had journeyed to Khiva and Bukhara in 1558–9.[35] Except for Benedict de Goës, who travelled from Lahore to China between 1602 and 1607 via Kabul and Xinjiang, even the Jesuits seem to have been more interested in Tibet than in Transoxania and Xinjiang.[36]

If West European merchants and travellers were rarely to be seen in the inner parts of Central Asia, it does not necessarily mean that there was no indirect influence from European colonialism, which had now fully entered its ‘mercantilist’ phase. The fundamental features of this phase were, on the one hand, the large increase in merchant capital and craft-production in Western Europe along with the development of communications and credit, and, on the other, the exploitation of the indigenous peoples and resources of the New World, especially the extraction of immense quantities of silver at insignificant costs. Transported by Spain across the Atlantic, the silver provided Western Europe with a purchasing power that began to dwarf that of the earlier traditional markets of high-value commodities throughout the world.[37] As a consequence, as Barthold suggested, the Great Silk Route now had little or no traffic and this, in turn, brought about the economic decline of Transoxania and Xinjiang.[38]

Rise of the British colonial empire

By the mid-eighteenth century there had been yet another change of immeasurable consequence: the discovery that European military technology had given superiority to the English and French East India Companies’ troops over the strongest Asian armies. This was shown in India in the Carnatic wars (1747–63) and, above all, in the battles of Plassey

[34] Bernier, 1916; Chardin, 1927.
[35] See his narrative in Jenkinson, 1906, pp. 1–31.
[36] Wessels, 1924.
[37] Cf. Habib, 1999, pp. 34–7.
[38] The proposition is advanced in Barthold, 1956, pp. 65–6, and disputed by Rossabi, 1990, pp. 351–70, who mainly sees internal political factors as behind the disruption of the caravan trade to China.

(1757) and Buxar (1764), all of which established British dominance over large territories in the subcontinent.

The discovery was made almost simultaneously that the revenues of the subjugated territories, along with other booty, could simply be annexed to the English East India Company's capital and a large mass of goods purchased thereby, for sale throughout the world, without a penny being paid out of the Company's own coffers. Private English officials also raised 'capital' by their own extortions, so that a large annual 'drain' or tribute to England from its territories in India became a marked feature of commerce between the two countries. By 1800 the amount of the tribute exceeded £4 million per annum, or nearly a third of Britain's annual 'national saving' at the time.[39] The enlargement of the tribute became a constant motive for British territorial expansion, so that by 1803 Delhi had fallen to the British, who could now dream of advancing into Central Asia.

This was all still within the framework of mercantilism, since tribute was surely the most successful way of avoiding bullion exports. But to the craving for tribute was added the thirst for markets. By the 1820s, the Industrial Revolution had given England the status of the 'workshop of the world'; and the theories of Adam Smith and Ricardo made free trade the basic creed of the new industrial interests. The Charter Act of 1813 threw open the Indian trade to all British subjects. The business of England was now seen to be not only to follow free trade itself, but to enforce it all over the world. The colonialism of the mercantilists, criticized so rationally by Adam Smith, came to be replaced by the 'Imperialism of Free Trade': Flag was now to precede Trade.[40]

The pressure to expand British dominions mounted accordingly, especially once the Reform Act of 1832 had greatly enlarged the industrial classes' influence in parliament. The time had arrived for parts of Central Asia to face the direct onslaught of British power. British interest in the entire region was made manifest by Alexander Burnes' famous exploratory expedition from Sind up the Indus to Lahore, and then to Kabul and Bukhara in 1830–3.[41] In 1838 the British concluded a tripartite treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab and the exiled Afghan ruler Shāh Shujā[c], which led to the first Anglo- Afghan war (1839–42). The war ended in a disaster for the British, despite their initial success in

[39] Habib, 1998, pp. 227–9, for estimates of the tribute.

[40] The term 'Imperialism of Free Trade' owes much to the seminal essay of J. Gallagher and R. Robinson bearing this title (1953) and reprinted in Shaw (ed.), 1970, pp. 142–63. This was not, however, an entirely original discovery of theirs. One notices, for example, Marx's scepticism of the anti-colonial professions of the English Free Traders. In 1859 he identified the purpose of the English 'reconquest' of India (after the Revolt of 1857) as the 'securing [of] the monopoly of the Indian market to the Manchester Free Traders' (Marx and Engels, 1980, Vol. 16, p. 286).

[41] Burnes, 1834.

occupying Kandahar and Kabul. But the costly setback did nothing to quench their ambition. The British had already violated the treaty of 1832 with Sind by practically occupying it in 1839; in 1843 they simply annexed it by force. It was obvious to everyone that this was a prelude to a similar design on Punjab. A hard-fought war (1845–6) led to the subjugation of Punjab and its separation from Jammu and Kashmir to form another client state. The second Punjab war (1848–9), equally hard-fought, ended in the total annexation of Punjab, with the British flag now permanently planted beyond Peshawar. Only the revolt of 1857, involving the bulk of the Bengal army, Britain's major sword-arm in India, checked British ambitions in the region for some decades.

British statesmen, notably Lord Palmerston, asserted that their aggressive actions ('forward policy') were necessary to secure a defensive border (a 'scientific frontier') against Russia's ambitions. Russia, from its positions in the Caucasus, was thought to have brought Persia under its influence; and Afghanistan was held to be the next in line to fall, if this was not forcibly prevented. Much of this was thought up as propagandist justification for British expansion; and part of it might well have been due to an obdurate refusal to look at large-scale maps, as Lord Salisbury was later to remark. But that Russia had territorial ambitions in Central Asia was no fiction. It is time, therefore, to examine how it too grew into a colonial power.

Russian expansion

The fact that the State of Muscovy had developed into a large and powerful state of 'all the Russias' through a long series of conflicts with the Golden Horde and its successor states, and with Poland, Sweden and Turkey, did not by itself make it a colonial state. In many ways it was a characteristic 'gunpowder empire', a term that has also been used for the empires of the Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals.[42] In 1589 the Russian army was similar in nature to contemporary Asian armies in being essentially composed of mounted archers, with supporting infantry armed with heavy, rudely made muskets.[43] Russia's 'Asiatic situation' began to change only with Peter the Great (1682– 1725), when a rigorous policy of Westernization was adopted. The tsar's numerous successes emboldened him to dispatch an exploratory expedition to Khiva and Bukhara in 1716, but this was annihilated in the steppes.

The Russian expansion initially proceeded over the Urals into Siberia, rather thantowards Central Asia proper. And this brings into focus another element that was not involved

[42] Cf. Hodgson, 1974, Vol. 3, pp. 17–27.

[43] See Giles Fletcher's narrative in Jenkinson, 1906, p. 567.

in the progress of West European colonialism in Asia, namely, peasant migration from the metropolitan country. Russian penetration into Siberia had begun in the sixteenth century, initially under organized bands rather than regular forces. Towns, forts and prisons, the symbols of state power, then followed. In 1697 Russia, having reached the Pacific, formally occupied the Kamchatka peninsula. By 1662 a total of 70,000 Russians, of whom 34,500 were peasants, had settled in Siberia. Many of them were Cossacks and so free; but there were serf-peasants too, who had been sent there to work on newly established estates. It is important to remember that serfdom was less extensive in European Russia's eastern parts than in central and western Russia,[44] and so the migration into Siberia was mainly one of free peasants. This led to increasing pressure on non-Russian peoples, who, under Speransky (appointed governor-general of Siberia in 1819), were declared 'aliens' and became subject to stringent regulations.

The tsarist policy of establishing Russian peasants in steppe-lands, mainly for fiscal and political reasons, led to considerable displacements of earlier populations. The most dramatic and tragic case was that of the Kalmuk (Qalmāq) tribes, who, unable to retain their lands in the lower Volga, decided in large numbers to migrate back to their ancestral home in Xinjiang, China. Only a small fragment survived the long march through Kazakhstan to reach the Chinese frontier in 1771 (see Chapter 6).

Further north, the Bashkir peoples were under similar pressure. They began to be pushed eastward by a line of fortifications set up along the Yaik (Ural) river, leading to two uprisings, under Karasakal (suppressed in 1740) and Batyrsha (1755–7). In 1798 harsh military obligations were imposed on the Bashkirs; subsequently their lands were seized under the cover of a land demarcation law of 1832. They were now faced by a 'solid mass of resettled Russian peasants'.[45]

Russian penetration into Kazakh territories began in 1731 when Abū'l Khayr, khan of the Small Horde, submitted to the tsars. The suppression of the rebellion headed by Srym Datov (d. 1802), which lasted from 1783 to 1797, enabled Russia to consolidate further its hold over the Small Horde. The Medium Horde had already been subjugated. The seizure of Kazakh lands also proceeded apace, and in 1835–7, under Perovsky (governor-general of Orenburg) some 10,000 km^2 were seized for government purposes. Part of the Caspian coast, lying in the Bukey khanate, was handed over to Russian landlords. A large-scale Kazakh rebellion under Kenesari Kasymov and his lieutenant Naurazbey (1824–47) was only suppressed with great difficulty (see Chapter 3). From his base at Orenburg,

[44] See table on p. 310 and map (for 1860) on p. 311 in Lyashchenko, 1949. The data on the number of Russians in Siberia in 1662 will be found on p. 242.
[45] Lyashchenko, 1949, p. 572.

TABLE 1. Areas of Transoxania acquired or reduced by Russia, 1846–95

1846	Ustyurt	1876	Ferghana
1854	Semirechye	1881	Akhal Tekke
1864	Trans-Syr Darya	1884	Merv
1865	Tashkent	1885	Panjdeh
1868	Bukhara and Samarkand	1895	Pamirs
1873	Trans-Caspian; Khiva		

TABLE 2. Russia’s trade balance with Turkistan, 1827, 1837, 1850–5 (in millions of roubles)

	1827	1837	1850–5
Russia’s imports from Turkistan	6.95	8.94	9–12
Russia’s exports to Turkistan	4.58	5.03	5–10
Russia’s trade deficit	2.37	3.91	(4–2?)

Source: Lyashchenko, 1940, pp. 354–5.

Perovsky undertook a number of expeditions north of the Syr Darya, so that the bulk of Kazakhstan passed under Russian control: Almaty (Verny), the former capital of Kazakhstan, was founded as a Russian fort in 1854.

As we have already noted, Russian colonial expansion had a strong agrarian element behind it: a process of largely ‘free’-peasant settlement out of serfridden Russia. For Old Russia this was a safety-valve of undoubted significance. Trade and its growth played only a secondary role here.

The subjugation of Transoxania and areas south of the Amu Darya, which took place entirely in the nineteenth century, had, on the other hand, more of the mercantilist character that we associate with West European colonialism. The short chronological table below (Table 1) gives the main areas acquired or subjugated by Russia in a process that began substantively only around the middle of the nineteenth century.

Russia’s trade with these ‘ Turkistan’ territories during the second quarter of the nineteenth century had very much the same characteristics as West European countries’ trade with the East in the colonial period. It was thus marked by a constant excess of imports over exports, as may be seen from Table 2 below.[46]

How Russia in the short term resolved this problem of an adverse balance of trade with Turkistan is not clear, but ultimately, conquest was an easy way out. As in the case

[46] Lyashchenko himself, in his very fair-minded account (1949), does not comment on this constant adverse balance of trade for Russia.

of India's relationship with Britain, post-conquest tribute from Turkistan could make up the deficit in payments, and more. Whether this was understood consciously by Russian statesmen may be difficult to establish, but certainly the conquests occurred during the very period that the trade with Turkistan began greatly to expand.

One may remember that this was still before tsarist Russia's own industrial development. Many of Russia's exports to Turkistan were re-exports, notably British textile manufactures.[47] Indeed, in 1832 Bukhara itself was annually exporting 200 camel-loads of its coarse chintz to Russia,[48] and there seem to have been no raw cotton exports to Russia from Turkistan. The truly capitalist phase of Russian colonialism began in the 1880s, when its limited 'take-off' *à la* Rostow began. It became well-established in the 1890s with the construction of the trans-Siberian railway. But that phase is beyond the scope of the present volume.

[47] See Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, pp. 429–31. Burnes was in Bukhara in 1832, and published his account in 1834. He also noted the export from Russia to Turkistan of 'Polish or German' 'hintz.

[48] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, pp. 432, 439.

14

SOCIETY

The Editors, S. Moosvi and A. Tabyshalieva

Contents

Part One

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Nomadic societies

(*The Editors*)

There are many ways in which Central Asia can be defined.[1] One that is quite often resorted to considers it as the largest set of contiguous inland river basins in the world: Eurasia forms such a vast land mass that there are within it many large depressions filled in part by saline lakes and 'seas' that are unconnected with the oceans. Yet, besides the fact that such a definition must logically put the Volga basin, containing the heart of Russia, in Central Asia, the concept relies far too much on what is, after all, essentially a curiosity of physical geography: even if the Aral and the Caspian were connected with the Black Sea, not much would have changed for most of what goes by the name of Central Asia.

A far more persuasive way to define Central Asia, if we are seeking a common feature of social history that can link all its major component parts, is to consider it as a zone of low precipitation in the Asian land mass, where, in the natural state, steppes and deserts coexist with green belts along snow-fed rivers. Central Asia, as delimited for the present work, is, indeed, a vast area where the pastoral economy prevails over the larger part, side by side with agriculture mainly based on irrigation covering a much smaller space.[2] From the point of view of social history, we deal here with nomadic communities, pasturing their herds over large areas of grassland and desert, and which have coexisted with sedentary populations scattered in dense pockets of cultivated tracts located in oases and narrow river valleys.

[1] See Miroshnikov's note on the meaning of Central Asia, Appendix to Vol. I of the present series; Miroshnikov, 1998, pp. 8–25.

[2] This criterion, can, perhaps, justify the inclusion of the Indus basin, in which the Indus and its tributaries run through what otherwise, owing to low rainfall, would have been a desert. The Indus and its tributaries, however, are fed by both snow and rain in their high catchment areas.

Pastoralism requires a far larger area to feed a family than agriculture does. Unlike peasant agriculture in which particular plots either belonged to, or were under the occupation of, a single household, a herdsman's family could not be restricted to such a limited piece of land. Rather, it was the ownership and control over a number of particular animals that were the essential elements of the herdsman's property.[3] The right to pasture animals in a relatively large area was normally shared with other herdsmen, usually of the same clan or tribe.[4] The clan or tribe, therefore, substituted for the village, or the village community, of peasants. Bābur (1483–1530) was, indeed, surprised to find that sedentary people in India bore caste names, for 'in our countries [only] dwellers in the steppes (*sahrā*s) get tribal (*qabīla*) names'.[5] In other words, the tribe was the distinguishing feature of steppe society.

The pastoral economy involves nomadism, most typically when the herdsmen in mountainous areas move from lower grounds in winter to higher in the summer. In lands of northern latitudes in the plains this generally takes the form of a south-to-north movement. Such seasonal movements meant that there could be no permanent home for the pastoralists, but only camping grounds. The word 'yurt', with its various meanings in Turkic languages down the centuries, brings out clearly the very different perceptions that the nomad has of his home: 'abandoned camping site', 'a specific kind of a felt tent' and 'a community'.[6]

A factor for instability in the nomadic steppes was, perhaps, not only the growth of excess population among the nomads – so often invoked as the reason behind the nomadic invasions of territories of other nomads and of sedentary populations – but also the increasing numbers of animals so that the lands on which a tribe pastured its herds might no longer suffice. Thus some years after the Moghuls (or Muslim Mongols) had conquered the Tarim basin (the Kashghar principality), their ruler Sa^{c}īd Khan (1514–33) was informed (in 1522) that 'the Moghul *ulūs* [tribal domain] – both man and beast – have so greatly increased that the wide grazing grounds of Kashghar have become too confined for them and frequent quarrels arise concerning pastures'. A plan for the conquest of Moghulistan (modern Dzungaria) was therefore proposed in order to secure more grazing lands.[7]

As a result not only did warfare frequently break out among the steppe tribes, but vast migrations of tribes with their herds also occurred. In 1522, when pressed by the Manghīts (Minghays), some 200,000 Kazakhs (Qazāqs) are reputed to have migrated into

[3] Cf. Lyashchenko, 1949, p. 235.
[4] On the rights of tribes (and later of their chiefs) on pasturelands in Iran, see Lambton, 1953, pp. 284–5.
[5] Bābur, 1995, p. 466; 1922, Vol. 2, p. 518.
[6] Clauson, 1972, p. 958.
[7] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 358–9.

Moghulistan, temporarily driving out the Moghuls under the khan of Kashghar.[8] Another great migration known to us from both Russian and Chinese records is that of the Kalmuk (Qalmāq) people, known as the Torguts, who, Mongol in origin, had migrated to the lower basin of the Volga. Finding their pastoral lands increasingly hemmed in by the encroachments of Russian landlords and peasants, as many as 168,000 of them decided to migrate back to their original homes; this they did in 1771 after a seven-month-long trek over more than 3,000 km of steppe until they arrived in Dzungaria (old Moghulistan) in the Xinjiang region of China. But only some 66,000 managed to complete the journey, their numbers depleted due to starvation and attacks by other nomadic peoples such as the Bashkirs and the Kazakhs on the way.[9]

In this state of seasonal movement and constant instability, there was practically no urban life in the great steppe north of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) and the Gobi desert. The historian of Moghulistan Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt (1499–1551) relates that the Kazakh khan Qāsim told the cultured Moghul khan Abū Sa ᶜīd in 1531:

> We are men of the desert, and there is nothing in the way of riches and formalities. Our most costly possessions are our horses, our favourite food their flesh, our most enjoyable drink their milk and the products of it. In our country are no gardens or buildings. Our chief recreation is inspecting our herds.[10]

There could be no better picture of steppe culture.

People in the steppe bred horses, along with sheep, in the deserts of East Turkistan (China) and the Gobi; they also bred the Bactrian camel. As herdsmen, they all had to be skilled horsemen. In times when cavalry was the principal military arm everywhere in Eurasia, this gave the tribes the appearance of large groups of armed horsemen. This identification of tribe or clan with a troop of warrior-horsemen is illustrated by the dual sense in which the Turco-Mongolian word *ulūs* is used in Persian texts from the fifteenth century onwards both for a tribe and for a band of armed retainers.[11] The military power that horse-breeding and riding gave to the steppe peoples is surely one factor which sustained the institutions of statehood in the steppes, going much beyond ordinary tribal chiefdoms.

No state can exist without resources, whether in money or in kind. In the steppes it was sheep which formed a practically standard unit of wealth. On his last expedition into Moghulistan, Saᶜīd Khan of Kashghar seized 100,000 head of sheep as booty from the

[8] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 134–5.
[9] See Ch. 6 in the present volume.
[10] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 276.
[11] Cf. Habib, 1999, p. 205 and note. For its earlier meanings, without any military connotation, see Clauson, 1972, pp. 152–3.

Kyrgyz.[12] Taxation also rested on the supply of numbers of heads of herd animals. In 1595 in the province of Kandahar (Qandahār) in Afghanistan, the pastoral tribes and localities were expected to pay an annual tax in the form of 45,775 sheep and 45 Baluch horses, although the administration exacting it at the time was that of the Mughal empire, by no means a nomadic state.[13]

Out of such tax or tribute the ruler, whether khan or *taiji* (or *taishi*) (*tāyshī* in Persian texts), maintained himself in his special encampment, or *ordu*. This last is a Turco-Mongol word (*urdū* in Persian), from where the English 'horde' is derived; it embraces the entire tribe or set of tribes controlled from the *ordu*.[14] Under the ruler would be a number of tribal or clan chiefs, for whom the ancient Turkic word was *beg*, which later came to mean, in the more sedentary polities, a captain or administrative officer.[15] Owing to their tribal nature, the steppe sovereignties were not generally as absolute as the one that Chinggis Khan had been able to construct in the thirteenth century. When a Russian officer, Captain Unkovsky, visited the encampment of the Dzungar supreme ruler (*khongtaiji*), Cewang Arabtan (Tsevangraptan) (1688–1727) in 1722–3, he found that the *khongtaiji*' undertook nothing without consulting the *zaysang*s [*jaisan*s], i.e. the heads of the different clans'.[16]

A major obstruction to effective centralization was undoubtedly the absence of awell-developed bureaucratic apparatus that could have constrained the powers of the clan chiefs. Literacy was very rare among the steppe peoples and there was little use of writing in the steppe languages, whether Mongolian or Turkic. However, the old Mongol script, derived from Uighur, was used to preserve the traditional customary law, the *Yāsā*, attributed to Chinggis Khan. The *Yāsā*, in fact, was constantly compiled and updated.[17] Throughout the Turkic lands the same customary law, called the *tura*, was orally preserved, though there was a growing feeling that it did not accord with Muslim law (see Chapter 8).[18] Such preservation, with modifications, of customary law represented a very limited act of legislation; and it is not even clear how far the *Yāsā* or the *tura* by itself could have contributed to sustaining the ruler's authority. Bābur does refer, however, to the military arrangements set out in the *tuzuk* (regulations) of Chinggis Khan, which, as Bābur himself

[12] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 378–9.

[13] Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 402. The figures for the whole province (*sūba*) are as given by the author. The detailed figures given for the various tribes and localities (pp. 402–3), however, come in the aggregate to 44,635 sheep, 45 Baluch horses and 30 camels.

[14] Clauson, 1972, p. 203. The earliest quotation in *COED*, 1971, Vol. 1, p. 1330, s.v. 'horde', is of 1555: 'The Tartares are divided by companies which they caule Hordas. they consiste of innumerable Hordas.'

[15] Clauson, 1972, pp. 322–3. Bābur (d. 1530) in his memoirs uses the term in an intermediate sense of leading men in his clan, who also had armed retainers (Bābur, 1995, p. 431; 1922, Vol. 2, p. 478).

[16] Cf. Barthold, 1956*a*, p. 163.

[17] See Chs. 6 and 8 in the present volume.

[18] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 69–70. See also Isogai, 1997.

saw in 1502, the Moghuls followed punctiliously in Moghulistan;[19] and this must, at least, have made military operations more disciplined and effective.

The existence of steppe statehood makes it clear that we are dealing with a fairlywell-stratified, hierarchical society whose relatively rough manners should not be thought of as representing any kind of egalitarianism. Indeed, when Bābur visited his relatives, the Moghul khan and his brothers and kinsmen, at their encampments in 1502, the requisite ceremonies and formalities were given considerable attention.[20] These clearly reflected systems of etiquette that grew out of the close regard paid to aristocratic hierarchy.

Steppe society must also have been stratified according to wealth that mainly depended upon the number of herd animals one owned. Below the 'free' mass of herdsmen, rich and poor, there was also a fairly large segment of semi-servile and servile populations. When the Dzungars conquered the Kashghar khanate, they took a number of captives to their main seat of power, the Ili valley, and used them as agricultural workers.[21] These peasants were tied to the land and were, therefore, practically serfs.

The rulers and chiefs also had slaves. Haydar Dughlāt gives an eyewitness account of how the Moghul ruler, Vays Khan (d. 1428), cultivated a small field, irrigating it with pitchers of water brought from a well with the help of slaves.[22] The nomads of the steppes generally had the reputation of being slave-raiders; this reputation is principally associated with the Turkmens, and there are nineteenth-century accounts of their being engaged in capturing slaves.[23] It should, of course, be remembered that the steppe people too were subjected to enslavement to meet the demand for slaves in sedentary societies.

Sedentary societies

(*S. Moosvi*)

Central Asia forms a major component of the great nomadic pastoral belt from Mongolia to Atlantic North Africa. This is mainly due to the low precipitation in the entire

[19] Bābur, 1995, p. 149; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 155.
[20] Bābur, 1995, pp. 148–55; 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 154–61.
[21] These people were called 'Bukhārans'. Cf. Barthold, 1956*a*, p. 163. See also Chs. 6 and 7 in the present volume.
[22] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 67.
[23] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, pp. 338–9; Vol. 2, pp. 11–13, 57.

zone, largely owing to the distance between the zone and the oceans. Here agricultural areas were confined to oases and narrow riverine valleys, and did not form large territorial blocks as in the great agrarian regions of the world (eastern China, the Gangetic basin, western Europe). Sedentary societies in Central Asia often had, therefore, the appearance of islands within a sea of steppes, and thus sedentary populations often coexisted as close neighbours with nomadic communities. These relationships involved ethnic differences between nomad and settler (Turk vs. Tajik; Mongol vs. settled Turk) in certain historical periods; yet often enough nomads and settlers also shared common languages because of geographic proximity, or because of the transformation of nomads into peasants. And yet despite such demographic admixtures the two societies, by their economic nature, required totally different systems of organization.

Nomads, for example, needed generally to be organized in tribes (see previoussub-section), whereas settlers, inhabiting permanent villages and engaged in multiple professions, had essentially local or territorial, not tribal affinities. One may again recall Bābur's surprise that Indians had caste names, though they were settled people: in his homelands only nomads had tribal names.[24]

The fundamental unit of pre-modern sedentary society was not, therefore, the kinship group, clan or tribe, but the 'village community'. The village community is an institution that has been subjected to theoretical analyses by many authors from Hegel to Maine, though mainly in relation to India.[25] A framework of co-operation has existed among villagers in most sedentary societies, especially when in pre-modern conditions the villages were largely isolated units of habitation.[26] In the arid zones of Central Asia, irrigation became one important factor binding the villagers together. It is often difficult to establish how the *kārez*s or *qanāt*s (underground irrigation channels) were originally built;[27] but in areas outside the great landowners' estates, the distribution of the water from these channels was usually based on village custom.[28]

In India, where well irrigation was more important in pre-modern times than canal irrigation, and was, therefore, based normally on the resources of the individual peasant,

[24] Bābur, 1995, pp. 466–7; 1922, Vol. 2, p. 528.

[25] Hegel, 1956, p. 154; Marx, 1973, pp. 474–86; 1887, pp. 350–2; Maine, 1876. Baden-Powell, 1896, may be added to this list of eminent writers.

[26] Of Iran, Lambton says that 'neighbouring villages often spoke, as they still do today, different dialects' and that 'from early Islamic times the villages in general appear to have enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy and to have been organized as self-contained and virtually self-governing communities' (Lambton, 1954, p. 8).

[27] It is said of *kārez*s in Khurasan that these were built 'as an act of charity by the piously disposed, but most owe their construction to the actual requirements of the interest of local governors or chiefs' (Bellew, 1874, p. 298).

[28] Cf. Lambton, 1953, pp. 217–20.

irrigation played little role in the formation of the village communities. Here, however, certain specific social factors underlay the structure of the community, namely, the caste system with its hereditary division of labour, and a hierarchical system of caste dominance as well as caste co-operation.[29] This had its economic aspect in that all villagers were linked together as traditional customers to particular village artisans providing customary shares out of their harvests in order to receive defined services from the craft workers.[30]

The village community did not imply any communal ownership or co-operative cultivation. It coexisted with individual cultivation, leading to peasant rights over definite parcels of land. Such a right was not necessarily a property right, since property implies not only saleability but also rent appropriation. This was because, for one thing, the *kharāj* (land tax) in almost all parts of Central Asia far exceeded the claims on peasants by local intermediaries. Indeed it was the king who was often recognized as the owner of the land in both Iran and India.[31] But in all sedentary communities of Central Asia, there were between the ruler and peasants intermediary layers of rights as well.

First, there were the higher elite elements in the community, the *kadkhudā*s in Iran, *arbāb*s in Sind, *panch*s/*muqaddam*s in northern India, often just called *kalāntarān* (great men, sing. *kalāntar*) in Persian.[32] In certain areas, a stronger superior right had also developed; its holder was given the designation of *zamīndār* in Mughal India – the right implied not only fiscal claims in part of the land or its produce, but also the hereditary obligation to collect tax, at given rates of remuneration, for the state.[33] There were similar intermediary classes in Iran (*arbāb, mālik*, etc.).[34]

The state, with its increasing ability to collect taxes, itself generated particular changes in the social structure. Wherever it obtained the necessary power, the fiscal right of the state approached the full surplus (or economic rent), often exceeding the permissible level of *kharāj* in Muslim law, viz. half the produce. Abū'l Fazl (*c*. 1595) makes this statement especially in respect of 'Iran and Turan', that is, the Safavid empire and the Uzbek khanate.[35] Yet an almost identical assertion is made about the Mughal land tax in India

[29] Cf. Habib, 1999, pp. 144–60.
[30] In 1847 a British report from Sind refers to a 'strong bond of union between all members of the village', and to the carpenter receiving 'his fee for the annual repair of the Persian wheels, and the potter for the supply of earthen vessels attached to them' (Thomas, n.d., Vol. 2, p. 728).
[31] Cf. Lambton, 1953, p. 105, for Iran; and Habib, 1999, pp. 122–6, for India.
[32] Lambton, 1954, p. 8; 1953, *passim* (see index); Habib, 1999, pp. 335*n, passim*.
[33] Habib, 1999, pp. 169–229.
[34] Lambton, 1953, pp. 422, 434.
[35] Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 293: 'In Iran and Turan, since olden times one-tenth [of the produce] has been taken [as tax], but often it happens that it exceeds one half, and out of the habit of cruel-mindedness it does not seem disreputable.'

early in the eighteenth century by a theological writer who wanted to prove that this tax was not *kharāj* but *ujra*, or rent.[36]

The concentration of such enormous fiscal resources, which gave rise, as we have seen, to the sovereign being seen as the universal landowner, naturally raises the question as to whether we are in the presence here of 'oriental despotism', the central feature of which, according to Marx, was that rents and taxes coincide.[37] This is not the place to enter into a debate on the nature of oriental despotism, or its place in Marx's concept of the Asiatic mode of production, first mentioned by him in 1859.[38] It is not very clear how matters would be different if one applied the term 'tributary mode of production' to an economy containing such a rent-receiving state.[39] The real question is whether a rent-extracting state would throttle trade and urban development or by generating 'induced' trade (for transfer of agrarian surplus to towns) help maintain a money economy and promote urban growth. It can be shown that Marx's different statements can lead to both conclusions.[40] While Marx's own contradictory views are important as indicating the futility of reconstructing unreal frameworks on the basis of a selection of his statements, as in the case of Wittfogel (1957), what is surely crucial is not simply to pursue theoretical deductions, but to see what the historical evidence tells us in respect to both the nature of the pre-colonial state and its economic environment in Central Asia.

We need, perhaps, to ask, first, how far the fiscal collections actually went into the hands of the state and to what purposes these were used. In different forms all the three major sedentary states of the region had systems of appanages, by which the sovereign alienated his fiscal and often administrative rights to members of the nobility temporarily or for all time. The most rigorous system appears to have been followed in the Mughal empire, where the *jāgīr*s (fiscal territorial assignments) were temporary and constantly subject to transfer, and did not involve any rights of civil or judicial administration.[41] In Persia under the Safavids, the *tuyul* was a land assignment either in lieu of salary or conditional upon maintaining a military contingent, while the *suyūrghāl* (land grant, lit. gift) was anoutright grant for all time with practically no conditions attached. It seems that in Persia

[36] See Habib, 1999, pp. 123–4.
[37] Marx, 1959, pp. 771–2.
[38] Marx, 1950, p. 329.
[39] I take Wickham, 1985, as an uncompromising representative of the applicability of this concept, originally proposed, I believe, by Samir Amin.
[40] Cf. Habib, 1995*b*, pp. 22–9, for quotations from several passages from Marx, of dual (and Contradictory) import mentioned here.
[41] See Habib, 1999, pp. 298–341, and Ali, 1997, pp. 74–94, for excellent studies of the system.

the *suyūrghāl* grants were far more extensive than in the Mughal empire,[42] and the *tuyul*s tended to become hereditary and continuously reduced the royal domain, the *khālisa*.[43] In the Uzbek khanate the loss of the khan's power owing to the hereditary nature of the appanages was demonstrated when the khanate broke up among various principalities after the death of Shaybānī Khān (1510) and again under the Janids in the seventeenth century. When Nadr Muhammad (who occupied the khan's seat at Bukhara in 1641) fatally antagonized his nobles by trying to transfer their appanages, he worsened his position further by trying to resume the vast *suyūrghāl* grants made to the religious classes.[44]

Such assignments force us to consider the social situations of those who held them. If the assignees had rural seats, and they and their retainers lived off the land, the room for induced trade could have been quite limited. Much work has been done on the composition of the Mughal nobility in India. (Owing to the transfer of *jāgīr*s from one part of the empire to another, there cannot be any study restricted only to the Central Asian parts of that empire.) The results as summed up in the most authoritative study are that immigrants from Iran and Turan (the Uzbek territories) accounted for 51.5 per cent of the high nobility (*mansabdār*s of '1,000' and above) in 1656–7 and 51.6 per cent during the period 1658–76.[45] Such immigrants were least likely to spread out among villages. The *jāgīrdār*s who came from within the limits of the empire, such as Afghans, Rajputs, local Indian Muslims and others, were hardly ever posted even temporarily in their ancestral localities (unless they were hereditary chiefs as well, the total area under the chiefs being fairly limited);[46] and, when transferred, they tended to move with their entire establishment (*sarkār*) to the new location.[47] In such circumstances, any fixed rural associations were out of the question. The farming of revenues, a practice which grew in the eighteenth century, did not alter the situation very greatly, since the *jāgīrdār*s and their retinue then lived away from the *jāgīr* and depended on the remittance of the tax collections in money form. In either circumstance, induced trade must have been the consequence. A statistical study of the detailed fiscal and administrative data available for the Mughal empire *c*. 1595 has found that over 50 per cent of the revenues flowed to the urban sector;[48] and this would well accord with the nature of the Mughal *jāgīr* system that we can establish from our sources.

42 In the Mughal empire moreover the grantees largely formed a town-based class (Moosvi, 1987, pp. 164–8).
43 Lambton, 1953, pp. 107–19.
44 Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, pp. 435–56.
45 Ali, 1997, pp. xvi–xvii. The results are worked out from Ali, 1985, a uniquely detailed work.
46 On the area under chiefs see Habib, 1999, pp. 222–9.
47 Habib, 1999, p. 330.
48 Moosvi, 1987, pp. 272–95.

When we turn to Safavid Persia, we find that in the beginning a very important and influential part of the nobility consisted of the Qizilbāsh Turkmāns who came from the eastern parts of Asia Minor, a territory largely lost to the Ottomans after the battle of Chaldiran (1514). Their language being different from Persian, it is unlikely that the Qizilbāsh commanders and the soldiery could have spread out in the Iranian villages: perforce they had to be town- or camp-based.[49] In time as the Qizilbāsh dominance declined, or was forcibly restricted under Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629), the Qizilbāsh element was partly replaced by the royal *ghulām*s, or slaves, recruited mainly from the Christian lands of the Caucasus, and so largely again in the same position of aliens in Persia proper.[50] The nobility did begin to be Persianized, but this does not mean that it was necessarily ruralized, since the Persian recruits to the nobility came largely from the bureaucracy (*mīrzā*s) rather than the rural landowners. The Shiᶜite religious establishment, which received large grants of land, was also mainly Persian (overlooking the immigrants from the Jabal ᶜAmil in Lebanon).[51] The institutionalization of religious instruction in Persia and the emphasis on Shiᶜite shrines, however, tended to give an urban orientation to the Shiᶜite clergy; and it is, therefore, likely that the taxes in large *auqaf* estates created for its benefit were not collected in a way different from those in the appanages of town-based potentates.[52]

As for the Uzbek khanate, it has been a standard view that the Uzbek chiefs who ascended to power in Transoxania under Shaybānī Khān (d. 1510) were nomadic tribal leaders, and it is even alleged that their ascendancy led to the addition of 'large numbers of Turkic and Turco-Mongolian nomads to the population of Transoxiana'.[53] However, while Barthold concedes that under the Uzbek ascendancy conditions in Khwarazm became 'quite barbaric', he paints a fairly positive picture of urban culture under the Uzbeks, in the Zarafashan basin (containing Samarkand and Bukhara) and in Balkh.[54] Another interesting feature in the socio-political structure of Transoxania was the increasing resources of the *khwāja*s, or Sufi mystics, who exercised unmatched influence over the popular mind; and this often induced the various rulers to keep them satisfied with large grants of lands.[55] It is difficult to see what kind of economic influence they exercised by the management of

[49] On the tension between the Qizilbāsh and the Persian elements, see Banani, 1978, pp. 89–91.
[50] Minorsky, 1943, pp. 14–19; Hodgson, 1974, pp. 32–3.
[51] Cf. Lambton, 1953, pp. 126–7, for large grants of land to the religious classes. On the scholars ('*ulamā*') from Jabal ᶜAmil, see Abisaab, 1994. The ᶜAmilī immigrants 'shared no fundamental or ethnic ties with any of the military and aristocratic elites of Safavid society' (ibid., pp. 121–2).
[52] On the growing emphasis on shrines, see Arjomand, 1984, pp. 169–70.
[53] Subtelny, 1997, p. 16. But Shaybānī himself had fled the steppes in early childhood and 'had taken a liking to sedentary life' (Burton, 1997, p. 3).
[54] Barthold, 1956*b*, pp. 64–5.
[55] This may be inferred from Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, pp. 439–40.

their estates; but their shrines, being large pilgrimage centres, generally made the *khwāja*s an urban or semi-urban class.

The structure of the state in sedentary societies in all three major empires was thus closely connected with the towns. Bernier's account of India in the seventeenth century has been widely understood to mean that in India and other eastern countries, the towns were mere nomadic encampments, though it can be legitimately argued that this was not really what the French traveller had intended to say.[56] One wonders, however, how the extensive archaeological remains of Mughal cities and several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century descriptions of these could have been ignored. The reported populations of certain towns cannot similarly be overlooked. Within the Indus basin, Lahore had around 250,000 inhabitants in 1581 and Thatta about 200,000 in 1635.[57] In the early 1820s in Persia the population of Mashhad was estimated at 32,000, and Shiraz at 40,000,[58] but by then the country's economic decline had long set in. There are apparently no estimates for towns in Transoxania in the period before 1800; but in 1831–2 Burnes estimated the population of Bukhara at 150,000 souls, and gave a fairly enthusiastic description of it.[59]

Ever since they came into existence, towns have depended for their existence on the surplus received from villages. The rulers' dependants and retainers and artisans, labourers and servants, who met the consumption requirements of the ruling classes, had to be fed and clothed from resources obtained from the countryside, most conveniently throughtax-generated trade. There was also the long-distance trade by which goods of high value were conveyed.

The mercantile classes carrying out various commercial functions were miscellaneously composed. There were semi-nomadic communities like the Banjaras in India, transporting goods in bulk on pack oxen,[60] and Afghan tribesmen who combined horse-breeding with extensive horse-trading.[61] But trade in finer goods was conducted by other communities, who combined commerce with banking and other credit operations. From their headquarters at Julfa in Persia, the operations of the Armenians spanned almost the whole of Eurasia.[62] The Banyas and Khatris, often called Multanis, not only controlled much

[56] Bernier, 1916, pp. 219–20, 251–2, 281–90. For the understanding obtained from Bernier of Indian cities being just military camps, see Marx and Engels, 1945, pp. 57–8.
[57] Cf. Habib, 1999, pp. 83–4.
[58] Fraser, 1984, pp. 169, 463–4.
[59] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, p. 302; Vol. 2, p. 184.
[60] Habib, 1990, pp. 372–9.
[61] Habib, 2001*b*, p. 33.
[62] See, e.g., Mauro, 1990, pp. 270–4, for a summary account. For the Armenian trade with India, see Moosvi, forthcoming.

of the long-distance commerce and banking in India, but also in Iran, Afghanistan and Transoxania.[63]

The relationship between the rulers and merchants was not necessarily antagonistic. For Mughal India there has been much debate over the treatment of merchants by the rulers; Moreland's description of the oppression from which the merchants suffered has been widely contested.[64] With regard to merchants in Persia, Malcolm had this to say early in the nineteenth century:

> The merchants of Persia are a numerous and wealthy class; and there is no part of the community that has enjoyed, through all the distractions with which this kingdom has been afflicted, and, under the worst princes, more security, both in their persons, and property. The reason is obvious: their traffic is essential to the revenue.[65]

As for Transoxania, Burton's recent massive work has shown in detail how the various khans of Bukhara did much, according to their lights, to further commerce.[66]

If, indeed, there was a system of despotic states in Central Asia different fromstate-forms elsewhere, then it would seem from our descriptive evidence that such despotism was not necessarily inimical either to towns or to trade, despite many violent upheavals and individual acts of oppression.

A few words may be added about the social order. The bulk of the populations comprised freeborn persons, but slavery was fairly widespread. Slavery is permissible under Islamic law, and as an institution was much used by the Safavid rulers (but not by the Mughals or Uzbeks) to bolster their control of the nobility.[67] There was muchslave-capture and slave-trade resulting from the conflict between the Uzbeks and the Persians; and Persian slaves formed a significant element in the population of the Bukhara emirate in 1831–2.[68] They could, however, redeem themselves, and were not apparently too inhumanly treated by their masters as a general rule.

Except for slaves there do not seem to have been any restrictions on change of residence or profession in the sedentary societies of Central Asia, with the notable exception of the Indian caste system, which normally prevented a change in occupation. There were, however, classes like the *faqīr*s (lit. the poor or indigent) who were landless labourers under

63 For the Banyas and Khatris, see Habib, 1990, pp. 379–88. For the Banyas in Iran, see Chardin, 1686, pp. 98–101 et seq. See Burton, 1997, pp. 451–2, for Multani or Indian merchants at Bukhara; also Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, pp. 284–6, for about 300 Hindus living in Bukhara with a caravanserai of their own.

64 Moreland, 1920, pp. 50–2, 264–5. For a contrary view, see especially Habib, 1995*b*, pp. 223–9.

65 Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 430.

66 Burton, 1997, pp. 413–26.

67 Cf. Minorsky, 1943, p. 127.

68 Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, pp. 432–3.

the Yūsufzāi peasants among the Afghans.[69] Finally, freeborn persons could be subjected to *begar* (forced labour). This obligation was imposed on certain communities in India,[70] while in Persia the guilds (*asnāf*s) of artisans were often made liable to it.[71] There were thus large sections of partially unprivileged populations; but equality has not been a hallmark of sedentary societies anywhere.

Part Two

THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Transoxania

(*A. Tabyshalieva*)

Central Asian societies were not uniformly structured, and the extent of men's control over women depended not only on religion, but also on tribal custom and kinship structures. In accordance with the *sharī^{c}a* (Islamic law), the Muslims tended to be highly patriarchal and, in public life, strictly gender-segregated; but it was the sedentary populations in most of the region who lived more in conformity with the *sharī^{c}a*, whereas the nomadic peoples largely followed their own customary practice (*^{c}ādat*). The behaviour of women was strictly regulated everywhere; if a woman dared to break the traditions of male supremacy, she and her relatives were punished. A woman was expected to be, first, under the control of her father and, then, under that of her husband and his relatives or sons.

The contradiction between patriarchal traditions and the need for women's work in real life necessarily led to some conflict. A wife was almost universally considered a lower creature than her husband, usually designated 'unequal' or 'weak' (*nāchār* among the Turkic tribes). She had no right to intervene in the men's world, although domestically she generally enjoyed a recognized status. For example, a Turkic man would seldom buy or sell without his wife's permission, and a mother's agreement was needed for the marriage of her son or daughter.

[69] Elphinstone, 1839, Vol. 2, pp. 26–9. Elphinstone's information relates generally to 1809.
[70] Habib, 1999, pp. 181, 182, 206, 280, 289.
[71] Minorsky, 1943, p. 148.

In Xinjiang the Arabic word *mazlūm* (oppressed) designated a married woman, while an unmarried daughter or a widow was called *ᶜājiza* (helpless one). The duties and sufferings of women were believed to be divinely ordained. Nevertheless, it has been noted that in practice the position of women in this region was in some respects remarkably free, compared with some other countries. For instance, nineteenth-century French visitors were struck by the ease with which the Muslim women of the region could (and did) discard their husbands and acquire new ones.[72]

In Pashtoon tribal society (Afghanistan and the North-Western Frontier Province of Pakistan), women were conceptualized as forming two opposite and polar models. *Mor*, the mother, was assigned a highly positive image, which echoes the common saying of the Prophet Muhammad that heaven lies beneath the feet of one's mother. On the other hand, when a woman's chastity had been compromised and the honour of her close agnatic kin – father, husband and brothers – was at stake, she was considered to be in a state of *tor* (literally, black). Colour symbolism is a universal tribal phenomenon, and, among the Pashtoons, black symbolized death or evil, while white symbolized purity and goodness.[73]

Women in Transoxania not only had their household duties but also worked in the fields. A Russian traveller noted: 'All work at home and in the fields is carried on by women. An Uzbek woman is an ox, who works without rest. The man always has the money. He calculates carefully how much to give his wife for expenses.'[74] Women in nomadic society were burdened with innumerable tasks: riding, doing the housework, pitching the tents and taking them down, cooking and mothering children. Even a pregnant woman was expected to dismantle a tent and load it on to a camel; indeed, she would work on until childbirth. If a woman was ill and could not do all her household tasks, she was seen as abnormal, and explanations were found from folklore. Turkic nomads ascribed this to the actions of a monster called Albarsty, Maty-basy or Gelmagy-kempir.[75]

Discrimination against a girl began from birth and continued to haunt her throughout her life. A girl's birth was often received as sad news and would go unmarked, while great festivities accompanied a boy's birth. It was customary at the birth of a boy to give extravagant gifts, whereas at a girl's birth, a small present or nothing at all would be given. Moreover, women who bore only girls would be reproached or ostracized. Since in tribal societies girls would usually, upon marriage, leave the family and belong to other

[72] Badlick, 1993, p. 205.
[73] Ahmed, 1988, p. 30.
[74] Grebenkin, 1872, p. 60.
[75] They believed that this many-breasted creature with red hair changed into many shapes and was extremely dangerous for women and newborn babies. The belief was so strong that people did not leave a woman alone with her infant at night or extinguish the light.

communities, they were sometimes considered potential enemies, so that there seemed little point in providing them with a good upbringing. A Kyrgyz saying went: 'A girl is an enemy.' Traditionally, a girl aged 7 or 8 was considered to be mature. A Kazakh proverb reflected the desire to marry off girls as early as possible: 'Do not keep salt a long time, because it will become water; do not keep a daughter for long, because she will become a slave.' A daughter-in-law was subordinate not only to her husband, but also to all his male and female relatives. She had to do whatever her mother-in-law asked of her. In fact, she served the family as a slave and was usually hemmed in by many petty restrictions.

The practice of seclusion varied according to region and among the nomadic and settled groups of the population. Stricter seclusion tended to occur in sedentary Muslim groups rather than among the nomadic peoples. This was connected with features of their economy and way of life. A settled woman was isolated in the *ichkarī*, or inner rooms of the house. Her way of life was established by tradition; even an innocent conversation with a man or the removal of the *paranja* (veil) was seen as a serious transgression against society's laws. If a man knocked at the door of her home, she could only respond by knocking in a manner to indicate that there was no man present. The lot of females in Pashtoon society is perhaps best summed up by the proverb, 'For a woman, either the house or the grave.'[76] An old Tajik saying echoes this: 'The way of a woman in this life is from the bedroom to the kitchen, the kitchen to the washroom and the washroom to the grave.'

The status of women was reflected in their traditional clothing. In sedentary Muslim societies, a woman usually wore the *paranja* from the age of 9 or 10. This meant that she was covered from head to toe. Her face was hidden under a black net,[77] and even her infant was carried under the *paranja*. In contrast, due in part to economic conditions, a nomadic woman never covered her face and generally led a less restricted life. Her voice could often be heard in meetings, especially on issues of common interest. Kazakh and Kyrgyz women rode freely in the steppes and took part in festivals.

Virginity was cherished in all Muslim groups and any infidelity was punished severely: if found out, lovers would be executed. In nineteenth-century Bukhara, a woman suspected of having an extramarital affair would be sewn into a sack by servants of the emir and thrown from a minaret. The rules of divorce, except those concerning property, were designed wholly in favour of men. There were only two grounds on which a woman could ask for a divorce, namely, cruelty or sterility of the husband: the second was very difficult to prove. For a man, divorce was extremely easy; he simply had to utter the word *talāq* (divorce) three times. According to the *sharī*^{c}*a* and ^{c}*ādat*, male children must remain with

76 Ahmed, 1988, p. 30.
77 In Persian, *chashm-avez* or *ayazī* or *ayasī*, made of hair: see Inju, 1351/1972.

their father and his relatives. The *sharīᶜa* allowed only under-age daughters to remain with their divorced mother.

Polygamy was widespread in Muslim areas, although mainly among the rich and prosperous. The emirs and khans had large harems with many wives (the Qur'an allows up to 4 wives and any number of concubines). The last emir of Bukhara, Sayyidd Mīr ᶜĀlim (1910–20), had 112 wives and concubines. Customary practice among the Timurids in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries provided for a category of wives called *ghūnchachī*s: these were free-born women, who could be married in addition to the four legal wives. They were generally styled *āghā* and could be promoted to full legal status if there was a 'vacancy' among the group of legal wives, usually after motherhood.[78] In many cases polygamy was not only the 'cult of masculine honour', but also served the large household. The head of a nomadic family would often send part of his herd away with his elder wife and remain in nearby pastures with his young wives or move on in another direction. The family would gather again for the winter. Almost all witnesses of polygamy wrote that the wives lived in discord among themselves. Their children took sides in the fights and quarrels. A Karakalpak (Qara-Qālpāq) saying goes: 'Rivals [wives] have quarrels every day: [even] for cinders there is a quarrel.'

Until Soviet times, the custom of levirate was traditionally followed mainly by the nomadic peoples. Buying a wife meant that she was a chattel not only for her husband, but also for all relatives in the clan. Her husband's relatives inherited the woman as the object of exchange after his death. The harsh conditions of nomadic life and the never-ending wars, together with the idea that women's sexuality must be controlled for the preservation of clan honour, made it hard for a woman to survive alone. Widows often had to agree to leviratic marriages for the sake of their children and to avoid being ostracized. A Kazakh proverb laid down the rule of levirate thus: 'If an elder brother is dying, his wife is given to the younger brother; if he dies, his wife is transferred to an elder brother, just as the skin of a dead horse is the property of its master.'[79] Apart from the father-in-law, it was of no importance who inherited the woman: it could be her dead husband's brother, uncle or another distant relative. If there were several brothers, the youngest would inherit the wife.

A marriage under levirate could result in a great difference in ages between the spouses. For example, a 30-year-old woman could become the wife of a 7-year-old boy if he were the brother of her dead husband.[80] If the widow returned to her family, her husband's family might be subjected to ridicule. Among the Karakalpaks, for example, there was a

[78] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 17 and note.
[79] Usenova, 1986, p. 29.
[80] Abramson, 1973, pp. 58–9.

saying: 'Really, do you not have any men that the widow left you?'[81] If a prospective groom died having partly paid for his future bride, his younger brother inherited her. Sometimes, however, a widow's views on which of the eligible men she wished to marry were taken into account.

The practice of sororate, meaning the right of a widower to marry a younger sister of his dead wife, was widely practised among nomadic peoples such as the Kyrgyz, the Kazakhs and the Karakalpaks. Among settled peoples such as the Uzbeks and Tajiks, levirate and sororate were unfamiliar customs. The Tajiks, however, believed that to leave a fertile woman without a man was inadmissible: remarriages of widows were thus common.

Throughout the region, women had value in men's eyes only in relation to men and reproduction. The fertility cult in Central Asia was based on the widespread assumption that children always bring good luck and are pleasing to God. The desire to have more sons has had social, economic and environmental causes for thousands of years. High infant mortality and the need to maintain large families to support the natural economy and to wage wars may explain the fertility cult's particular popularity in Transoxania. The centuries-old fear that a child would not survive led to customs and traditions that emphasized a woman's fertility. Extremely early marriages for women often led to premature sterility and thus a declining birth rate. The difference in spouses' ages, especially in polygamous marriages, also had a significant influence, as did the early death of women and lengthy lactation.

A woman's status in society was thus often determined by her ability to bear children. Sterile women held a marginal position: among the Kyrgyz, for example, they were contemptuously nicknamed 'dry skulls'. Childless women maintained the tradition of pilgrimage to numerous holy places. An entire network of holy tombs (*mazār*s) and innumerable customs were devoted to the cure of sterility. *Mazār*s, along with the rituals, spirituality and social functions associated with them, were deeply venerated thanks to the cult of fertility. Holy places for women could be found everywhere and for many centuries pilgrims have visited places such as Shah-i Zinda and Bibi Khanum (Uzbekistan) and Safid-Bulend (Kyrgyzstan).[82]

Women are mostly known in history as mothers, wives or daughters of men. However, the wives and other women of the court of Timur in the fourteenth century are worthy of consideration. Their position owed more to Mongol customs than to the traditions of Islam. As can be seen from the accounts of the banquets in 1404 by Ruy González de Clavijo, ambassador of the king of Castile, and Ibn ᶜArabshāh, the queens and princesses were

[81] Bekmuratova, 1970, p. 58.
[82] Abramson, 1973, p. 61.

present there unveiled. They also gave banquets to which they invited their own guests. Timur built palaces with gardens in the environs of Samarkand both for his wives and for other princesses.[83] His grandson, Ulugh Beg (1394–1449), the famous astronomer and a builder of *madrasa*s, had the following words carved over the main portal of the Bukhara *madrasa*: ‘Learning is an obligation for every Muslim man and woman.’ This certainly referred to the study of theology and some scholars believe it applied to secular learning too. The reference to women is significant and indicates that Ulugh Beg must have had progressive views concerning the position of women in society. It is also significant that these words were displayed in Bukhara, the stronghold of the most conservative *shaykh*s and theologians.[84]

Though secluded, women in Central Asia could still write. Prominent female poets of the nineteenth century include Uvaysī, Mahzuna, Nadira, Tajudaulat and Dilshād. Nadira, the wife of the khan of Kokand, left a rich literary legacy in the form of more than 10,000 verses in the Uzbek and Persian (Tajik) languages, both under her own name and under the pseudonyms Kamila and Maimuna.

Iran[85]

(*S. Moosvi*)

The position of women in Safavid Iran was perhaps not very different from their position in other Central Asian societies. In Iran, as elsewhere, the material conditions of urban, aristocratic and middle-class women differed from those of women of the poorer classes. Women’s seclusion was perhaps less strict than in the towns of Transoxania, however. In about 1575 the Italian traveller Vincentio d’Alessandri noted the ‘fine features of Iranian women’, and stated that they wore ‘robes of silk, veils on their heads and show their faces openly’.[86] Jean Chardin, a century later, recorded that’they don’t shut up young women in Persia, till they are six or seven years of age; and before they come to that age, they go out of Seraglio sometimes with their Fathers insomuch that one may see them’ and ‘they

[83] Barthold, 1963, p. 31.
[84] Polonskaya and Malashenko, 1994, p. 22.
[85] I am grateful to Professor Chahryar Adle for kindly supplying some important facts and references for this section.
[86] ‘Narrative’ of Vincentio d’Alessandri in Grey (tr. and ed.), 1873, p. 233.

wear no veil in the House at any age'.[87] Chardin's description (with illustrations) of the veils worn by Iranian women supports d'Alessandri's statement that their veils covered the head and not the face. Out of the four types of veils described by Chardin, three covered the forehead or head fully or partially; only one covered the entire body including the face, revealing only the eyes.[88] After describing the features of Iranian women at some length,[89] Thomas Herbert (1628) still describes them as being 'Unseen'. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1644) remarks that they were visible only to their husbands.[90] There is possibly some element of exaggeration here. However, John Fryer says that women were not allowed to go out unveiled and unescorted and were served only by female attendants and eunuchs.[91] Both Tavernier (who visited Iran in 1644) and Chardin (who did so in 1665–77) found women superbly attired,[92] and Chardin notes that their garments were not much different from those of men.[93] Fryer (who was in Iran in 1677–8) reports that the women were taught to 'Ride a Straddle like Men, to Leap, to Dart, and drink Tobacco'.[94] All this, of course, relates to the upper echelons of society. There was a certain amount of ethnic admixture among Iranian women of the higher classes: according to Chardin, since the beginning of the Safavid period the men of substance in Iran had had a tendency to seek Georgian or Circassian wives.[95]

Marriage in Iran was a matter of contract in accordance with Muslim law. Thus it was a legal requirement for a woman to consent to her marriage. However, Raphael du Mans and Chardin in the second half of the seventeenth century,[96] and Malcolm at the turn of the nineteenth,[97] found that in most cases this was a mere formality: marriages were mostly arranged by the families, and the prospective partners were not known to each other, except in the case of marriages between cousins, which were not uncommon.

The husband was required to pay, or pledge to pay, a dowry (*mahr*) to his wife, but if the wife sued for a divorce before the *qāzī* (judge) (which she was entitled to do), she forfeited her right to the dowry. This latter condition meant that the financial safeguard provided for

[87] Chardin, 1927, Vol. 2, p. 216.
[88] Ibid., p. 217.
[89] Ferrier, 1998, p. 385: 'their hair black and curling, their forehead high and pure, eyes diamond like, having black luster, their noses high, mouths rather large than sparing, thicke lips and cheekes fat, round and painted.'
[90] See statements from Herbert and Tavernier quoted in Ferrier, 1998, p. 389.
[91] Fryer, 1915, Vol. 3, p. 126.
[92] Ferrier, 1998, p. 390.
[93] Chardin, 1927, Vol. 2, p. 216.
[94] Fryer, 1915, Vol. 3, p. 127.
[95] See statements from Herbert, Tavernier and Chardin quoted in Ferrier, 1998, p. 385.
[96] Ferrier, 1998, p. 385.
[97] Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, pp. 589–90.

the wife was far less effective, since Fryer and Malcolm both testify that men who wished to divorce their wives would treat them so badly that the women were compelled to seek a divorce and lose their claim to a dowry. Only if the wife could convince the *qāzī* of her husband's tyranny and his wilful violation of the marriage contract could a suspension of the marriage be pronounced and the husband directed by the *qāzī* 'to give [the wife] alimony and maintain her at his own charges'.[98] But, Fryer adds: 'Divorces are common among the ordinary People, though seldom among the great ones, who count it a shame.'[99] Malcolm in 1799–1801 found the woman's right to her dowry well 'guarded not only by law and usage but by the protection of her male relations, who are in general the witnesses'. He says that it is 'one right of which women in Persia are very jealous'.[100]

For women infertility was considered the worst stigma and a number of superstitions were attached to it. According to Chardin, the general belief was that infertility was a consequence of ill-gotten possessions and the sins of husbands which needed to be expiated through charity.[101]

Under Shi^{c}ite law, temporary marriage (*mut^{c}a sigha*) for a specified period, with the permission to have more than one such alliance, depending upon means and inclination, is legal; and the practice was not uncommon.[102] There was also the well-recognized practice of concubinage, based upon the institution of female slaves, who were bought and sold.

In Safavid Persia prostitution was also quite common. Prostitutes were excluded only from Ardabil. According to Chardin, in Isfahan alone there were 12–14,000 officially registered prostitutes paying taxes, not counting those who freelanced, and who altogether paid the state 8,000 *tuman*s annually. They paid for the king's licence when they first set up business and then paid an annual fee as long as they practised their profession.[103] Fryer put their number in Isfahan at 40,000.[104] In addition, there were bands of dancers and singers, either attached to particular nobles or freelancers, spread all over the country, who also doubled as prostitutes.[105] Registered prostitutes had their own organization with a head and officers. In spite of their large number, the prices of their services were very high, particularly during their first year of business. Prosperous courtesans even built grand mansions in respectable localities.[106]

98 Fryer, 1915, Vol. 3, pp. 106–8; Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 592.
99 Fryer, 1915, Vol. 3, p. 107.
100 Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 590.
101 Ferrier, 1998, p. 391.
102 For these marriages in Iran, see Levy, 1957, pp. 115–17.
103 Ferrier, 1998, pp. 394–5.
104 Fryer, 1915, Vol. 3, p. 129.
105 Chardin, quoted in Ferrier, 1998, p. 394.
106 Ibid.

Although there was no public execution or flogging of women, there were still quite harsh ways of punishing them. A married woman could be disgraced by being forced to wear a border on her garment, the mark that usually identified a prostitute, or 'to shave her Head, [which] is the greatest Mark of Infamy she can be branded with; unless to add a perpetual stigmatizing'.[107] Malcolm reports that innocent females were often included in the punishment meted out to their husbands and fathers, particularly where those of high rank were concerned. Women were tortured to give information about concealed wealth, and if a noble incurred the wrath of the ruler and was sentenced to death, it was not unusual for his wives and daughters to be given away to his slaves or in certain cases to men of lower classes, such as mule drivers.[108]

Women of substance in Safavid Persia were not brought up to perform any useful tasks, being designed merely to be 'idle companions'. According to Fryer, upper-class Iranian women were only 'instructed in the Affairs of Bed, Banqueting, Luxury and Brutish Obsequiousness'; 'nor are they trained up in those Principles from their Youth which should render them fit to become prudent Matrons.'[109] Infants were left in the care of slaves and male children were educated by eunuchs, tutors and teachers.[110] Du Mans records in 1660 that one of the few activities left to women were visits to public baths; or 'they only smoke tobacco all day and in the harem their most demanding task will be to embroider some fabrics and to line the tops of stockings. The whole household depends on the man.'[111]

Nevertheless, if Persian paintings of the time are any guide, the women of the upper classes in Persia were not all illiterate. The depiction of young Layla and Majnūn, along with other girls shown at school, was a popular theme with Iranian artists; but there are quite a few other miniatures depicting women reading or writing: for instance, a painting of 1526 shows a woman reciting a poem from a book,[112] while another well-known painting of the Isfahan school shows a girl writing.[113] In the cities, women could be active in other spheres as well. In private workshops, for example, they could participate in producing manuscripts. Budāq Qazvīnī had seen with his own eyes (*c.* 1576–7) that in the houses of Shiraz 'the wife is a copyist [*kātib*], the husband a miniaturist [*musawwir*], the daughter an

107 Fryer, 1915, Vol. 3, p. 128.
108 Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, pp. 454–5.
109 Fryer, 1915, Vol. 3, p. 127: 'They have little care over their Children, nor have they much business with the Reel or Spindle.'
110 Ferrier, 1998, p. 389.
111 Du Mans in Ferrier, 1998, p. 389.
112 Blochet, 1929, Pl. CXXIII.
113 Robinson, 1976, Pl. XVI, no. 1003.

illuminator [*muzahhib*] and the son a binder [*mujallid*]. Shiraz was at that time the main centre for producing commercial manuscripts.'[114]

Some Safavid princesses and other women of the aristocracy were also keen builders. At Isfahan alone Shāh ᶜAbbās II's (1642–66) grandmother, Dilārām Khānum, constructed two caravanserais and two *madrasa*s in the 1640s; Shahrbānū, the sister of Shāh Sultān Husayn (1694–1722), built a *madrasa* and a bathhouse; while Princess Maryam Begum built a *madrasa* and a large mansion during 1703–4. Quite a few mansions, mosques and *madrasa*s were also constructed by women of the nobility.[115] Princess Mahīnbānū Sultanam, Shāh Tahmāsp I's (1523–76) beloved sister, was a calligrapher.[116] She used to ride on horseback and took her stand, while hunting, behind her brother.[117]

Notwithstanding Fryer's categorical assertion that no women 'though of the Royal Lineage, are permitted in Matters of State to meddle, or have their Cabals or Instruments, whereby to convey their policies', there are several instances of royal ladies' directparticipation in Safavid court politics and government, before as well as after Fryer's visit.[118] The Mughal emperor Humāyūn's (1530–56) servant Jauhar Aft ābchī records that it was the wise counsel of Shāh Tahmāsp I's sister (presumably Sultanam) that ensured Iranian assistance for the royal exile, though Tahmāsp himself wanted him murdered.[119] Parī Khān Khānum, the daughter of Shāh Tahmāsp I, was influential enough to play a crucial role in the struggle for the succession in 1575–7 (she favoured Ismāᶜīl). But in November 1577 she allegedly had him poisoned for his lack of gratitude. After his death, at the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Khudābanda (1578–87), she managed to control the affairs of state through her Circassian uncle, Shamkhal Sultān. It was only through the designs of another woman, Khayr al-Nisā Begum (known as Mahd-i ᶜUlya), the wife of Khudābanda, that Parī Khān Khānum was removed from power and later murdered.[120] Far from being content to exercise her influence on affairs of state indirectly, Mahd-i ᶜUlya chose to take direct control. For well over a year, she governed openly, appointing the chief officers, before she was herself overthrown and strangled on charges of infidelity in July 1579.[121]

Shāh ᶜAbbās I's (1587–1629) daughter Zaynab Begum and some other ladies of the harem, including the queen mother, exercised considerable influence over Shāh Safī I

[114] Budāq Qazvīnī, MS, fols. 109r–v; Akimushkin and Ivanov, 1979, p. 50.
[115] For details see Blake, 1998, pp. 409–13.
[116] See Adle, 1993, p. 228.
[117] Gulbadan, 1902, Persian text, p. 69, tr. pp. 169–70.
[118] Fryer, 1915, Vol. 3, p. 127. On the important role of women in the exercise of political power in sixteenth-century Safavid Iran, see Szuppe's outstanding study published in 1994. See also Adle, 1993, p. 228.
[119] Āftābchī, MS, fol. 77a–b.
[120] Cf. Jackson and Lockhart, 1986, pp. 247, 251, 253–5.
[121] Jackson and Lockhart, 1986, pp. 255, 259.

(1629–42).[122] Princess Maryam Begum played a crucial role in securing the throne for Shāh Sultān Husayn after the death of Shāh Sulaymān (Shāh Safī II) against the claims of his younger brother, ᶜAbbās Mīrzā. She is also credited with persuading him to follow a more energetic policy against the Afghans and to transfer the capital from Isfahan to Qazvin. Princesses, especially Maryam Begum, herself a hardened wine-drinker, resisted the demands of Muhammad Baqar Majlisī, the *shaykh al-islām* (1627– 99), and violated the decree restricting the unbridled consumption of alcohol.[123] Indeed, Minorsky, while underlining the role of the 'shadow government' represented by the harem and the queen mother, holds alcohol to be one of the major causes of the decline of the Safavid empire.[124]

All politically influential women from the harems are overshadowed, however, by the dramatic personality of the Iranian religious revolutionary, Qurratu'l ᶜAyn. She was born in Qazvin in 1814 to a religious family and was married to a cleric. Yet she was highly educated and defied her husband in order to follow the mystic *(shaykhī)* sect on which she wrote a *risāla*, or tract. In 1844 she shifted her allegiance to Sayyid ᶜAlī Muhammad, the Bāb, of whose millenary movement she became one of the 18 recognized leaders (*hurūf al-hayy*, 'letters of the living one'). She preached the Bābi doctrines publicly at Karbala and at various places in Iran until, in 1848, her famous public unveiling occurred at Badasht, with a fiery declaration of insurrection. She was arrested in 1850, and in 1852 met her death by torture 'with superhuman fortitude'. Despite some dispute about how far she went in her unveiling, there is little doubt that Qurratu'l ᶜAyn, heroine and martyr, is the one truly emancipated woman in Iran that pre-modern Islam produced.[125]

Away from the spectacular world of these elite women were the ordinary rural and tribal women, who were 'seldom veiled' according to Malcolm. They were useful members of the community who 'not only shared the bed, but the fatigues and dangers of their husbands' and were thus respected. 'They performed all the domestic and menial jobs of their homes.'[126] Adam Olearius (in 1636–67) and Fryer and Le Burn (in 1701) all met such women and were waited upon by them during their journeys. Fryer describes the hospitality he received, being served cheese and 'Butter made before our Eyes, with no other Churn than a Goatskin'. Le Burn found women selling 'butter, milk, eggs and good chickens'.[127] This account is also supported by the evidence offered by Persian miniatures, which show

[122] Ibid., p. 281.
[123] Ibid., pp. 311–12, 317.
[124] Minorsky (ed. and tr.), 1943, p. 23.
[125] For a picture of Qurratu'l ᶜAyn and a biography, see Aryanpur, 1978, Vol. 1, pp. 130–2; illus., p. 145.
[126] Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 613.
[127] Ferrier, 1998, pp. 392–3.

women spinning, washing clothes, cooking, looking after children[128] and milking cows.[129] But Fryer complains that the inns had no female keepers or maids. The profession of midwifery was apparently not a separate one either, since Fryer remarks that 'it is common for the ordinary Peoples Wives to meet together to assist' in childbirth.[130] Poor women too had their share of beauty, particularly when they were young, though Malcolm says it was soon destroyed by hard labour and the continuous exposure to the elements.[131]

India

(*S. Moosvi*)

In late medieval India, as in Transoxania and Iran, the role of women in society was not only regarded as subordinate, but was also rationalized as being due to women's own inherent weaknesses. In religious perceptions, woman was portrayed as vile and as a seductress, both in the verses of the monotheistic saint Kabīr (fifteenth century) and in those of Tulsi Das (*c*. 1580), the author of the *Rāmcharitmanas* (the Hindi story of Rama). Similar views were held by the orthodox Naqshbandi theologian, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (1564–1624) (see Chapter 24).[132] However, there is a much better perception of woman in the Sikh scriptures, which do not denigrate her in this manner.

While Muslims in India, like those of Transoxania, largely followed the legal system of Abū Hanifa, customs differed in some important respects. Public executions for alleged adultery were practically unheard-of in India, for example. There was also a general aversion to a husband's divorcing his wife, and a theologian (1595) noted that the epithet *talāqī* (a divorcing husband) was deemed an extremely offensive term of abuse.[133] Polygamy among the upper classes was common, and Emperor Akbar's (1556–1605) own spokesman

[128] Froman and Kubekova, n.d., Pl. 21 (Safavid School in Tabriz, work of Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlīor a contemporary of his, mid-sixteenth century), and p. vi (margin illus.).
[129] Froman and Kubekova, n.d., Pl. 20.
[130] Fryer, 1915, Vol. 3, p. 130. For a contrary statement to the effect that midwives were to be found in very large numbers, see Elgood, 1970, p. 205, where, however, no source is cited.
[131] Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 636.
[132] Sirhindī, n.d., pp. 190–1.
[133] Badaunī, 1972, p. 437.

Abū'l Fazl felt particularly blessed to have three wives.[134] Yet seventeenth century marriage contracts contain clauses barring the husband from entering into a second marriage or taking a concubine.[135] Indeed, Akbar publicly endorsed the principle of monogamy and prohibited marriages before puberty. This order covered Hindus as well. He also argued that Muslim law was unfair to the daughter in allowing her only a half-share in the inheritance (as compared to that of the son), whereas being weaker, she should in fact be entitled to a larger share.[136] Widows frequently remarried among all classes of Muslims and widowhood was generally not held to be a stigma. Marriage contracts stipulated the amount of dowry (*mahr*) to be paid to the wife; a husband was also to avoid long absences without providing his wife with a source of sustenance; otherwise, the marriage could be legally dissolved.[137] Prostitution, though prevalent, was looked down upon. Akbar in his capital, Fatehpur Sikri, banished all the city's prostitutes to a special quarter, naming it 'Shaitan Pura' ('Abode of the Devil').[138]

Upper-class Muslim women followed strict seclusion in India; indeed, purdah was a sign of status, of belonging to the *shurafā'*, the gentry. A late sixteenth-century theologian even disapproved of the practice of women riding horses, however well wrapped they might be.[139] For poor Muslim women, however, veiling could only have been an occasional ritual. They are shown in Mughal paintings as spinning and breaking stones in public, unveiled.

Among Hindus of northern India, customs differed widely between the lower and upper castes. In Kashmir, Trebeck (1819–25) reported: 'Hindu women never go veiled, and never affect concealment, either at home or abroad.'[140] In Haryana, however, in the early nineteenth century, women of the higher land-controlling castes tended to be kept secluded, as among the upper ranks of the Jats.[141] Among the Hindu lower castes, bride price and widow remarriage (with forms of levirate) prevailed. Among the higher castes, however, grooms often received high dowries, and widows were strictly prohibited from remarrying.

Among Hindus claiming high warrior or aristocratic status, *satī* (suttee), or widow-burning, was also practised. Under Akbar this practice came under considerable official condemnation, and from his time onwards involuntary suttee was fairly effectively

[134] Abū'l Fazl, 1948, p. 521 (read 'Indian, Kashmiri and Iranian wives' for 'Hindu, Kashmiri and Persian' in the translation).
[135] Cf. Moosvi, 1992, pp. 404–7, for a translation of such contracts.
[136] Habib, 1993, pp. 303–6.
[137] Moosvi, 1992, pp. 404–7.
[138] Badaunī, 1864–9, Vol. 2, p. 186.
[139] Badaunī, 1972, p. 460.
[140] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, p. 131.
[141] Skinner, 1825, fol. 157a.

prohibited in the Mughal empire.[142] There were regional variations in the custom of suttee. The Hindu women of Kashmir, it was reported early in the nineteenth century, 'had long been exempted' from suttee, the practice having reputedly been 'suppressed by an edict of Aurangzeb in 1669, and never subsequently revived'.[143] Suttee was unknown among the Sikhs, but when Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of Punjab, died in 1739, his widows and concubines were compelled to mount the funeral pyre, a practice in line with his claim to be a maharaja. A blanket prohibition of this barbarous practice in British territories came only in 1829 when, following Ram Mohan Roy's agitation against it, the East India Company's government completely forbade it by a special regulation.

As in most other pre-modern societies, India too had a customary gender-based division of labour. Incidental references in literary sources and paintings provide us with some evidence to reconstruct the share of labour that was traditionally allotted to women.

Ordinary peasant women invariably worked alongside their men in the fields: for artists, women working in the fields formed part of the typical rural scene.[144] They mainly did the transplanting and weeding and helped in harvesting, though none of these was exclusively a woman's job. A nineteenthcentury line drawing from Kashmir clearly depicts a woman transplanting paddy along with a man.[145] Interesting evidence of women carrying on actual cultivation comes from the middle Himalayas, from where it was reported in 1624 that 'the women cultivate the soil, while men are weavers'.[146] A nineteenth-century drawing from Kashmir shows a man drawing water from a well, while a woman cuts the earth and makes water channels to irrigate the field.[147] After the harvest was collected from the field, it apparently called for still more work from the woman. The beating of rice and husking of other grains was exclusively a woman's job. The grinding of the grain on the rotary hand-mill was also mainly done by women. They fed sugar cane and oil-seeds into the ox-driven presses worked by men. Peasant women also cooked and carried food to their men working in the fields.[148]

The chores performed in the household are summed up by Fryer in 1676: 'The Indian Wives dress their Husbands Victuals, fetch Water, and Grind their Corn with an Hand-Mill,

[142] Habib, 1993, pp. 303–6.
[143] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, p. 131.
[144] Cf. Moosvi, 1994, pp. 105–16. See illus. in Anwar-i Suhailī, MS, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, no. 9069, fol. 18; *Razmnama*, MS, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, not numbered; Brown, 1947, Pl. 15 (here the operation is probably that of transplanting).
[145] Kosambi, 1956, p. 319, Fig. 41.
[146] Wessels, 1924, p. 52.
[147] Kosambi, 1956, p. 321, Fig. 43.
[148] Cf. Moosvi, 1994, pp. 105–16.

when they sing, chat, and are merry.'[149] Women collected twigs and leaves for fuel, fed the cattle and prepared yoghurt and butter. Milking was done by both men and women.[150]

As in most other societies spinning was regarded as exclusively women's work, as was ginning (with the famous Indian cotton-gin).[151] Pre-colonial India had an exceptionally large textile industry that engaged multitudes of women belonging to all castes and communities. In Kashmir shawl-wool was spun by girls who started work at the age of 10: in about 1820, as many as 100,000 women (out of an estimated total population of 800,000) were engaged in spinning wool.[152] As everywhere else in the world, spinning was mostly a part-time job, but in India it was not performed for domestic consumption only: women spinners also worked extensively for the market.[153] In Kashmir, which was subject to the heavy demands of the shawl industry, it was a full-time job for women, who were required to begin'to work at daybreak, continue with little interruption the whole day, if not taken off by other domestic affairs, and extend their labour until late in the night spinning by moonlight or oil-lamp'.[154] But in Kashmir, as elsewhere, the weavers were 'all male'.[155] Yet here too women wound the yarn and assisted in warping so that 'each loom required one man and one woman'. Women also helped in washing, bleaching and dyeing. In all parts of India calico-printing was done by both women and men since separate terms were used for female and male calicoprinters. When one looks at the major role played by women in India's traditional textile industry, one can imagine the hardship caused, especially to women spinners, when the modern British textile industry conquered the Indian market in the nineteenth century.[156]

In India women's work has often been physically very demanding. Unlike many other countries, women were (and are) frequently seen on building sites. They engaged in breaking stones, pounding bricks into rubble, preparing bitumen-cement, staining and mixing lime and carrying the mortar up to the masons. To judge from their dresses as shown in paintings, both Hindu and Muslim women engaged in such construction work.[157]

Women also engaged in petty commerce in towns, usually working alongside their husbands, selling and hawking products. Gujjar and Ghosi women hawked milk and milk

149 Fryer, 1912, p. 118.
150 Moosvi, 1994, pp. 105–16.
151 Cf. Habib, 2001*a*, p. 2 and note 8. For illus. see Hajek, 1960, Pls. 48 and 49.
152 Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, pp. 174, 123.
153 Cf. Moosvi, 1994, pp. 105–16.
154 According to Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, p. 171, one-tenth of their production was for their own consumption, and nine-tenths for the market.
155 Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, p. 178.
156 Habib, 1995*a*, pp. 341–7. It may be remarked that spinning was even more adversely affected than weaving, since some Indian weavers long tried to survive by using imported yarn.
157 Sen, 1984, Pls. 31 and 61.

products and Kunjar women sold green vegetables and fruit. The women of bangle-makers hawked their wares together with their husbands. The parcher's wife parched and sold grain, the potter's wife kneaded clay and the lac-maker's and iron-smelter's wives similarly helped them in their work.[158] An interesting profession was that of women inn-keepers, the *bhattiyaran*s of literature. They were particularly noted by Rafīullāh Shīrāzī, a Persian merchant in the sixteenth century, and by Withington, Mundy and Manucci in the seventeenth century.[159]

The imperial court as well as nobles' establishments often maintained large troupes of professional women dancers and singers, many of them trained in the Indian classical styles. There were also multitudes of women attendants in the imperial as well as nobles' households, and the practice of keeping a few maids in the house was common even among ordinary middleclass people.[160]

Women could own property under both Muslim and Hindu law, and we find Muslim as well as Hindu, Brahman and Khatri women managing and selling their village lands.[161] Sale deeds from certain towns of Gujarat reveal that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries women owned urban property that they themselves purchased, sold, rented and mortgaged.[162] Women could also engage in trade. A Surat merchant entrusted his merchandise and the conduct of his trade at Surat to his wife when he went to Mecca. When he died there, his widow went to the court of a *qāzī* to claim her right to manage her deceased husband's affairs.[163]

Yet if one compares the small number of women appearing in our documents as property holders with the vast numbers of men found in that position, one has a better idea of the true situation. In 1881 there was only 1 literate woman to 23 literate men in India. This tells us to what extent women were excluded from education. It is, therefore, interesting to see in an illustration in the *Miftahu'l fuzala* [Key to the Learned] (*c.* 1500) a young girl sitting with a boy learning to write at school.[164] Mughal painters also depict women reading letters and books.[165] Mughal princesses, as well as women of the nobility, received education at home from tutors appointed for the purpose.[166]

[158] Cf. Moosvi, 1994, pp. 105–16.
[159] Ibid., p. 110.
[160] Ibid., p. 111.
[161] Habib, 1999, pp. 191–2 and note.
[162] Moosvi, 1992, pp. 404–7.
[163] Ibid., p. 403.
[164] Shadiābādī, 1468–9, MS, fol. 278b.
[165] Falk and Archer, 1981, p. 95; Binyon, 1921, Pl. VI.
[166] Sarkar, 1920, p. 22. Sati'u'l Nisa was appointed tutor to Jahān Āra, Shāh Jahān's daughter, to initiate her in reading and writing Persian. Zaibu'n Nisa's (daughter of Aurangzeb) list of tutors also included men, some of them noted poets and scholars.

That there were a certain number of educated women who could be put to secretarial duties is shown by the way the land grants for women were managed: Jahāngīr (1605–27) and Shāh Jahān (1628–58) both appointed women to recommend and process land grants to women, the head of department being known as the *sadru'l nisa* (the *sadr* for women).[167] Gulbadan Begum, Humāyūn's sister, was well educated, while her husband, an army commander, was illiterate. She has not only left us her memoirs, but she had such ambitious plans for building her library that Akbar issued an order that she was to be presented with a copy of every book transcribed in the imperial establishment.[168] There are notices of poetesses, including princesses, composing in Persian in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Emperor Jahāngīr credited his queen Nūr Jahān's mother with experiments in the distillation of rose-water and the extraction of an exceptional perfume.[169]

It should be mentioned that women occupied a fairly high status in the late Timurid families, a tradition that was carried on in the Mughal dynasty. On critical political occasions we find women like Khanzada Begum (1530s and 1540s in Afghanistan), an elder sister of Bābur, or Maham Begah, Akbar's foster mother, rendering useful services. But the best-known instance of a woman exercising political dominance is offered by Nūr Jahān (1577–1645), the queen of Emperor Jahāngīr. It will perhaps suffice to give an assessment of her by Mu^{c}tamad Khān (writing in the reign of Shāh Jahān), well after she had retired and lost all power:

> His Majesty [Jahāngīr] repeatedly said: 'I have conferred the government on Nūr Jahān Begum. What do I want, except one *ser* of wine and half a *ser* of meat!' What can I write of the excellence and goodness of the Begum's character! Every helpless one faced with a difficulty who went appealing to her, she solved that person's problem, and enabled the person's object to be attained; and whoever went to her seeking refuge, was protected from cruelty and oppression... The goodness of her character prevailed over the evil [in her]; indeed, there was nothing evil there.[170]

Nūr Jahān owned ships and is also known to have had trading interests, participating in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf trade.[171]

The most accomplished princess in the subsequent period was undoubtedly Jahān Ara (1614–81), daughter of Shāh Jahān. Even under Aurangzeb (1659–1707), she retained much influence and was sagacious enough to advise him in 1679 against the re-imposition of the *jizya* (poll-tax on non- Muslims), though the counsel was not followed.[172] She was

167 Shāhnawāz Khān, 1888–91, p. 241.
168 Bāyazīd Biyat, 1941, p. 377.
169 Jahāngīr, 1803–64, pp. 132–3.
170 For the translation see Habib, 2001*a*, p. 9.
171 Misra, 1965, pp. 35–40.
172 Manucci, 1907–8, Vol. 3, p. 289–90.

learned, had mystic tendencies, laid out gardens and orchards, built inns, mosques and mansions, maintained her own *kārkhāna*s (workshops), built a ship of her own, the *Sahebi*,[173] and ably administered her *jāgīr*s (territorial assignments), as we can see from the texts of her orders that have survived.[174] She was also a poet, and her sense of compassion is attested by a Persian couplet popularly attributed to her: 'On the graves of us poor, no candle is lighted, no flower blooms. No insect burns its wings, no nightingale sings.'

Among the women of the nobility there were also a few remarkable figures: Sahebji, the wife of Amīr Khān, governor of Kabul (1678–98), assisted her husband during his lifetime and carried out the duties of governor after his death for almost two years, keeping good order in the disturbance-prone area of Kabul.[175] Another such woman was the wife of Muᶜīnu'l Mulk, the governor of Lahore (d. 1753). Not only did she play an important role in managing his affairs during his lifetime, but she also tried hard to obtain the post of governor herself – she finally succeeded in 1755 for a short while. So impressed was the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (1747–72) with her abilities that, although he did not restore her to the governorship of Lahore, he gave her some large *jāgīr*s. On occasion she would come out of seclusion, unveiled.[176]

A notable feature of the Mughal political system was the civilized treatment meted out to the women of families of erring nobles or opponents. No princess was ever poisoned or murdered in any other way or any noble's wife disgraced for his faults. But this restraint did not extend to peasant women. When villages could not pay revenue, or were deemed recalcitrant, they were sacked and the villagers' women and children sold as slaves, often along with their men.[177] They seem to have been the main source of supply for low-priced women slaves for domestic work in Mughal India.

[173] Moosvi, 1991, pp. 308–20.
[174] See Anon. MS, *c.* 1650.
[175] Shāhnawāz Khān, 1888–91, Vol. 1, pp. 284–5.
[176] Rao, 1967.
[177] Habib, 1999, pp. 370–1.

15

THE ECONOMY. PRODUCTION AND TRADE

N. Masanov, the Editors, K. M. Baipakov, S. Moosvi and A. Burton

Contents

Part One

PRODUCTION

Northern areas (Transoxania and the steppes)

Pastoral production

(*N. Masanov*)

Geographic conditions

The geographic conditions of the northern zone of Central Asia (deserts, wastelands and steppes) are typified by high insolation, dryness and marked aridity, a continental climate with seasonal differences, long-term climatic variability, periodic droughts and scanty water resources, resulting in seasonal, sparse and stunted growth of vegetation with little nutritive value. The zone forms, in consequence, an extremely fragile ecosystem with a predisposition towards erosion and desertification, and is especially vulnerable to degradation from human activity.[1]

Nomadic herding was elaborated over the last three millennia as a distinctive form of exploitation of the natural resources of the arid zone of Eurasia.[2] One of the main features of the nomadic way of life was the achievement of self-sufficiency within economic units that were small both as regards the numbers of their human members and in terms of their herds.[3] Among the main nomad populations of Central Asia should be included the

[1] See, *inter alia*, Rakitnikov, 1970; Murzaev, 1952; 1966; *Kazakhstan* . . . , 1969; Fedorovich, 1973;Pulyarkin, 1976; Mardkovich, 1982; Radchenko, 1983.
[2] Markov, 1976; Masanov, 1995.
[3] Masanov, 1990; 1995.

Kazakhs, the Kyrgyz, the Turkmens, some of the Uzbeks and the Mongols. In the period of the present volume, the Kazakhs were one of the major nomadic peoples of Eurasia, a people exhibiting to a very high degree all the features of the classic nomadic way of life against which others may be measured. It may be assumed that the numbers of nomadic Kazakhs in the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries did not exceed 2–3 million, since that figure seems to be the highest possible size of pastoral population in the given territory, sustainable by the environmental resources, notably grazing land. The 1897 census of the Russian empire yielded a figure of 3,392,751 Kazakhs in the present-day territory of Kazakhstan.[4]

The nomadic economy

The year-round pasturing of cattle was the main distinguishing feature of the nomadic economy. Whereas the stabling system was based on bringing fodder to where the cattle were kept, the nomadic system brought the cattle to where the fodder existed. This was conditioned by the low productivity and sparseness of the vegetation (3–5 *centner*s per ha; 1 Russian *centner* = 100 kg), the impossibility of making hay and the shortage of fodder and water resources, which excluded any significant concentration of herd animals in a particular area; it was also conditioned by the seasonal nature of the yield of pastures, which necessitated periodic movements of the herds in search of fodder. A sheep annually needed a dry weight of 1,314 kg of desert fodder, 1.5 m^3 of water and 20 ha of pasture.[5] The large size of pasture needed for just one head of sheep shows how low the productivity of land was and how much the herds had to be moved to exploit the land.

The territory occupied by nomads was used by them for winter, summer, spring and autumn pasturing, depending on the environmental conditions. The winter pastures were mainly in the desert zone of southern Kazakhstan, whereas the summer pastures were located in the more northerly parts of the plains or in the mountains. On average the length of the annual migrations did not exceed 50–100 km, although it could on occasion be as much as 1,000– 2,500 km, especially among groups of the Baganly-Naiman, Adai, Tabyn and Shekty Kazakhs.[6] A permanent feature of the life of Kazakh nomads was what has been termed the closed cycle of migration along strictly regulated routes, with permanent winter encampments and a system of wandering in the summer around the same sources of water.

[4] See *Pervaya vseobshchaya perepis naseleniya Rossiyskoy imperii 1897 g.*, 1897; 1904; 1905.
[5] Fedorovich, 1973, pp. 217–18; Chogdon, 1980, p. 60.
[6] Bukeikhan, 1927, p. 66; Ishchenko et al., 1928, p. 106; Briskin, 1929, p. 39; Matskevich, 1929.

The nature of the environment and economic needs determined the composition of the herds and flocks, in which, on average, 60 per cent of all animals were sheep, 13 per cent horses, 12 per cent cattle and 4 per cent camels. Prior to the Russian Revolution in 1917, there were an estimated number of 18–18.5 million sheep, 4 million horses and 3.5–4 million cattle in Kazakhstan.[7] Herd and- flock management among the Kazakh nomads was conditioned by the adaptive potential of each animal species. Under arid conditions there was a selection of those species, namely camels, sheep and goats, that needed the least amount of water for survival and were able to subsist on the vegetation specific to the arid zone. For example, whereas cattle and horses ate only 109 of the 288 plant species of the desert zone of Kazakhstan, camels ate 148 and sheep 167.[8]

The continental climate determined the selection of species that possessed a winter grazing reflex, as found in horses, sheep and goats, while the need for rational grazing necessitated a herding instinct, also found in horses, sheep and goats. Animals of different species generally grazed separately. They had different requirements regarding the amount and quality of drinking water. Thus, for example, water containing as much as 5 or even 10 g of dissolved salts per litre was suitable only for sheep and camels and, in the short term, for cattle, but quite unsuitable for horses.[9]

The interests of humans conditioned the demand for high productivity of meat, milk, wool, leather and so on, and also for the diversified use of animals, for traction and transportation. The ability of animals to adapt to rapid and frequent migrations played an especially important part in determining the species composition of the herds and flocks. Under the most favourable conditions, flocks of sheep could move 0.6–1.2 km in an hour when grazing and 1.1–1.5 km in an hour when being driven over grass, while cattle could move 0.5–1.6 km in an hour when freely grazing. Watering places could accordingly be 4–5 km apart for sheep, 2–2.5 km for cattle, 5–8 km for horses and 8–10 km for camels.[10]

Specific strains of cattle were developed, the distinguishing features of which were a high level of adaptation to the sparse fodder resources, water shortage, climatic variations and rhythmic changes of conditions in the nomadic system, as well as the capacity to put on weight rapidly and restore energy expenditure in the shortest possible time after the exhausting winter period, intensive movements and winter grazing. Among such strains may be mentioned the coarse-fleeced, fat-tailed sheep and the Kazakh '*jabe*' horse.[11]

7 See *Khozyaystvo kazakhov na rubezhe XIX–XX vv.*, 1980, pp. 94–7; Masanov, 1995, pp. 249–50.
8 Ivanov, 1973, p. 63.
9 *Kazakhstan . . .*, 1969, p. 453.
10 Chogdon, 1980, pp. 187–95.
11 Barmintsev, 1958; *Ovtsevodstvo Kazakhstana*, 1968; Nechaev, 1975.

To sum up, the cattle-raising economy of the Kazakh nomads may be characterized as diversified and quite sophisticated, almost completely selfsufficient and geared to the satisfaction of the consumer interests of the mobile population.[12] The pastoral economy of the nomads became an essential factor in the shaping of steppe, wasteland and desert landscapes, particularly through determining the pattern of plant growth and mediating substance exchange between the various elements of the ecosystem.[13]

The development of agriculture in the habitats of the nomads was appreciably restricted by geographic conditions, especially by the paucity of soil and water resources and the lack of precipitation. Agriculture in the steppes was therefore entirely dependent on the scope for the establishment of irrigation systems for crops. Consequently, it was always of a subsidiary and secondary nature.

Two main types of pastoral economy may be distinguished: one based on the predominantly natural use of water, and the other on the use of artificial water resources. The first type was found mainly in river valleys in the steppe and wooded steppe zones, in foothill and mountain districts, and in alpine and sub-alpine pastures comparatively well supplied by atmospheric precipitation and surface run-off. The main source of water in the arid regions, in the desert and wasteland zones, was groundwater, to which access was normally secured through wells. A comparatively uniformly spaced network of wells had to be laid out, preferably no more than 10 km apart, and to a maximum of 20 km, where the minimum water stocks had to be sufficient for the daily watering of 200 cattle and horses or 500–600 sheep.

Agriculture

(*The Editors*)

In the northern parts of Central Asia, that is, all regions north of the Hindu Kush and the Karakoram ranges (lying within the former USSR, China and Mongolia), agriculture subsists in narrow strips along river valleys and in the oases. The precipitation is uniformly so low that rainfall cannot sustain cultivation of the soil. This explains why Zahīru'ddīn Bābur (1483–1530), a native of Ferghana, should in his memoirs have noted it as a remarkable

[12] Ishchenko et al., 1928; *Khozyaystvo Kazakhov na rubezhe XIX–XX vv.*, 1980.
[13] Odum, 1975.

fact that irrigation was not needed for either the autumn or the spring crops in India.[14] In his own homeland, as around Osh, there was an abundance of *āqār-sū*s (canals of running water); and it is on such canals that, as his translator notes, 'in Turkistan all cultivation depends'.[15] The system of *kārīz*s or *kārez*s (underground channels) that connect lines of wells and then emerge over ground to supply surface irrigation is more a feature of the deserts of Iran and Afghanistan than of countries further north. But they existed in East Turkistan (Xinjiang), though Sir Aurel Stein notes that in the Turfan depression, where there is an extensive network of *kārez*s, they began to be constructed only in the eighteenth century, before which time canals drawn from streams in the snow-fed mountains must have sufficed.[16]

Out in the steppes, wells were dug to tap underground water. The historian MīrzāHaydar Dughlāt, writing in 1544, speaks of the way the Chaghatayid khan, Sultān Vays Khan, trying to cultivate land in the same territory of Turfan, 'did not get his water from any stream, but having dug a deep well, drew from it a supply of water for irrigation'. Haydar's informant claimed that he had often seen 'the khan, during the hot season, with the help of his slaves, drawing water from the well in pitchers and pouring it himself over the land'. The field so irrigated was necessarily small, not yielding even an ass's load.[17]

The crops cultivated in Transoxania included the three major cereals, wheat, rice and barley. The New World crop of maize (Indian corn) was also introduced during the period, though it does not appear to have become important.[18] A new crop, also New World in origin, was tobacco, which began to reach the region in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, when it was banned in both Iran and India, though to no great effect.[19] In the early nineteenth century the tobacco grown around 'Kurshu' (Karshi) was held to be superior to that of other localities in the emirate of Bukhara.[20]

Alexander Burnes gives an interesting list of prices of agricultural products at Bukhara in 1833 (Table 1), which enables us to establish their relative values (given the same quantities).

Comparing these with the prices at the Indian emperor Akbar's court (Lahore, 1595), as well as those at Lahore in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as worked out by

[14] Bābur, 1995, p. 932; 1922, Vol. 2, p. 486.
[15] Bābur, 1995, p. 5; 1922, Vol. 2, p. 5 and note.
[16] Stein, 1981, Vol. 2, pp. 568–9.
[17] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 67.
[18] See Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, p. 169, where it appears on his list of crops of Bukhara; but he does not consider it important enough to include it among the grains whose prices he provides on the next page.
[19] On the ban imposed by Shāh ᶜAbbās I of Persia and Jahāngīr in India, see Jahāngīr, 1863–84, p. 183.
[20] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, p. 169.

Moosvi,[21] one finds that barley and *juwari* bore about the same proportion to wheat in value, while gram was much more expensive in Bukhara. (Burnes probably quotes the price of higher-quality gram, known as 'Kabuli gram' in India; and this would explain the difference.) The price of ghee in 1833 at Bukhara was higher than in 1595 at Akbar's court, but lower than in India in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

What is of clear significance is the high price of sugar at Bukhara. With the wheat price as 100, the sugar price in 1595 at Lahore was only 1,066, while in the 1860s in northern India, it was generally below 700. In 1833 at Bukhara, as we see above, sugar was no less than 5,100, i.e. over 50 times the value of wheat. This was probably because there was practically no sugar-cane cultivation in Transoxania.[22]

Cotton was pre-eminent among industrial crops. Burnes notes that 'the cotton plant is extensively cultivated' around Bukhara and that Bukhara exported both raw cotton and cotton textiles.[23] Stein suggests that the layingout of *kārez* networks in Turfan from the eighteenth century onwards became possible because cotton production gave sufficient returns to render expenditure on them economically feasible.[24] Cotton-growing was, however, to receive its greatest impetus only after the Russian conquest, so that by 1900 it accounted for

Table 1. Relative values of agricultural products sold at Bukhara, 1833

Wheat	100
Barley	70
Rice (best)	275
Rice (coarse)	222
Juwari (millet)	80
Gram (chickpeas)	140
Mung (lentils)	106
Sugar	5,100
Ghee (clarified butter)	1,092

Source: Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, p. 170.
Note: The prices are given in terms of quantities purchased with 1 Indian *sicca* rupee (East India Company rupee); wheat was sold at approx. 23 kg per rupee.

21 Moosvi, 1987, p. 324.
22 Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, p. 173, accordingly suggested that sugar might be extracted from the molasses obtained from melons.
23 Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, p. 166.
24 Stein, 1981, Vol. 2, pp. 568–9.

as much as 30–40 per cent of the cultivated acreage 'in most regions' of Russian Turkistan (West Turkistan).[25]

The Transoxanian region produced many varieties of fruit. The district of Andijan in Ferghana produced 'fruit in abundance, excellent grapes and melons', as Bābur records in his memoirs.[26] Burnes, writing some 300 years later, speaks of the celebrity of the fruit of Bukhara, though adding that this was 'more from quantity than quality'.[27] In the Kashghar region, fruit, especially pears, was similarly plentiful, so much so that in autumn it was not sold, but could be plucked freely by anyone.[28] Indeed, fruit, particularly melons, formed part of the staple diet of people of Transoxania for several months of the year.[29] Almonds in a locality called Kand-i Badam in Ferghana, on the other hand, were grown for long-distance trade, being carried to Hormuz and India.[30]

Sericulture was also extensively practised in the region. Burnes found that every stream was lined with mulberry plants; the worm was univoltine, the silk being reeled off the cocoons in June. Besides the emirate of Bukhara, the Kokand (Khoqand) khanate also produced silk, though of an inferior quality. Silk was exported from Bukhara to Kabul and India.[31]

Handicrafts

(*K. M. Baipakov*)

The historical literature contains two opposing assessments of handicrafts in Central Asia: the first of these holds that handicrafts underwent a decline in the sixteenth century, whereas the second considers that there was a noticeable development of handicrafts, trade and agriculture. There is also an opinion that reconciles these two views on the assumption

[25] Lyashchenko, 1949, p. 609. The degree of extension of cultivation of cotton can be seen from the fact that Bābur, while describing the district of Andijan, mentions 'much grain' being produced by it, but has no reference to cotton (Bābur, 1995, p. 4; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 3). Yet by about 1900 as much as 70–85 per cent of the cultivated acreage in this district was under cotton (Lyashchenko, 1949, p. 609).

[26] Bābur, 1995, p. 4; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 3*n*.

[27] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, pp. 166–73.

[28] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 303.

[29] See authorities cited by Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 3*n* .

[30] Bābur, 1995, p. 8; 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 8–9.

[31] Burnes, 1834, pp. 179–80.

that there were some positive developments in handicraft production and in trade. Even so, production techniques remained largely unchanged and trade tended to run along customary lines. Nor were there any appreciable changes in the quality of the goods produced.

Despite the consolidation of state authority in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is evident that commodity production was adversely affected by the continuing civil strife and wars, which aggravated the decline in production both in the cities and towns and out in the steppes. Output was also stifled by taxes on land, handicrafts and trade and by the lack of guarantees for private property.[32]

The organization of handicrafts

The town had always had an important position in the structure of society. Its numerous functions included handicrafts production, both for internal urban consumption and for international trade, as well as with the surrounding countryside and the steppe. The nomadic inhabitants of the steppe were also important commodity producers. During the period under consideration, production developed on the basis of manual labour, andimprovements in the implements in use proceeded at a very slow rate. Some of the implements used by craft workers, the origins of which date back to very early times, have survived almost unmodified down to the present.

The major handicraft centres of Herat, Merv, Bukhara, Samarkand, Khiva, Tashkent, Otrar and Kashghar retained their leading positions in the period. Among those which now came into prominence were Khiva, Kokand, Andijan, Shahrukhiya, Chimkent, Turkestan (Yasi) and Sauran. Written sources contain information on blacksmiths, turners, locksmiths, coppersmiths, cutlers, jewellers, armourers, paper-makers, weavers, dyers, shoemakers, carpet-makers, tailors, potters, builders, brick-makers, furriers, bakers and grocers. Further degrees of specialization may be noted within these crafts. Craft workers of the leading professions frequently inhabited specialized quarters within towns. Bukhara, for example, is known to have had quarters bearing trade names, such as the quarters of the cauldron-makers, needle-makers, potters, tanners, soap-boilers, furriers, etc.[33] Jewellers usually lived near the centre, whereas potters, tanners and mat-makers were located in the suburbs, close to running water; blacksmiths were to be found at the entrance to the city or town; and paper-makers and charcoal burners outside its limits.

Craftsmen were generally grouped into occupational craft guilds. Each guild was headed by a guild master, whose appointment was approved by the authorities. The guild master

[32] Gafurov, 1972, pp. 533–40, 567–8; *Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR*, 1979, Vol. 2, pp. 331–4; Vol. 3, pp. 13–21.
[33] Sukhareva, 1976, pp. 278–80.

supervised the quality of the goods made by the craftsmen of his guild, ensuring compliance with accepted standards, was responsible for the apportioning and collection of taxes and laid down prices.

The *ustād* (master) was a key figure in the guild. Barthold tells us that:

> the Persian word *ustād* has been incorporated into Arabic and occurs ubiquitously in secular and religious writings; furthermore, the same word *ustād* was used not only for instructors and men of science, but also for master craftsmen who taught their apprentices their art or craft, and for the trusted advisers of rulers.[34]

During the sixteenth–nineteenth centuries the term *ustād* was used mainly to denote a highly skilled craftsman, one who passed on his experience and knowledge to his son or sons and, in their absence, to an apprentice from outside the family.

The master craftsman might not necessarily play a direct part in the production process, but might merely supervise it. Such craftsmen usually occupied a privileged position within their trade and tended to be wealthier than the other craftsmen. For example, a document from Samarkand dating back to the second part of the sixteenth century or the early seventeenth century contains an account of the property of Tangri Berdi, a deceased *ustād*, whose estate comprised a house with outbuildings and a courtyard, a mill, two male and two female slaves, a horse, cash in hand amounting to 200 gold *tanga*s, 400 lengths of cloth, 200 kg of silk and a workshop (*kārkhāna*). The list of his debtors included spiritual leaders.

The vast majority of master craftsmen were, however, personally engaged in the business of production and belonged to the middle and poor strata of the urban population. Jewellers, armourers, metal-workers and weavers were usually among the more prosperous craftsmen, while mat-makers tended to be the poorest. A master craftsman would have assistants and one or more apprentices. The procedure for taking on an apprentice was either for the master and the apprentice to enter into a verbal agreement or for written articles of apprenticeship to be drawn up. There might also be hired workers, who performed specified tasks for payment and lived in the master's house.[35] Some master craftsmen, usually guild masters, bought up goods and supplied raw materials, and were money-lenders. We know from written sources that wealthy merchants and money-lenders bought up workshops and leased them out.[36]

Many musicians, poets, artists and historians came from the community of artisans, especially from among the better-off craft workers. They lived on what they earned from

[34] Barthold, 1963, p. 224.
[35] Mukminova, 1976*a*, pp. 45–68.
[36] *Istoriya Tajikskogo naroda*, 1964, Vol. 1, pp. 401–3.

playing musical instruments, writing verses, drafting petitions and painting miniatures or from their skill as calligraphers. Such people were for the most part not particularly well-off and often relied on the patronage of town dignitaries and rulers. The poet ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī (1441– 1501) wrote of musicians and singers that 'although the practitioners of this craft are jolly, warm-hearted people, they are in fact paupers [he who plays and sings, lives on charity]'.[37]

There were also some craftswomen, the majority of whom were engaged in the processing of raw materials and the preparation of component parts. Sometimes, however, women carried out the entire process from beginning to end, in which case the title of their occupation was appended to their name. Thus, for example, one late-sixteenth-century source refers to a certain Saᶜādat Sultān *Mu'īnadūz*, daughter of ᶜAbdullāh, who was a furrier.[38]

Individual crafts

METAL-WORKING

Metal-working can be divided into seven independent branches: blacksmiths and locksmiths/metal-workers, including blacksmiths making *ketmeni*s (grub hoes) and axes; horseshoe-makers; locksmiths; cutlers; tinsmiths; needlemakers; and nail-makers. Miniatures in a sixteenth-century manuscript depict a smithy with a forge, bellows, anvil, mallets and tongs.[39] There would usually be at least three people working in a smithy. In addition to the master craftsman, who carried out the most crucial shaping operations, there would be the striker, an apprentice who worked the bellows and a master finisher.[40]

Archaeological finds from the cities and towns of Central Asia include a wide range of objects made by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century metalworkers, such as horseshoes, locks, nails and chains.[41] In one of the houses excavated at Otrar (in Kazakhstan) there lived in the late seventeenth century a metal-worker whose job was connected with the smelting and shaping of iron. An ash-pit, fragments of the partly fused walls of a blooming furnace and some 200 kg of pig-iron were uncovered in one room. A pit full of charcoal, one of the essentials for a smithy, was uncovered in another room. Forged ploughshares were found in a store.

37 Navoi, 1970, p. 34.
38 Mukminova, 1976*b*, pp. 50–1.
39 Galerkina, 1956, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 228–30, 232.
40 Sukhareva, 1962*a*, p. 32.
41 Akishev et al., 1972, pp. 166–9, Figs. 83–9.

IRON-FOUNDING

Iron-founding had two main branches: the moulding of ploughshares and the casting of various household objects. Master founders usually lived in the suburbs, and it was most unusual to find them in the town itself, because the practice of their craft required a large amount of space.[42] References to an ironfoundry in Samarkand are found in sixteenth-century documents. The record relates to the apportioning of the estate of a deceased iron-founder, Mullā Nawraz. Mention is made of a workshop and a quantity (4 *manna*s) of castiron valued at 16 *tanga*s.[43] The output of the iron-founders consisted largely of ploughshares, wheel hubs, cauldrons and lamps, with the addition of portable pan braziers (*mangal*s) for room heating. Some lamps and braziers were decorated with openwork patterns and were highly artistic wares.

We know from recent field observations that casting was usually carried out twice a month and that the intervening periods were taken up with preparatory work. The casting process went on round the clock in a special furnace into which air was fed continuously. At least 9 people took it in turns to pump the bellows and there were 5 casters who poured the iron into the moulds. The whole process employed up to 30 people and as many as 1,200 ploughshares could be produced in a single casting shift.[44] Interesting material on casting has been obtained from excavations at the site of Otrar, where numerous castings were found of wheel hubs, fragments of cauldrons and ploughshares.

COPPERSMITHING

Coppersmithing was not a craft with separate branches, but there were some coppersmiths who specialized in the making of particular wares. For example, in the making of copper tableware, some smiths specialized in water jugs, while others made bowls, trays or small jugs for tea. Cauldrons and candlesticks were also made of copper. The best such wares were decorated with engraving and punch-work. The ornamentation was usually floral, geometric and epigraphic. Use was also made of the techniques of decorating wares by incrustation with red copper, silver and gold, predominantly by the 'cold ramming' process. Depending on the alloying additives, the copper was either red (bronze) or yellow (brass).

Traditional Central Asian bronze casting was also developed. Casting was also used in the manufacture of *mangal*s, sometimes with openwork patterning, and in that ofdoor-knockers and openwork plates, belt buckles, buttons, inkwells and ornamented jug handles.

[42] Mukminova, 1976*a*, p. 110.
[43] Sukhareva, 1962*a*, p. 33.
[44] Ibid., pp. 34–5.

The casting of small bells and of *pellet*s, bells fastened to the legs and necks of camels and other domesticated animals, was a separate craft. Small bells with a melodious sound were made for dancers. Moulds in two halves, known as *qālib*s (stamps), were used for casting.[45]

Apart from privately owned workshops there were also public workshops in the large cities and at the courts of the khans and the emir of Bukhara, making wares for court use.

JEWELLERY-MAKING

Jewellers working on commissions from the uppermost strata of society produced some magnificent works of art such as, for example, the famous royal crown and gold belt that reportedly belonged to ᶜAbdullāh Khān Uzbek (1557–98). The court jewellers' workshop was still functioning in Bukhara late in the nineteenth century.[46] Gifts for the rulers of neighbouring cities and countries were also made in such workshops. Gold and silver goblets were presented to Muhammad Shaybānī Khān (1500–10). Among the presents that were taken in 1585 by the envoy of ᶜAbdullāh Khān to the Russian tsar Fyodor Ivanovich, mention is made of a gold-plated goblet with floral ornamentation.[47]

The jewellers made extensive use of precious and semi-precious stones such as rubies, emeralds, pearls, cornelian, turquoise, jasper, fire opal, agate and rock crystal. Gold was obtained from the mountains of Ferghana, and also from Taraz and Khuttalan. It was also mined in the Zartalash mountains to the east of Tashkent. The city of Khotan in East Turkistan was famed for its jade workings.[48] Some jewellers specialized in making rings, others concentrated on earrings or filigree work, but there were also some who produced all kinds of ornamental jewellery for women.

The jewellers knew various methods of working with precious metals such as wire drawing, hammering, stamping, engraving, embossing, gilding, incising, niello-work and granulation. It should be noted that the granulation casting technique is an art that had been lost by European jewellers, but was retained and developed right down to the early years of the nineteenth century in Bukhara, Samarkand and Tashkent and among the Kazakhs and the Turkmens. Rings, finger rings and amulets were also cut from semi-precious stones like nephrite, crystal and cornelian. Jewellers made richly ornamented horse trappings and saddles trimmed with openwork silver plates. The Kazakh and Turkmen jewellers of Mangishlaq (Manqeshlāq) made beautiful silver ornaments for women, which they decorated with granulation, niello-work, filigree and coloured stone insets (see Chapter 20).

[45] Sukhareva, 1962*b*, pp. 36–40.
[46] Ibid., p. 53.
[47] *MIUTT*, 1932, p. 98.
[48] Bogoyavlensky, 1906, p. 120. See Ch. 7 in the present volume.

ARMOURIES

The armourers' craft was pursued in the cities and towns as well as the steppes, although the most important centres for the manufacture of weapons and armour were in large cities like Samarkand, Herat, Bukhara and Tashkent. Swords, sabres, daggers, pole-axes, clubs, armour and helmets were made in specialist workshops.

Authors who have described the weapons and equipment of soldiers in the armies of Timur and the Shaybanids, and of city- and steppe-dwellers, do not note any particular differences between them. All were equipped with bows and arrows, daggers and swords and had the protection of body armour. Cavalry and infantry both used bows and arrows. 'His bow is strong, his arrow long. . . ', wrote Bābur of one of the Timurid princes.[49] Only the possessor of a weapon could be regarded as a full member of society among the Kazakhs.[50] The bow and arrow continued to play an important role even after the musket was included in the troops' equipment.

Craftsmen made bow cases and quivers of leather ornamented with silver decorations and precious stones for the nobility and plain ones for the rank-and- file troops. Shields were made of wood covered in leather and metal plates. Chain mail and sheet armour and a helmet protected the body and head against cold steel and firearms. Part of the body and head of the horse of the richly equipped warrior was also covered in armour.

There were also craftsmen who made muskets and cannon. Bābur, for example, had a master craftsman, ᶜAlī Qulī, who cast cannon.[51] The troops of the khan of Khiva in the mid-nineteenth century had 'quite a few cannon'.[52]

WEAVING

Written sources provide us with a great many names for the types of craft workers who were engaged in the manufacture and finishing of the various kinds of fabrics (cottons, silks and woollens), the names of workshops, stalls and bazaars, and also lists of the textiles themselves and the articles made from them. While the production of cloth from cheap cotton thread was largely concentrated in agricultural districts, better-quality cotton textiles with polychrome stripes were produced by urban weavers. Much of this cloth was woven in settlements near Bukhara, and in Samarkand and Urgut. *Karbā*s, or calico, was the commonest cotton fabric. A relatively cheap cloth, it was snowwhite or grey, but could be dyed black, blue, yellow, green, grey or violet.

49 Mukminova, 1976*a*, p. 115.
50 Kurylev, 1978, pp. 4–22.
51 Mukminova, 1976*a*, pp. 121–223.
52 Nebol'sin, 1855, p. 8.

There was also an ancient tradition, dating back to before the Arabs, of the production of silk cloth. Sixteenth-century sources contain much information on the production of various silk cloths in Bukhara, Samarkand, Herat, Khiva, Tashkent and other centres. Striped cloth known as *alācha* (variegated) was made in Bukhara and Samarkand. Although *alācha* was typically produced from silk, there are indications that it was also made from cotton. A fine, semi-transparent silk cloth called *fūta* is known, but there are also references to woollen *fūta*. Silk cloth known as *tāfta* (taffeta) and produced by weavers was used to make turbans. Silk *zandānīchī* (fine cotton or silk) in various shades was popular in many countries.

Calico printers produced a cloth known as *chīt* (chintz). Patterns were produced on cloth, including calico, by hand-painting by blocks or stamps (*qālib*s) dipped in a solution of dye. Red, variegated and seven-coloured varieties of *chīt* were known in Samarkand in the late sixteenth century. Velvet (*makhmal*) was in great demand for the garments of aristocrats. It was also used for bedspreads, curtains and pillows. A special kind of raspberry velvet was made in Samarkand.[53] Damask (*kamkhāb*) was a costly silk fabric used only by the nobility. The production of very fine transparent silk scarves was a distinctive development in Bukharan textiles. Woollen cloth, including *saqirlāt*, a fine red wool fabric, was also produced in Central Asian cities.[54]

CLOTHING MANUFACTURE

The development of clothing manufacture was stimulated by the demand for ready-made garments among the populations of towns and settlements and the nomads. Thegarment-makers produced different types of robes as outer garments. These quilted garments, made with half-silk and cotton wadding, were bought by city-dwellers and often by nomads. Expensive robes were made of silk decorated with precious stones. Some cost a fortune. There is, for example, an account of a robe in Herat in the sixteenth century that cost 30,000 *tenge*s.[55]

Shirts, dresses and trousers were other commonly made garments.[56] The garment-makers produced sheepskin winter jackets and coats; they also made jackets and coats of costly furs topped with satin for the gentry. Most sheepskin coats were made for sale to steppe-dwellers; and large numbers of such coats were made in Khwarazm. There were also craftsmen who were expert makers of caftans, evidently of the sheepskin-coat type, among the

[53] *Bābur-nāme*, 1958, p. 62.
[54] Mukminova, 1976*a*, p. 73. For textiles, see also Ch. 21 in the present volume.
[55] Mukminova, 1976*a*, p. 127.
[56] Pugachenkova, 1956, pp. 85–111.

nomadic peoples. Kazakhs made splendid leather caftans that were even on sale in the large cities.[57]

The outer garment of noble Uzbek and Kazakh nomads was a fur jacket made of red fox, otter, ermine, squirrel and sable pelts. The shirt was made of fur in preference to cloth, and during cold winter spells a topcoat of sheepskin or fur was worn over all other garments, along with a fur cap. Mongol hats and robes of quilted Chinese satin were popular in nomadic society.[58]

Craftsmen produced fur hats and skullcaps (*tubetey kas*). Conical hats were made in Bukhara from karakul fleece, with a rim band of otter fur and a fox-fur or lambswool lining. Kazakh craftsmen made fox-fur hats known as *malkhay*s, while Turkmens made tall hats known as *telpeki*s from black and white sheep fleece. Skullcaps from different districts differed in shape and pattern. Those from Bukhara were firm and conical in shape and were made from beautiful and costly fabrics – silk and velvet trimmed with a decorated band of ribbon. Small, soft skullcaps were also fashionable for wear under a fur hat.

The belt was an integral part of male dress and one that, depending on the wearer's social standing, might be of cotton fabric or of costly gold brocade. Gold embroidery on garments, and parts of garments, should be distinguished as an applied art. Gold embroidery was applied to the robes of both men and women, and less frequently to shirts for women, skullcaps, women's hats and scarves, and footwear.[59] Such embroidered clothing was worn by khans, emirs and the higher court nobility.

TANNING

There were two types of tanners, those who produced shagreen leather and those who produced all other kinds of leather. The latter category included craftsmen skilled in the production of leather soles and uppers and coarse suede. The tanners in Bukhara who produced shagreen leather lived in the city centre. Their raw material came from the hides of asses and horses, of which they used only the part from the hindquarters (crupper).

SHOE-MAKING

Shoe-making was one of the developed crafts; shoe-makers were to be found in most quarters of the city. Some of them made soft-soled shoes, while others made hard-soled boots

[57] Sultanov, 1970, p. 49.
[58] Mukminova, 1976*a*, pp. 129–31.
[59] Sukhareva, 1962*a*, p. 117.

and leather overshoes. Green shagreen leather was used for shoes and as a facing for the corners of leather trunks.[60]

DYEING

Dyeing played an important part in the production of textiles. Fabrics were mostly dyed with vegetable dyes, which imparted both depth and fastness. The production of vegetable and mineral dyestuffs required a knowledge of chemistry. The recipes for dyes were handed down from generation to generation and were closely guarded secrets. We know the names of some of the craftsmen who acquired a reputation for their dyes. For example, Mullā Mīr Muhammad Husayn was designated as a master craftsman by order of the Shaybanid ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān (1645–80). He mixed compounds in the same way as medicines were made up and he was capable of producing shades said to be reminiscent of the colouring of a peacock.[61]

The use of dyes was not confined to weaving; they also found applications in pottery, in paper-making and in leather production. Dyes were used to decorate wooden saddles and as cosmetics. Madder (known as *royān*) was one of the commonest vegetable dyes. Red and yellow dyes were produced from the root of the madder plant. Various shades of blue were obtained from indigo (*nīl*). A blue dye was also obtained from lazurite. Deep violet and purple dyes for silk and other wares were obtained from *baqqam* wood. Orange and yellow were produced from natural saffron. A red dye for costly fabrics was made from an insect (*Kermes ilicis*). Pomegranate bark, onion skins and tea were also used as dyestuffs.

PAPER-MAKING

Paper-making in Central Asia developed over a period of many centuries, from the time when paper-making skills were acquired from the Chinese in the eighth century by the craftsmen of Samarkand.[62] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries paper was made in many cities of Central Asia, such as Tashkent, Herat, Kokand and Khotan. Bāburinspected 'paper-mortars' (*juazi ikaghazlar*) in the suburbs of Herat in 1506–7.[63] The paper-making industry in Samarkand declined in the eighteenth century, but flourished in Kokand. Most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscripts were written on paper made in Kokand.

[60] Sukhareva, 1962*a*, pp. 107–11.
[61] Mukminova, 1976*a*, p. 80.
[62] Khabibulaev, 1990, pp. 60–71.
[63] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 305.

Paper was also made in Tashkent, as evidence of which we have the direct statement of the Siberian Cossack Maksimov that 'writing paper is made in Kokand and Tashkent'.[64]

The paper of Kokand and Tashkent was made from cotton fabric with no additions. The secrets of manufacture of special quality paper were handed down from generation to generation, from father to son, over the course of many years of work in the same workshop. The high labour-intensiveness and the comparatively small amount of paper made in Central Asia meant that it was unable to withstand the competition of machine-made paper in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The paper-making industry went into decline and ultimately perished.

THE ART OF THE POTTER

Much is known of pottery made during our period in Central Asia. In Otrar a potters' district has been excavated that dates back to the end of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century. The largest of the workshops had an area of 105 m^2. Its working premises consisted of five rooms, in one of which there was a kiln. Next to it was a storeroom, with three compartments for storing clay in one of the walls. This part of the workshop was heated and operated in the winter. The summer work area, where there were two kilns, was partly covered by a light canopy. The floor area beneath the canopy was paved with baked brick. A pit some 1.5 m in diameter intended for a potter's jigger has been uncovered here.

The workshop had a further two rooms. It may be assumed that one of them was used for mixing potting clay. A millstone, a stone crucible with potash globules, vitreous slag, small formers for the shaping of pots and a clay 'palette' for colours have been found during the excavations. The workshop could have had two, or even three owners, whose houses stood opposite to it in the same district. Proof that the owners of the three houses were connected with the production of ceramics is provided by the discovery of implements for making pottery in all of them. Individual pottery workshops have also been found in other districts of seventeenth-century Otrar.[65]

The tools of the potter have remained the same from the late Middle Ages down to modern times. They consist of pieces of broken pottery (bone plates have been found in Otrar) for levelling the edges of the pot, mushroom-shaped forms of various sizes, stone boat-shaped vessels for melting the glaze and pestles for pounding the glaze.[66]

[64] Potanin, 1860, p. 28.
[65] Akishev et al., 1972, p. 29.
[66] Ekimova, 1959, pp. 351–2, Figs. 8, 18; Dzhabbarov, 1959, Fig. 9.

We know that potters were members of a craft guild from the fact that guild charters (*risālas*) have survived. Craftsmen from Khwarazm (Khāwrazm) belonging to the same profession called themselves an *ulpagar*, or trade association. The head of the guild, known as the *kalāntar*, was elected at a guild meeting. Guild leaders in Ferghana had the titles *bābā* and *aksakal*.[67] The same terms were used in Samarkand.[68] It is interesting to note that shards of pitchers found in the layer of the first half of the nineteenth century in excavations in Turkestan (Yasi) bore the impressions of stamps, one of which bore the name of the craftsman, Yūnus, while the other had his name and his title, *kulāl-i kalān* (senior potter).[69]

There are indications of the specialization of production. Wares of a particularkind – water jars, two-handled jugs and pitchers, and glazed crockery – were the main saleable commodities made in the Otrar workshops. The archaeological evidence is corroborated by modern observations of traditional pottery production in Central Asia.[70]

Great diversity and variations in shape, colour of glaze, paints and elements of the designs painted with them were marked features of the wares of master potters. Such wares started to become fashionable in the fifteenth century, when porcelain with bright blue cobalt decoration was first imported from China. Potters in Central Asian cities produced imitations in large quantities.

The techniques of the potter underwent certain changes in the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century. Alkaline glazes became the dominant types. Cobalt oxide and the oxides of manganese, sodium, potassium, zinc and aluminium were used in painting decorations. Cupric oxide was used, but the oxides of chromium, nickel and antimony fell into disuse.[71]

At the close of the seventeenth century ceramic wares with a dull glaze that looked dry and uneven appeared alongside wares covered in high-quality glaze and with rich decoration. The explanation lies not in some change in the chemical composition of the glazes, but in the techniques used in the preparation of their constituents. Some stagnation, however, is to be noted in the production of ceramic wares.[72]

In the nineteenth century the ceramics industry went into decline as a result of the penetration into Central Asia of porcelain from Russia and Europe.

67 *Istoriya narodov Uzbekistana*, 1947, p. 32.
68 Peshchereva, 1949, p. 34.
69 Smagulov and Nastich, 1983, pp. 45–50.
70 Ekimova, 1959, p. 347; Dzhabbarov, 1959, pp. 394–5.
71 Teplovodskaya, 1983, pp. 200–5.
72 Ibid., pp. 205–6.

BUILDING

The erection of ordinary dwellings and the palaces of rulers, *madrasa*s (colleges for higher instruction in the religious and other sciences), mosques, mausoleums, fortified city walls, caravanserais, baths, bridges and aqueducts demanded different kinds of engineering skills. The terminology used to denote builders in written sources from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century is quite varied and includes specialists referred to as architects, estimators (who were also designers of buildings), plasterers, bricklayers, craftsmen who produced tiles as cladding, stone carvers, alabaster burners and carvers, art decorators, stonemasons and carpenters.[73] Specialists in the construction of domed roofs were always renowned. Alabaster carvers had to have the high qualification common to all stonemasons, in addition to a knowledge of ornamentation and its construction, and of carving techniques. Carpenters, who worked with stonemasons, carried out all work involving wood: the making of wooden parts, beam roofing and flooring, the hanging of doors and the carving of door panels and shutters.

A great deal of building work was carried out in Bukhara in the second half of the sixteenth century, when trading premises, *ribāt*s (defence posts) and *sardāba*s (covered water reservoirs) were built. There are also references to building work at that time in Samarkand, Herat and Khiva and in provincial towns. For example, al-Wāsifī, the renowned diarist and poet, who was living in Samarkand in 1512–13, reports the building in the sixteenth century in Sauran, a town on the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) river, of a mosque with two 'swaying minarets', two *kārez*s supplying water to the park, and fortifications around its sources. All this work was carried out on the orders of ᶜAbdullāh Khān.[74] Archaeological research leads us to conclude that fortified walls were built in the sixteenth century around Sauran, Turkestan and Otrar.

FOODSTUFF PROCESSING

The processing of foodstuffs for sale was widespread in the towns, and to a much lesser extent found also in the countryside and on the steppes. Flour milling was one of the most important of these industries. There are frequent references to mills in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents. Archaeologists have recorded the remains of water-mills. In the absence of water, millstones were operated by horses and asses. Such millstones are

[73] Mukminova, 1976*a*, p. 137.
[74] Boldyrev, 1957, pp. 159–61.

frequently found in excavations. To judge by documents for the years 1727–8 there were mills in Bukhara, since reference is made to the Chahār Kharās ('Four Ass Mills') district.[75]

Many town-dwellers were occupied in the making of flat cakes of unleavened bread. Some of them owned large bakeries. Bread-sellers had their own quarters in the towns. One such specialized district has been excavated in Otrar, revealing a seventeenth-century building complex. There were oil mills in which vegetable oils were processed in the towns. In the first half of the eighteenth century there were oil manufacturers in the Sar-i Pul-i Raughangarān quarter of Bukhara. There were also urban slaughterhouses and butchers' shops. Special professional cooks were employed to prepare food for festivities, weddings and funeral repasts. Confectioners made sweets and halva. Dried grapes, melons, apricots, grape syrup, roast pistachios and apricot kernels were prepared for sale in the villages.

Small craft industries

In addition to the major branches of craft production, there were a great many small craft industries. They included the making of articles from wood, and the making of spades, forks, hoops, saddles for horses, trunks and cartwheels. There were also craftsmen who made reed and chee-grass mats as floor coverings for houses and yurts. This craft had been practised from time immemorial by the nomadic peoples, and tradition has it that even the master rush-mat weavers of Bukhara were the descendants of Uzbeks from Khwarazm and of Turkmens.[76]

Southern Central Asia

(*S. Moosvi*)

The area that will be explored for its products in this section broadly corresponds to areas that fall within the boundaries of the four modern states of the Islamic Republic of Iran (north-eastern parts), Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (north-western parts). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this region was shared between the Safavid empire, the Uzbek khanate and the Mughal empire, while in the eighteenth (at least under Ahmad Shāh,

[75] Sukhareva, 1962*b*, p. 120.
[76] Ibid., p. 134.

d. 1772), it belonged almost entirely to the Afghan empire. But while political boundaries have shifted, geography has determined a division into certain regions, each with distinct physical characteristics, which has often transcended political realities.

The first region discussed is Kashmir, which here we take to include the entire mountainous region south of the forbiddingly high Karakoram range and not just the broad vale of Kashmir. The second region, and the largest in terms of population, is that of the Indus plains extending from the Himalayan foothills to the Arabian Sea. The third is that of the Afghan highlands, which contain mountain ranges, from the Hindu Kush and Koh-i Baba to the Sulaiman range, successively radiating from a centre in the Pamirs and ending in a great semicircle in the south-west, beyond which is an extensive arid plateau. Two other regions can be identified adjacent to the rim of the highlands: in the south, the Helmand basin containing narrow bands of cultivated land along the Helmand and its tributaries, but broadening near the Helmand delta; and, further north-westwards, Khurasan proper, watered by rivers from both the Afghan and Khurasan highlands such as the Murghab and the Hari Rud, with Herat and Mashhad as its major urban centres. Finally, we have the areas north of the Hindu Kush, easily divisible, again, into two regions: the mountainous area to the east, which may be conveniently designated Badakhshan, and the sub-Amu Darya plains in the west, whose most prominent centre in our period was Balkh.

Kashmir

The French traveller François Bernier, during his visit to the valley in 1663, noted the ‘luxuriant foliage’ that surrounded its villages and hamlets. Official Mughal statistics of Aurangzeb’s reign (1659–1707) put the number of villages of Kashmir at about the same as recorded for 1909. However, one has no means of judging what the extent of cultivation was. Lāhorī, the official historian of Shāh Jahān (1628–58), tells us, as we might expect, that ‘Little Tibet’ (Baltistan), under the Karakoram range, had only a small amount of cultivation.[77]

Agriculture in the Kashmir valley was supported by a network of canals drawn from the River Jhelum and its tributaries, the entire valley being served by canals brought from the hills by earthen embankments to irrigate the rice fields. A number of these canals are traditionally attributed to the celebrated Sultan Zainu’l ᶜAbidīn (1420–70). The Mughal emperors and some of their nobles built canals to provide water for the peasants and for their own gardens. Jahāngīr (1605–27) built the Jui Shāhi canal from the Lar (Sind) river to the Nur Bagh just outside Srinagar. The Shāh Nahr, built by Shāh Jahān, had a masonry

[77] Bernier, 1916, p. 397; Habib, 1999, pp. 4, 17 and note; Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 1 (ii), p. 287.

channel; it not only supplied water to the Shalimar garden but also had a navigable channel down to Lake Dal. It was fed by water from the Arrah river coming through Faiz Nahr, an old canal that was mainly used for irrigation purposes. Asaf Khān cut a channel from the Faiz Nahr to flow down to his garden, the Bāgh-i Nishāt. Most of these canals were still functional in the early nineteenth century.[78]

While Kashmir's subsistence crop was rice, its major commercial crop was saffron: the exported saffron paid for salt that had to be imported into Kashmir.[79] According to Abū'l Fazl, *c*. 1595, 10–12,000 *bigha*s (around 2,500 ha) in the valley were sown with saffron, the main localities being Panpur and Indrakol. The total saffron production of the valley was estimated by Jahāngīr at about 1,200 kg. Saffron was also cultivated outside the valley in Kishtwar; here it was finer in quality and fetched higher prices. Akbar is reported to have introduced some improvements in the production of the seed bulbs but the methods of cultivation were still held to be inept in the late nineteenth century.

The quality of rice, the staple crop of the Kashmir valley, was rather poor. Jahāngīr found good-quality rice grown outside the valley in Rajauri. He also tells us that paddy covered three-fourths of the cultivated area in the Kashmir valley, while all other food-grains were grown on the remaining one-fourth. Moorcroft and Trebeck in 1819–25 estimate the total yield of rice in Kashmir as not exceeding 2 million mass-loads or 16,057.44 tons. Interestingly, it was women, who, breaking the earth with wooden mattocks, prepared the ground for rice cultivation.[80]

In the Kashmir valley the wheat grown was very poor and neither barley nor gram was cultivated. Kishtwar, on the other hand, produced much wheat and barley; also lentils, millet and pulses. Barley was the principal crop of Great Tibet (Ladakh), where wheat was also grown though in small quantities. In Little Tibet (Baltistan) again wheat and barley were the major crops. In *sarkār* Pakli (now Hazara) gram was the main crop along with barley.[81]

Early in the nineteenth century maize and tobacco had also begun to be cultivated. Moorcroft and Trebeck also list *singhara* (water-nut), calling it the principal article of

[78] Bernier, 1916, p. 39; Khoyhami, 1954, Vol. 1, pp. 29, 57, 147, 289; Jahāngīr, 1863–84, p. 347; Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 1 (ii), pp. 24–5; Habib, 1986, p. 103; Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, pp. 115–18.

[79] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, Vol. 1, pp. 98, 570; Jahāngīr, 1863–84, pp. 45, 315 (for Kashmir), 295 (for Kishtwar); Pelsaert, 1925, pp. 35–6; Lawrence, 1895, pp. 342–3.

[80] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 563; Jahāngīr, 1863–84, pp. 317, 300; Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, pp. 135–6 (equivalents in modern weights corrected).

[81] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 563, 585; Jahāngīr, 1863–84, pp. 300, 296; Desideri, 1932, pp. 75, 78; Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 1 (ii), p. 287.

food of the common people, grown in numerous lakes: the daily yield from Lake Wular amounted to as much as 96–120 ass-loads (77.08– 96.34 tons).[82]

Kashmir was celebrated for its abundant fruits. Apples, melons, peaches, plums, apricots and mulberries are listed by Abū'l Fazl besides grapes (which he remarks were grown in plenty but were generally of inferior quality). Jahāngīr adds pears, water melons and pomegranates; but the pomegranates and mulberries were of not of good quality. Jahāngīr says that the sweet cherry had been introduced during Akbar's reign, being brought from Kabul and propagated by means of grafting. In Kishtwar he notices oranges, citrons, water melons, grapes, apricots, peaches and sour pears. Some of these fruits were exported: Kashmir grapes reached the market of the imperial camp (probably at Lahore) though the cost of transport was 16 times their price in Kashmir.[83]

Almonds were also produced in large quantities, but walnuts were so abundant that besides being exported to Agra and other places, these were also used for extracting oil in Kashmir. The oil was exported to Tibet and Moorcroft found a flourishing trade that yielded considerable profits during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Walnuts were produced in Baltistan as well, along with grapes, melons, apricots and peaches. Pakli produced wild apricots, peaches and walnuts.[84]

The abundance of fruits and flowers made honey an important product of Kashmir. It was not only collected from the hives of wild bees, but also from those of bees domesticated by peasants. Within Kashmir it served as a substitute for sugar. A very valuable animal product was musk, which was extracted from musk-deer found in Baltistan and Gilgit and was an item of export.[85]

Kashmir was also known for its silk production. In the valley, mulberry silkworms were obtained from eggs imported from Gilgit and Baltistan; the Gilgit eggs yielded a finer fabric. In Gilgit and Baltistan raw silk was also produced besides the silkworm.[86]

The major craft products of Kashmir were shawls and other woollen stuffs such as felt. Shawls made out of shawl-wool were, perhaps, the most celebrated of the products of Kashmir. The best variety was that woven from Shahtoosh wool brought from Great Tibet. Bernier considered shawls the main source of Kashmir's wealth and reported that shawl weaving and embroidery provided employment for a large number of children. In the early nineteenth century, girls started spinning at the age of 10, while it was estimated

[82] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, pp. 132, 136; Lawrence, 1895, pp. 336, 345.
[83] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 67, 562; Jahāngīr, 1863–84, pp. 299–300, 296.
[84] Jahāngīr, 1863–84, p. 299; Pelsaert, 1925, p. 36; Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 388; Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, pp. 145–9; Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 1 (ii), p. 30; Abū'l Fazl, 1867, Vol. 1, p. 585.
[85] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, pp. 159–63; Bernier, 1916, pp. 421–2, 426; Desideri, 1932, p. 78.
[86] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 562–3; Jahāngīr, 1863–84, p. 300.

that the industry employed around 100,000 females, although the weavers themselves were all men.[87]

Great Tibet yielded most of the wool for the Kashmir shawl industry, but no shawls were woven there. However, other woollen materials made in Tibet were regarded as better than those of Kashmir.[88] Curiously enough, there is no mention of carpet manufacture in Kashmir before the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[89]

Kashmir also produced excellent woodwork: even the critically minded Bernier found the varnishing ‘perfect’. Praising the carving and gold inlay work on boxes, ink-stands and other articles as ‘remarkable’, he adds that he ‘never saw anything more elegant or perfect’. These had a large market both within the Mughal empire and outside. Good-quality paper was manufactured in considerable quantity from old cloth, hemp, etc., and was an important item of export. Numerous beautifully coloured papier-mâché articles such as inkstands were produced from pulped paper displaying flowery patterns decorated with applications of gold-dust or tin.[90]

The region also produced some gold; it was mined mainly in Tibet and the Himalayas and also collected from gold-sand from rivers. The annual estimated yield of inferior-quality gold in the 1640s from Baltistan and Gilgit was around 2000 *tola*s (approx. 24 kg). In Pakli too gold was washed from sand.[91]

Kashmir also had iron mines yielding good-quality iron, but these were no longer worked in the nineteenth century. Jade (nephrite) was reported from Great Tibet in the second half of the seventeenth century along with crystal that was also found in Baltistan; but in 1819–25 Moorcroft and Trebeck do not mention jade at all. Borax, sulphur and touchstone were also quarried.[92]

The Indus plains

Under the Mughal empire, this large region was administratively divided into the three provinces of Lahore, Multan and Thatta, while the cis-Sutlej area of Sirhind was a part of

[87] Abū’l Fazl, 1867, p. 564; Jahāngīr, 1863–84, p. 301; Pelsaert, 1925, p. 36; Bernier, 1916, p. 402; Moocroft and Trebeck, 1837, pp. 174, 178.

[88] Jahāngīr, 1863–84, p. 301.

[89] Lawrence, 1895, p. 377.

[90] Bernier, 1916, pp. 402–3; Ali Muhammad Khan, 1927, Vol. 1, p. 15; Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, pp. 216–17.

[91] Abū’l Fazl, 1867, pp. 32, 570; Bernier, 1916, p. 421; Desideri, 1932, p. 78; Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 1, p. 314; Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 1 (ii), pp. 287–8.

[92] Abū’l Fazl, 1867, p. 565; Lawrence, 1895, pp. 62–3; Bernier, 1916, pp. 422, 426, 421; Pelsaert, 1925, pp. 44–5; Desideri, 1932, p. 81.

the province of Delhi. In the British period it was almost entirely covered by the provinces of Punjab and Sind. Taking the British province of Punjab (excluding its hill districts), the total area under the plough, *c*. 1595, has been estimated as nearly 40 per cent of the gross cultivation in 1909–10. The estimate has been made on the basis of measured area statistics in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, *c*. 1595. South of Punjab, the relevant statistics for the Mughal *sarkār*s (territorial divisions) of Bhakkar, Sehwan and Thatta are either incomplete or not available. However, in Aurangzeb's reign the number of villages in the region was only two-thirds of the number of villages reported for 1881, while in Punjab, the number of villages in Mughal times was much greater than in 1881. Possibly, then, cultivation was even less extensive in Sind than in Punjab.[93]

The Indus and its tributaries were the major sources of irrigation in the region. In Punjab wells are said to have been the principal means of irrigation. Canals were also constructed. In Shāh Jahān's reign a 135-km-long canal, the Shāh Nahr, was excavated from the Ravi near the foothills to carry water to the Lahore gardens. From the same canal three more canals were excavated, running to Pathankot, Batala and Patti Haibatpur. These were found to be of 'great benefit to cultivation' at the close of the seventeenth century. In the Multan area we hear of a canal-superintendent (*mīr-āb*) appointed there with the duties of digging new channels, clearing old ones and ensuring an equitable distribution of canal water among the cultivators. In the southernmost part of the Sindsagar Doab, fields were irrigated by wells and inundations.[94]

In Sind the usual practice was to cut small irrigation conduits from the river or its flood channels. These were supplemented by perennial canals some of which were constructed before the sixteenth century. In the Indus delta, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a canal, the Khan-wah, was dug from the main river near Thatta running westwards; it irrigated a number of sub-districts. In 1618–29 a *zamīndār* (local hereditary chief; holder of hereditary superior rights over land) excavated a canal from the Indus that made possible the cultivation of *kharif* (summer or autumn) crops on around 24,282 ha in northern Sind. The principal water-lifting device in the region was the *sāqiya*, also called *charkh* or Persian wheel, and used over both wells and canals.[95]

The entire region comprising the Indus plains was considered by contemporaries to be very fertile. Abū'l Fazl describes Lahore province as 'exceptionally fertile', an opinion shared by Thevenot (1660s), who attributes the high agricultural productivity to the

[93] Moosvi, 1987, pp. 59–64; Habib, 1999, p. 17.
[94] Thevenot, 1949, pp. 77, 85; Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 538; Sujan Rai, 1918, pp. 77, 79; Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, pp. 168–9; Habib, 1999, p. 36; Malikzada, 1882, pp. 151–2; Aurangzeb, 1930, p. 29.
[95] Bernier, 1916, p. 454; Habib, 1999, p. 38; Yūsuf Mirak, 1962, pp. 17–18; Maᶜsum, 1938, p. 110.

presence of so many rivers. Pelsaert's statement in 1627 that the province of Multan was 'exceedingly productive' is supported by Manrique, who found the entire stretch between Lahore and Multan, a 10- days' journey, to be an area of unbroken cultivation. He adds that Sind was also very fertile.[96] The land-revenue schedules given for Lahore and Multan in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* and for Sind in the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī* (1634) suggest that a large number of crops (in *rabi*, or winter, 19 in Lahore and Multan, and 17 in Sind; and in *kharif*, or summer, 27 in Lahore, 25 in Multan and 22 in Sind) comprising food-grains, pulses, potherbs, oil-seed, cotton, etc. were raised.[97]

Wheat, rice and cotton appear as the principal crops grown all over the region; but for *sarkār* Bhakkar, in northern Sind, barley and *jowar* (great millet), besides wheat, are specified as the main crops. High-quality rice was also produced, declared by Sujan Rai to be superior to that of Bengal and of such a quality as to be procured for the imperial kitchen.[98] Production of cotton in large quantities is reported particularly from Multan and Sind to meet the demands of a large textile industry. Another widely grown cash crop was sugar cane – Bābur notes its cultivation, particularly in Bhera; Linschoten (1580s) in Thatta; Pelsaert in Multan; and Thevenot and Sujan Rai in Punjab. Thevenot finds it not only 'plentyful' but its quality the 'best in India'. Opium was also cultivated in Multan and Sind. Tobacco cultivation in Sehwan (Sind) was introduced during Shāh Jahān's reign.[99]

Sehwan was also a major centre of indigo production. However, the estimates of production by the English in the 1630s and 1640s show a steady decline from around 60 metric tons in 1635 to less than 40 tons in 1639 and only a little above 13 tons in 1644.[100] Rose-water (and rose essence) was a product of the Mughal gardens. From gardens inPinjaur in Punjab, 40 *man*s (1.3 metric tons) of roses were collected daily, presumably for manufacturing rose-water and rose essence by distillation.[101]

Melons seem to have been the main fruit of the region, being grown everywhere. Sirhind and Bhakkar had good mangoes. Jahāngīr mentions the pomegranates of Thatta: according to him these were seedless but not very juicy.[102]

[96] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 538; Thevenot, 1949, pp. 85, 77; Pelsaert, 1925, p. 31; Manrique, 1927, Vol. 2, pp. 221, 238.

[97] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 377–85; Yūsuf Mirak, 1962, pp. 183–4.

[98] Manrique, 1927, Vol. 2, pp. 221, 238; Thevenot, 1949, pp. 85, 77, 68; Namakin, 1594, MS, fol. 321b; Sujan Rai, 1918, p. 79; Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 53, 556.

[99] Manrique, 1927, Vol. 2, pp. 221, 238–9; Thevenot, 1949, pp. 77, 85; Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 388; Linschoten, 1885, Vol. 1, pp. 55–6; Pelsaert, 1925, p. 31; Sujan Rai, 1918, p. 79; *EFI*, *1634–6*, p. 129; Yūsuf Mirak, 1962, p. 184.

[100] *EFI*, *1634–6*, p. 29; *1637–41*, pp. 136–7; *1642–5*, p. 203.

[101] Sujan Rai, 1918, p. 35.

[102] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 67, 538, 556; Jahāngīr, 1863–84, p. 193.

A particular variety of silk is also reported to have been produced in Thatta 'from which excellent taffetas' were made.[103] The industry does not seem to have survived into the nineteenth century.

Horses reckoned equal to Persian horses were bred in Punjab, notably in thetrans-Indus tract and Patti Haibatpur. Around Sehwan too good horses were bred. Multan and Sind were reputed for their camels (dromedaries). Buffalo were in abundance throughout the region: Punjab had an excellent breed, while in Multan and Sind these were the source of butter and hides.[104]

Textiles were undoubtedly the major industry. In Multan and Sind calicoes, ordinary, fine and coarse, were woven. Coarse as well as finer chintz, striped cloth and silk-cotton cloth were also made. The city of Thatta had over 2,000 working looms in the seventeenth century. In Nasarpur (Sind), the English reported 3,000 families of weavers, and at Sehwan over 1,000.[105] Akbar's efforts led to Lahore becoming a major centre for the production of woollen shawls and woollen and cotton carpets. Abū'l Fazl says there were more than 1,000 workshops at Lahore weaving shawls, woollen as well as silk-and- wool mixed. Satin, felts, coarse woollen stuff, fine calico and striped silk were also produced there.[106]

The abundance of cattle contributed to the emergence of a large, widespread leather industry. At Thatta leather goods embroidered with silk threads in a variety of colours were made in large quantities and were exported particularly to Europe. Swords manufactured here were also held to be among the best produced in India. So, too, bows and arrows, saddles and boot-shoes. An important product of Thatta was carved wooden furniture, decorated with ivory and ebony inlay. Finally, there was much lacquerware produced.[107]

In the Himalayas bordering the Indus basin we have reports of silver, lead, copper and zinc mines; the copper was mined at Sukhet Mandi. The silver and lead mines were closed by the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Gypsum was quarried near Bhera in Punjab.[108] But the most noted mineral was rock-salt. Sujan Rai says that the two mines at Khura and Kheora in the Salt Range alone yielded several hundred thousand *man*s of salt every year. Burnes remarked in 1832 that the Salt Range had inexhaustible salt deposits and the mines could yield any desired quantity. He estimated the annual production at 800,000

[103] Manrique, 1927, Vol. 2, p. 239.

[104] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 140, 150, 538; *EFI*, *1637–41*, p. 136; *1634–6*, p. 129; Linschoten, 1885, Vol. 1, pp. 55–6; Hamilton, 1739, Vol. 1, p. 126; Sujan Rai, 1918, pp. 66, 75; Yūsuf Mirak, 1962, pp. 32, 88, 239; Pelsaert, 1925, p. 31; Thevenot, 1949, p. 77; Manucci, 1907, Vol. 2, p. 426.

[105] *EFI, 1634–6*, p. 129; *1646–50*, pp. 117, 119; *1637–41*, pp. 136, 128–9; Manucci, 1907, Vol. 2, p. 427; Pelsaert, 1925, p. 31; Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 106.

[106] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 104, 106, 110; *EFI*, *1618–21*, p. 51; Manucci, 1907, Vol. 2, p. 424.

[107] Manrique, 1927, Vol. 2, pp. 238–9; Manucci, 1907, Vol. 2, p. 427; Hamilton, 1739, p. 308.

[108] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 168, 538, 540; Sujan Rai, 1918, p. 79; Hutchison and Vogel, 1933, Vol. 2, p. 414.

maunds of 100 lbs (3,571 metric tons).[109] Gold was collected from river-sand, and Burnes in 1832 found fishermen washing gold on the banks of the Indus. Lime made from pebbles collected from the Tavi river at Jammu was reputed for its whiteness, cementing quality and durability.[110] Salt, iron, copper and antimony mines were reported in the hills bordering Sind in the west, though their exact location was not known.[111]

The Afghan highlands

On the southern fringe of the Afghan highlands are the valleys of the Arghandab and its tributaries and the valley of the Helmand in its middle course. Kandahar (Qandahār) was the main city of the region. Here the cultivation was confined mainly to the lands watered by these rivers. Some cultivation is also reported in the east in the tableland of the southern Sulaiman range, as around Chotiali.[112] In the north of this region were pastoral lands in the hill ranges, interspersed with some cultivation in the valleys. An agricultural district surrounded Kabul, at the southern head of a basin carved out by the Kabul river and its tributaries. Bābur has left a detailed account of the region which he brought under his control in 1504: the cultivated lands lay mainly in the flat valley bottoms, while on the slopes the only worthwhile vegetation was *buta*-grass that horses could eat. However, the mountains to the west of Kabul had 'flat tops' so expansive that here 'a horse could gallop' and on them 'all the crops were grown'. There were a few more noticeable stretches of agriculture to the east of Kabul: Lamghan, for example, was well cultivated. In Ghazni, the River Ghazni watered 'four or five villages and three or four more were cultivated from underground water-courses (*kārez*s), but the soil was so poor that it had to be top-dressed every year, making agriculture very laborious'. Bābur tells us that Kabul was 'not very fertile in grains and a four– or five-fold return was reckoned good there'. But in Ghazni the seed-yield ratio was higher than in Kabul. In the territory around Jalalabad, watered by the Kabul river and with relatively mild winters, good cultivation was also reported. Further east in Peshawar, irrigation from the same river supported extensive grain production.[113]

As for individual crops, Kandahar produced wheat that was very white and of such a fine quality that it was sent to distant places as a valuable present. In Kabul wheat and barley were mainly grown in Ningnahar, Daman-i Koh, Ghazni, Jalalabad and Peshawar.[114] Rice

[109] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 539; Sujan Rai, 1918, p. 77; Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, p. 55.
[110] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 32, 538; Sujan Rai, 1918, pp. 36, 74, 79; Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, p. 80.
[111] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 556; Yūsuf Mirak, 1962, p. 232.
[112] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 586; Habib, 1986, sheet 2A-B, p. 2; Aurangzeb, 1930, pp. 31–2.
[113] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 207–8, 218 (Ghazni), 221–3 (Jalalabad); Sujan Rai, 1918, p. 86.
[114] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 586; Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 208, 218, 222; Sujan Rai, 1918, p. 86.

was cultivated mainly in the north of Kandahar province, but the quantity produced was much less than that of wheat and barley, if the relative amounts of these cereals claimed in revenue are any index. Rice was, however, widely cultivated in Kabul province. According to Bābur, Ningnahar, which had ample irrigation, produced good quantities of rice along with corn. Upper Bangash was another major riceproducing tract. There were rice fields at the bottoms of the hills in Alishang irrigated by the Alishang river from which Bābur's soldiers collected huge quantities of rice. The output of the fields of Bajaur appears modest since in 1519, when 4,000 ass-loads of rice were demanded from the cultivators, they were unable to meet the demand and were 'ruined'.[115]

In Kandahar a few pot-herbs, namely, cucumbers (*badrang*s), turnips, carrots, onions and lettuce, are also listed among *sabzbarī*s (spring crops). In Kabul province madder, the red dye, was grown in Ghazni and Bābur says that the entire crop was exported to India at a large profit. He also takes the credit for introducing sugar cane to the river-irrigated lands of Ningnahar in the lower Kabul valley in 1507–8. Sugar-cane cultivation was reportedly flourishing around Jalalabad *c*. 1840.[116]

The Afghan highlands were celebrated for the variety and abundance of fruits produced there: in Kandahar, Abū'l Fazl says, fruits grew in abundance and to perfection. Grapes and melons appear to have been the principal fruits grown in the region. Grapes were so abundant that the tax on vineyards was fixed in assloads of grapes and the rates were at par with those imposed on the other two *safedbarī*s (winter crops), wheat and barley. Dried grapes from Kandahar were exported to Mughal India, where they found a ready market. Musk melons and water melons were counted among the *sabzbarī*s and were supposedly superior to those of Kabul. Pomegranates (especially the seedless variety), apples and quinces were grown in the foothills of the Shah Masud range near Kandahar.[117]

As for the Kabul district, Bābur says that fruits of both hot and cold climates were produced. There were exclusively fruit-growing villages in the foothills of the Hindu Kush. Grapes were so abundant that in certain places grape-wine was consumed in place of water. Bābur's list of cold-climate fruits includes grapes, pomegranates, apricots, apples, quinces, pears, peaches and plums. In and around the city of Kabul an excellent variety of grape ('water grape') was grown along with rhubarb, quinces, plums and *badrang*s (cucumbers?). The hot-climate fruits mentioned are relatively few, namely, oranges, citrons, *amluk*s (date-plums), musk melons and water melons. Abū'l Fazl says that musk melons in plenty were

[115] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 588–9; Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 208, 342, 373–4; Sujan Rai, 1918, p. 86 (rice in Bangash).

[116] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 587–8; Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 208 (sugar cane), p. 218 (madder); Vigne, 1840, pp. 230–1.

[117] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 587–8; Macsum, 1938, p. 133 (Shah Masud range).

brought from Kabul to Lahore, though he repeats Bābur's observation that the Kabul melons were not of very good quality. He adds that cherries and jujube were also produced in such quantities that they were exported to India.[118] Pamghan to the north-west of Kabul and Lamghan to the north-east were outstandingly rich in fruits, and fruits, especially peaches and pears, grew in the wild in Swat. Oranges and citrons were also cultivated in Swat and Bajaur. The most suitable area for fruit production was presumably Ningnahar, where Bābur laid out four gardens. He also introduced bananas there in 1508–9, and these did well according to his own claims. Peshawar produced grapes, plums and musk melons of good quality.[119]

Walnuts, almonds and neosias (*chilghoza*s) were the other important crops. Neosia and a small variety of walnuts (*bādāmcha*s) grew in great profusion in the wild on the slopes of the mountains in Laghman and Bajaur. Neosia-ears were burnt to obtain light. Walnut wood, though not very suitable for the purpose, was commonly used for heating. Honey was collected throughout the Kabul district, except towards Ghazni where there were no beehives.[120]

Kandahar had large areas of pastureland in both hill and plain. The total number of heads of sheep collected in tax was estimated at 45,775 by Abū'l Fazl in 1595. Horses (considered as good as Persian horses) were bred in Barkan in Kandahar while the revenue from Nichara and Duki was taken in Baluchi horses along with camels. The wool was used to make felts and coarse striped carpets.[121]

Within Kandahar province, there were iron mines in the Shah Masud range and sulphur mines in the Sulaiman ranges. Asafoetida was exported to Lahore.[122] In Kabul there were silver and lapis lazuli mines in the mountains of Ghorband. Iron ore from Ghorband was brought to Chankar to be processed to supply iron for the Kabul market.[123] The famous silver mines of the Panjshir valley, lying 2–3 *karoh*s (74 km) to the right of Kabul, were no longer profitable when Humāyūn visited them in 1548–9.[124] Abū'l Fazl reports iron mines

[118] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 202–3 (fruits of cold and hot climates), 212, 215 (fruit-growing villages); Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 68–71, 587.

[119] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 208 (Ningnahar), 210–11 (Lamghan), 216 (Pamghan); Vol. 2, pp. 510–11 (Ningnahar); Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 585; Sujan Rai, 1918, p. 86.

[120] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 203, 213, 223.

[121] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, pp. 588–91. The figures given for heads of sheep collected from different localities add up to 44,675. See also Ma^{c}sum, 1938, pp. 129–30 (for good breeds of horses of Barkan) and Yūsuf Mirak, 1962, p. 26. For felt and striped carpets, see Purchas, 1907, Vol. 4, p. 271.

[122] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 587 (iron); Habib, 1986, sheet 2A-B, and p. 5 (sulphur mines); Pelsaert, 1925, p. 31.

[123] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 214; Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 594; Tahir, MS, p. 248; Wessels, 1924, p. 17.

[124] Bāyazīd Bayat, 1941, p. 105; Abū'l Fazl, 1873, Vol. 1, p. 295.

in Swat. There were iron and salt mines in Bangash (Khurram valley), and salt was also mined in the Kohat salt region.[125] These salt deposits are an apparent continuation of those of the Salt Range across the Indus.

Sistan and Khurasan

One can consider the two geographic regions of Sistan and Khurasan together in our survey. The whole area is in a large part watered by rivers and streams flowing westwards from the Afghan highlands, in a large curve from the River Helmand in the south to Murghab in the north. Because of the volume of water carried by the Helmand and the large alluvial basin it forms, Sistan is perhaps the richest agricultural region, compared to which many of the cultivated districts of Khurasan appear as oases depending on water drained from the hills.

Irrigation was secured in the area not only by cuts from streams or canals, but also by the system of subterranean channels called *kārez*s or *qanāt*s. There are many descriptions of this excellent means of irrigation in Khurasan around Nishapur and some other areas.[126] The principal crops were wheat, barley and rice. Nishapur was celebrated in the Safavid era for its verdure and fertility and is described by Fraser (1821–2) as the most cultivated tract he had seen in the whole of Khurasan: here well-cultivated villages covered an area nearly 129×97 km.[127] On the other hand, Malcolm found the city of Nishapur in ruins and many of its 'innumerable channels cut from numerous canals' disused and dry.[128] Mashhad commanded a valley watered by the Kashaf river; the low price of grain was an indicator of agricultural prosperity. Merv, in the extreme north-east, was very fertile in grain, but here the cultivated tract extended only 19–23 km around the city, thus forming a relatively modest oasis, which produced large quantities of wheat and barley. Further south Farah, on the river of the same name, commanded another grain-producing tract along the river that ultimately flows into the Hamun-i Helmand. Tobacco, considered almost the best in the whole of Iran, was cultivated at Tabas, situated on the fringes of the Lut desert insouth-western Khurasan. Vegetables like carrots, turnips, beetroot, cabbages and a few greens were grown in Mashhad.[129] Khurasan was also famous for its saffron production.[130]

[125] Abū'l Fazl, 1867, p. 585 (Swat); Sujan Rai, 1918, p. 86 (Bangash); Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 231 (Kohat).
[126] Lambton, 1953, p. 210. See also Fraser, 1984, pp. 79, 406, 432 ('cannaut'); Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 220 (canals and channels in Nishapur). See also Bellew, 1874, pp. 298, 317.
[127] Rice is not listed among the main crops by Lambton, 1953, p. 2, but its cultivation is reported by Fraser, 1984, p. 470. See also Fraser, 1984, p. 432.
[128] Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 220.
[129] Fraser, 1984, pp. 432 (Nishapur), 470 (Mashhad), 24 (Tabas), 29–30 (Farrah), 32 (Herat), 56 (Merv).
[130] *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1986, p. 148.

Khurasan was so celebrated for its fruits that Ulugh Beg, Bābur's predecessor at Kabul, called the Pamghan valley, which abounded in fruits, 'his own Khurasan'. Grapes, figs and fine pomegranates were produced in Tursheer to the immediate north of Tabas. All the fruits of Iran in plenty were grown in Mashhad, its apple being particularly prized. Nishapur, Derud to the north of Mashhad, Herat, Sabzevar and Merv, as well as Farah, had orchards producing a variety of fruits. Oranges and dates were produced in the rather hot climate of Tabas. Dates were also produced in Herat. Mulberries were cultivated in Herat, while the mountains and ravines separating the plains of Nishapur and Mashhad were wooded with wild mulberry and walnut.[131] Silkworms were reared on mulberry bushes and the silk obtained was reeled in Herat and in the vicinity of Nishapur.[132]

The highlands of Khurasan were rich in sheep and Malcolm in 1812–15 found the mountains of Kayn to the south-east of Tabas covered by sheep; on the meadows of Tabas grazed numerous sheep that were the source of goodquality wool. Camels, which in some districts in the plains constituted the chief form of wealth, were reared in large numbers on the arid plains of Tabas and Kayn. Horses of good breeds were bred in the rich pastures of Sabzevar, which paid part of its revenue in horses.[133]

The region around Mashhad was rich in mineral resources. The turquoise mines in its vicinity and in Nishapur, which yielded the finest stones, were the most famous. The ᶜAbdu'l Razaq mines yielded the finest turquoise, a large quantity of which found its way to Russia and other countries of Europe through Bukhara. But the best-quality stones were exported to India, through Herat and Kandahar, India being the largest market along with Turkey. The demand for turquoise within Iran was also quite large. The stones quarried at the mines of Kumeri and Khuruch generally contained white specks and thus were not highly prized; they were mainly for internal consumption or were sent to Bukhara and Arabia. Rich copper and lead mines also existed in the close vicinity of Mashhad but by the 1820s they were no longer worked owing to the prevailing disorder. There were salt mines yielding sufficient quantities for local purposes.[134]

Among crafts, carpet weaving seems to have been the major industry in both Khurasan and Sistan. Herat was a famous centre where carpets of both silk and wool were woven; they were famous for the beauty of their patterns and brilliancy of their colours. Olearius,

[131] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 216; Fraser, 1984, pp. 432–3 (Nishapur and Dernel), 470 (Mashhad), 24 (Tabas), 29 (Sabzevar and Farrah) 31–2 (Herat), 56 (Merv); Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 225; Purchas, 1907, Vol. 3, p. 85 (Herat, dates).

[132] Fraser, 1984, pp. 433 (vicinity of Nishapur), 30–2 (Herat).

[133] Fraser, 1984, p. 589; Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, pp. 223–4, 516 (sheep and camels), 231–2 (horses).

[134] Fraser, 1984, pp. 367 (lead and copper), 470 (salt mines), 468–9 (turquoise); Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 515 (turquoise in Nishapur); Bellew, 1874, pp. 367, 375 (turquoise, Nishapur).

in 1636–7, considered Herat carpets to be the finest in the world. Chardin mentions carpets woven in Sistan.[135] The western district of Kayn, which was rich in sheep and thus in wool, manufactured carpets on such a scale that it paid part of its tribute in carpets. Felt was made at Herat and the velvet of Mashhad was reckoned the best in Iran. Silks and cottons were also woven there and in Herat. Mashhad swords were held in high repute: they were made by the descendants of a group of accomplished smiths brought and settled there by Timur. The profession, though still surviving, had declined considerably by the time Fraser visited the city in 1821–2. Other weapons and articles of armour of high quality were manufactured at Mashhad. Owing to the proximity of the turquoise mines, gem-cutting was an important craft at Mashhad. Utensils such as cups, dishes, plates, tea and coffee pots and water ewers, all made of the dark-grey stone quarried nearby, were exported from Mashhad to other parts of Iran.[136]

Balkh and Badakhshan

The southern part of Balkh has an extremely uneven terrain, lying on the chains of hills that branch off from the Hindu Kush. Towards the north, alluvial plains created by the Amu Darya (Oxus) and its tributaries made agriculture possible along the rivers that flow out of the Hindu Kush, but they soon ran dry. Under conditions of low precipitation, irrigation alone was the source on which cultivation depended. In the 1830s the Balkhab no longer flowed down to Balkh, yet there was ample irrigation from aqueducts drawn from the river upstream. There were said to have been 18 canals, but by the time Burnes visited the place, many of these were in ruins. Wheat was also grown in Balkh, where unlike India its stalks were as high as in England.[137]

East of Balkh, Haibak and the surrounding area seem to have had good fertile land. Though Moorcroft (1819–25) found several towns in ruins, the fields of a number of villages were nevertheless well-cultivated and watered; he also found traces of past cultivation here and around Khulm. But by his time cultivation seemed meagre, and beyond Yang Arekh, where the River Khulm did not provide natural irrigation, the plains were sterile. The principal crops around Haibak were wheat and millet of three kinds.[138] Pomegranates, figs, grapes, peaches and apricots are mentioned by Muhammad Tahir (*c*. 1650)

[135] *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1986, Vol. 6, pp. 710–12; Malcolm, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 224; Chardin, 1811, Vol. 4, p. 154.

[136] Fraser, 1984, pp. 468–70 (Mashhad), 30–2 (Herat); Malcolm, 1815, p. 225 (Kayn); Bellew, 1874, pp. 366–7 (Mashhad).

[137] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, pp. 240, 246.

[138] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, pp. 401, 415–16.

as being grown in Balkh. Burnes also mentions mulberries and praises the fruits of Balkh and Khulm, particularly mentioning apricots that were as large as apples and excessively cheap, 2,000 being sold for 1 Indian rupee. Dried apricots were exported from Haibak to Bukhara and Astrakhan.[139]

Sheep were numerous, though their wool was coarse: they were exported to Yarkand. Burnes also reported countless flocks of sheep especially in the desert areas. Balkh also bred good horses. Near Haibak every village at the foot of the mountains had droves of mares that were of good height and well formed and could be bought for as little as 20–30 rupees, while according to Moorcroft these would have fetched 250–300 rupees in India.[140]

At Yang Arekh, a town founded by ᶜAbdullāh Khān Uzbek near Khulm, there were filatures reeling white and yellow silk that was mainly exported to Kabul and Peshawar.[141]

Badakhshan is the name given to the mountainous region in north-eastern Afghanistan of which Kunduz (Qunduz) was the capital. There were many streams and springs,watering cultivated villages surrounded by gardens in the glens and valleys. In uninundated lands in the vicinity of Kunduz wheat, barley and rice were cultivated. The region was also rich in fruits, such as apricots, plums, cherries and mulberries.[142] The cherries of Kishm were celebrated for their quality, and the grapes of the Pech valley for their abundance.[143] Bābur maintains that he introduced the cultivation of sugar cane to Badakhshan in 1508–9, but the results are not known.[144]

Horses, Bactrian camels and sheep were among the most prized products of Badakhshan, and even in the 1820s the horses offered at the Kunduz market were claimed to beunparalleled.[145] Badakhshan was famous for its rubies, but the ruby mines were situated outside its proper limits, in the Shughnan mountains.[146] The mines were still worked in the early decades of the nineteenth century, though the returns were no longer high.[147] Within Badakhshan, but in the high ranges, were lapis lazuli mines. These were still worked in the 1820s and yielded great masses of this semi-precious stone, which was exported

[139] Tahir, MS, fol. 90; Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, pp. 231 (fruit), 233, 239; Vol. 2, p. 201; Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, p. 401.

[140] Burnes, 1834, pp. 246 (horses), 247 (sheep); Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, pp. 411, 417.

[141] Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, p. 65.

[142] Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, p. 201.

[143] Tahir, MS, fol. 97; Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 212.

[144] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 208.

[145] Bāyazīd Bayat, 1941, p. 144; Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, p. 515; Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, Vol. 2, p. 424.

[146] Le Strange, 1930, p. 436; Mustaufi, 1919, p. 206; Tek Chand, 1916, 11, pp. 374–5 s.v. *la'l* for their correct location.

[147] Fraser, 1984, App. B, pp. 105–6; Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, p. 24.

partly to Persia but in far greater quantities to Russia.[148] According to Fraser's information, emeralds were also found there though it was not certain whether these were genuine stones or green-coloured crystals.[149] In the mountain districts of Badakhshan in the Kohitun range, there was an extensive deposit of red rock-salt that was exported to other countries.[150]

Part Two

TRADE

(*A. Burton*)

The pattern of trade

From the Caspian to Xinjiang, from Siberia to northern India, there was a large trade network. Nomads and sedentary peoples bartered necessities such as food and materials, merchants provided the items required by artisans and manufacturers, royal agents carried luxury goods such as silks, jewels, hunting birds and expensive furs. The most ubiquitous merchants were known as 'Bukharans' in Russia and Siberia, and as 'Bukharans of Turfan' and 'Samarkandis' in China. But 'Urgenchis' or Khivans from Khwarazm, Multanis (Indian merchants from Multan), Armenians and Persians were also very active within Central Asia, and as far afield as Russia. In the earlier period Bukharans acted as agents for the Kazakhs and the Kalmuks (Qalmāqs) in Russia and Siberia, but as Russia expanded southwards and eastwards, these roles were partly reversed.[151]

Much of the available information is found in European sources. Universal interest in the produce of the East encouraged travellers, official envoys and even missionaries to write about possible routes, peculiarities of local trade and items that could be bought or sold. In Russia and Siberia there was much official correspondence concerning trade

148 Le Strange, 1930, p. 436; Mustaufi, 1919, p. 206; Tahir, MS, p. 96; Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, p. 205.
149 Fraser, 1984, App. B, pp. 105–6.
150 Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, p. 206.
151 See below for alleged illicit dealings in the nineteenth century which increased Bukharan and Kazakh profits and reduced Russian customs revenue (Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 287–8, 293). See Ziyaev, 1983, and Potanin, 1860, for the increasing quantities of 'Dzungar' items imported into Siberia in the eighteenth century at the expense of Bukharan materials.

and customs duties applicable to foreigners. Customs ledgers of goods entering Siberia in the seventeenth century, and British and Russian commercial surveys of the early nineteenth century, are particularly valuable. Central Asian sources are more sparse and scattered. However, Abū'l Fazl's *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* is a useful inventory of items purchased for the Mughal emperor Akbar's court *c*. 1595.[152] Agreements recorded by the *qāzī* (judge) of Samarkand and manuals for administrators yield some precise facts,[153] and much can be gleaned from court chronicles, as ambassadors were bound to bring gifts which were valued in the host country.[154]

Travel was difficult and lengthy. Water, food and stoves had to be carried, together with spades for clearing snow-covered passes or digging wells, when necessary.[155] Avalanches were likely in the Hindu Kush and sandstorms in the deserts. River crossings could be dangerous.[156] Although journeys were timed to coincide with favourable weather conditions, delays were caused when nomadic guides visited relatives *en route* or when officials were obstructive.[157] Other delays were due to considerations of safety. Caravans were often attacked and merchants could not always defend themselves effectively, despite their weapons and armed escorts. Aware that they might be sold into slavery, if they did not lose their lives, they would wait weeks or even months to join forces with the retinue of an ambassador or with the yearly convoy of the Noghay tribesmen taking thousands of horses to Moscow, for they were always provided with military escorts.[158]

Travelling with an official envoy had other advantages: in China, for example, it enabled merchants to go as far as Beijing with their expenses paid by the emperor.[159] In Russia

[152] Abū'l-Fazl, 1867–77. For a study based on this work see Moosvi, 1987.

[153] Some of the documents from the *Majmū*ᶜ*a al-wadā*ᶜ*iq* [A Collection of Trusts] are reproduced and translated by Fitrat and Sergeev, 1937, and Mukminova, 1985. They are also used by Muzaffar Alam, 1994; see Vil'danova, 1969, for other useful documents.

[154] ᶜAbdu'l Hamīd Lāhawrī and Muhammad Wāris, MS, I.O. Islamic 324, fols. 107a, 143a, 178b, 193b, 196b, 253a, 255a; Hājī Mīr Muhammad Salīm, MS, fols. 248a, 278a-b; ᶜAbdu'l Hamīd Lāhawrī, 1867–72, Vol. 1, Part ii, pp. 65, 89, 104; Vol. 2, pp. 193, 227 et seq.; Mahmūd b. Walī, MS, fols. 247b–8b, 253b, 254b–5a, 256b, 265a, 272a et seq.

[155] Meyendorff, 1826, pp. 236–8; see ᶜAbdu'l Hamīd Lāhawrī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, p. 13, for snow 2 *gaz* deep (about 1.90 m according to Hinz, 1970, p. 63) found in the Hindu Kush by the Mughal army in late June 1646, see Burnes, 1973, Vol. 1, pp. 249, 296; *Ermitazh* 283, MS, fols. 38a–b for water shortages.

[156] Mahmūd b. Walī, 1977, p. 89. Burnes, 1973, Vol. 1, pp. 76, 120, 227, also mentions pestilential winds that caused many deaths and quotes the saying, 'If you want to die, go to Kunduz.'

[157] Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 65, 68, 71–2.

[158] See Avril, 1693, pp. 117, 122; Burnes, 1973, Vol. 1, pp. 296, 248, 255; Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 46–7, 91–4; Burton, 1997, pp. 149, 267, 315, for some of the dangers encountered. See *MIUTT*, 1932, p. 197; *Akty istoricheskie sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoyu kommissieyu*, 1841–2, Vol. 4, pp. 214–7 for traders travelling with ambassadors or the Noghay horse fair.

[159] Fletcher, 1968, pp. 208, 345, 347; Semmedo, 1642, p. 27, writes that merchants paid a fee of 120 ducats to the *caravan-bāshī* from Turfan in order to pass themselves off as ambassadors bearing tribute.

they could avoid import and sales dues, purchase goods not available on the open market (*zapovednye tovary*) and even reach Moscow or St Petersburg at times when the capital was closed to foreigners.[160]

Central Asian merchants were enterprising and patient. They might remain in Russia for years in order to obtain their asking price. Bukharans and Armenians would live 'ten, fifteen years or more' in the traders' hostels of Astrakhan or settle there. Multanis often married and raised families there.[161] In 1747 the male residents of Astrakhan included 776 Armenians, 469 Bukharans, 178 Gilanis and 76 Hindustanis, many of them from Multan.[162] There were influential Bukharan colonies in Tobol'sk and western Siberia, others lived in Kashghar and Turfan. Similarly Multanis and Shikarpuris (from Shikarpur in Sind) played a useful role in the khanate of Bukhara as money-lenders and craftsmen.[163]

A large variety of goods was carried, from raw materials and bullion to medicinal plants and slaves. Furs were taken to Siberia because, although plentiful there, the finer types were reserved for the tsar, and ordinary people preferred to buy the stronger and cheaper fox pelts and lambskins from the Kalmuk steppes. In Bukhara Russian hides were popular for saddles and boots, and the delicate goatskin from Bukhara was equally popular in Russia. The slave- trade flourished, supplies coming in after battles and raids, or when parents sold their children at times of severe famine. The greatest purveyors were the Khwarazmians, Kazakhs, Kalmuks and Turkmens; and the wellstocked slave market in Bukhara functioned until the 1870s. Large numbers of Persian captives were taken there and to Khiva in the eighteenth century and also after Shāh Murād's conquest of Merv in the early nineteenth century, for Bukharan Sunnis had no compunction in turning those whom they regarded as heretics into slaves.[164]

[160] *MIUTT*, 1932, p. 98. *Russko-indiyskie otnosheniya v XVIII v*., 1965, p. 181; see further on the problems of Bukharans, Indians and other Central Asians in Russia and Siberia in Burton, 1997, pp. 463, 469–70, 489–90, 493–4 et seq. in Chs. 14 and 15.

[161] Pamyatniki diplomaticheskikh i torgovykh snosheniy Moskovskoy Rusi s Persiyey, 1890–8, Vol. 22, p. 61; *Russko-indiyskie otnosheniya v XVIII v*., 1965, pp. 322–3; Yukht, 1957, p. 138; Dale, 1996, pp. 147–8; see Burnes, 1973, p. 286, for Hindus living in Bukhara in 1832.

[162] Yukht, 1957, pp. 137–8; according to Golikova, 1982, p. 163, the number of 'Indian' settlers was 100 in the 1670s and 1680s.

[163] Mukminova, 1985, pp. 53 et seq.; see Schuyler, 1876, Vol. 1, pp. 184–7, for their continuing money-lending activities in Tashkent in 1873.

[164] I am indebted to Professor Irfan Habib for the information about the large numbers of Persian slaves whom Nādir Shāh found in Khiva in the eighteenth century and whom he liberated. For more about slaves in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Burton, 1997; see also Burton, 1998; for slaves in the Kazakh encampments, see Semenyuk, 1959. For slaves in Bukhara in the 1870s, see Schuyler, 1876, Vol. 2, pp. 101–9.

Materials were a major item of trade. Cottons were the favourites: sturdy Bukharan *zandānīchī* (from Zand/Zandana near Bukhara) woven in various colours, strong and warm *karbās* (finer cotton) used for clothes or even maps, *chīt* (chintz) from Samarkand and India,[165] *chavdar/chaldar* (glazed cotton), Chinese cottons, Indian muslin and fine white cottons used for turbans. Silks, gold brocades, Persian, Bukharan and Chinese velvets were carried, together with raw cotton and silk. Fresh and dried fruit from Bukhara, Kabul and Persia, camels and dromedaries, tireless Turkic horses from Balkh and Bukhara, and elegant *argamak*s (valuable horses, a cross between Arab and Turkmen) and other horses from the Turkmen steppes were all appreciated in Siberia, Lahore and Beijing. Turkmen horses were much in demand, whether costly or not. In the 1830s they were used by the cavalry of Bukhara and Khiva to the exclusion of all others.[166] Russian wooden dishes and cauldrons, thousands of needles and dyes for Bukharan and Russian craftsmen, tea, tobacco and medicinal plants, coins and jewellery, lapis lazuli spinels and turquoise from Badakhshan, pearls from China, coral beads, carpets and felts, Samarkand paper; the assortment was unending.[167]

It is impossible to give comprehensive tables of the quantities involved, as the data available are sadly incomplete. Thus customs records omit such essential details as the length of a piece of material, and this was not due to carelessness, but to the fact that the length could vary and might be measured only at the time of sale.[168] However, a few figures might be of interest to give an idea of the scale involved. In the seventeenth century, for example, the maximum yearly number of pieces of *zandānīchī* declared at Tobol'sk customs was 8,080 pieces in 1655–6. In 1841 a total of 403,660 pieces was declared at Orenburg and Troitsk of which 322,014 came from Bukhara and 81,646 from Khiva.[169] Individual contributions for the earlier period are best illustrated by two consignments taken to Kazan in late 1619. One Bukharan brought 1,294 pieces of *zandānīchī*, 223 pieces of other cottons, 300 sashes, 70 m of chintz, 4.5 kg of silk, a few shirts and caftans, and 13 goatskins. Another carried only indigo, but the return expected on the sale of nearly 213 kg of this valuable Indian dye must have more than compensated for the 9 weeks or more that the merchant must have spent *en route*.[170] Livestock deliveries were sizeable. There were

[165] *Karbās* was known as *byaz* in Russia and *chīt* as *vyboyka*. For more information about the goods carried, see Burton, 1997, Ch. 10.

[166] Hagemeister, 1839, p. 58.

[167] Elphinstone, 1972, Vol. 2, pp. 386–7.

[168] Nebol'sin, 1855, p. 275.

[169] *MIUTT*, 1932, pp. 342–3, 356–1, and others enter them as *zenden*; Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 278– 9, enters them as *zendel*.

[170] Pamyatniki diplomaticheskikh i torgovykh snosheniy Moskovskoy Rusi s Persiyey, 1890– 8, Vol. 22, pp. 643, 640; see Burton, 1997, Ch. 11, for the route which might have been followed.

12,000 horses from 'Turan and Iran' in Akbar's stables and under Jahāngīr (1605–27) the numbers were 3,200 Persian and 5,970 Turkic horses. In the late seventeenth century François Bernier wrote of a yearly intake of about 25,000 Central Asian horses in India which Manucci estimated at 100,000,[171] and the Kazakhs herded large numbers of sheep, horses, camels, goats and lambs to Russia.[172]

Chinese rhubarb, held to be a universal cure and also valuable as a dye, was a Bukharan monopoly in Persia and Russia from the first part of the seventeenth century.[173] Thus a single merchant took 671 kg to Tomsk in 1653 and for about 45 years after 1772 two families delivered 16.38 tons per year to the Russian government.[174]

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

In the earlier period, merchants from Bukhara were the most versatile and well-travelled. In the sixteenth century they and the Noghays were the only ones to trade in Siberia. Until the late seventeenth century Bukharans acted as middlemen for the Kazakhs, the Kalmuks and the peoples of the Kashghar khanate.[175] Khwarazmians were nearly as active as them in Russia, but their activity was often curtailed as the result of their rulers' aggressive behaviour, and unlike the Bukharans they had no direct contact with India or China. Bukharans had traded in China from the days of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). There was even a Bukharan trade hostel in Beijing.[176] Indians also appear to have traded on a large scale in late seventeenth-century Russia for they claimed in 1689 that they were paying taxes of 20,000 roubles in transit, import and export dues.[177] However, they rarely settled in Kazan and Nizhniy Novgorod, where there was a well-established Bukharan presence. They

171 Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77; tr., 1873, p. 132; Manucci, 1907, Vol. 2, p. 290; Moosvi, 1987, pp. 376, 226, 378, agrees with Bernier but thinks 100,000 is excessive, for it does not reflect the number of horses needed for the cavalry of the empire.

172 *SPBFII*, fond 36, op. 1, no. 554, fols. 264b–266b.

173 Kurts, 1914–15, p. 153.

174 Potanin, 1868, p. 53; *Vneshnyaya politika Rossii XIX i nachala XX veka*, 1974, Vol. 9, pp. 628–9; *MIUTT*, 1932, pp. 354–5, 379. In 1653–4 Central Asian merchants declared a total of 13,538 kg of rhubarb, worth about 11,571 roubles, at Tara customs.

175 The Kashghar khanate, the large country which extended from Kashghar and Yarkand to Hami and Turfan, was also known at the time as 'Little Bukhariya'. Later it would become known as Chinese (East) Turkistan, or Xinjiang. Its capital in our period was Yarkand.

176 *Russko-kitayskie otnosheniya v XVII v.*, 1969, Vol. 1, pp. 290, 414; Anon., pp. 21–2; some Bukharans were from Turfan.

177 *Russko-indiyskie otnosheniya v XVII v .*, 1958, pp. 45, 123–6, 151–4, 176–7, 181, 293, 315, 347; Baikova, 1964, pp. 131, 142–3, 152, 157–8, 165; see *Armyano-russkie otnosheniya v XVII veke*, 1953, p. 175, for Indians selling *dorogi* (striped silk akin to taffeta), fine goat leather (*saf'yan*) and chintz (*vyboyka*) in Moscow.

preferred to concentrate on Astrakhan and Moscow, selling Kalmuk horses and Persian and Central Asian goods, and buying hides, furs, honey and walrus tusks for export to Persia. Armenians were active in Astrakhan and Moscow as individuals and also through a company which obtained the exclusive right in 1667 of taking Persian cotton to Russia and exporting it from there to Europe.[178] Together with Turkish Jews, they are also said to have controlled the Ottoman trade with 'Persia, Arabia and Tartary' (i.e. Bukhara).[179] Persian merchants travelled to Russia, Bukhara and India, but they do not seem to have gone to China, for in 1619 Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629) invited Bukharan and Samarkandi merchants to his court to find out about the time taken and the route followed by their yearly caravan to Cathay.[180]

At that time Khwarazmians tended to deal mainly in goods produced elsewhere. It is not clear when they started making their own *zandānīchī* and *karbās*, but even in 1669 they only produced the plainer varieties, and they purchased patterned, striped or printed materials from Bukhara.[181] The chintz, *zandānīchī, karbās*, ready-made caftans, raw cotton and indigo that they took to Muscovy came from Bukhara.[182] They depended so heavily on their neighbours that they did their best to prevent them from trading directly with Russia. Merchants plying to and fro were likely to be seriously delayed, taxed or even thrown into prison in Khwarazm, while their goods were confiscated. Nevertheless, Bukharans purchased most of their slaves and much of their raw silk from Khwarazm.[183]

The people from the Kashghar khanate were hardly involved in manufacture or trade. Indeed they rarely left their land before 1640. By 1685, however, they were making *zandānīchī*, *karbās* and chintz which Bukharan middlemen sold for them in Siberia. Bukharans residing in Turfan also acted as trade agents for Kalmuk chiefs. Thus Ochirtu, one of these chiefs, gave them furs, slaves and horses to sell in Beijing in 1675 and 1676.[184]

[178] *Armyano-russkie otnosheniya v XVII veke*, 1953, pp. 175 et seq.; *PSZ*, 1830, Vol. 1, pp. 665– 8. According to Zhukovskiy, 1915, p. 2, there were Armenians in Nizhniy Novgorod as early as 1374 when they were implicated in a murder, together with Bukharans and other Eastern merchants.

[179] Osborne, 1745, Vol. 1, p. 509.

[180] Silva y Figueroa, 1905, Vol. 2, p. 378.

[181] *RGADA*, fond 134, op. 1, no. 1, fol. 28.

[182] *MIUTT*, 1932, pp. 168, 317; *RGADA*, 1623, fond 134, op. 1, no. 1, fols. 113–20; Pamyatniki diplomaticheskikh i torgovykh snochenii Moskovskoy Rusi s Persiyey, 1890–8, Vol. 22, pp. 641, 644. In 1619 individual Khwarazmians took to Kazan 588, 870 and 1,149 lengths of *zandānīchī* (*zenden*) and also between 6 and 15 caftans made of the same material.

[183] For more information about the Khwarazm–Bukhara trade, see Burton, 1997, pp. 349, 477, 436–8.

[184] Mahmūd b. Walī, 1977, pp. 71–2; Ziyaev, 1983, pp. 61, 66; *Russko-kitayskie otnosheniya v XVII v.*, 1969, Vol. 1, pp. 413, 414, 429.

Bukharans also took Yarkand jade to China as part of the 'tribute' that they were expected to bring for the emperor and which helped them to obtain the right to trade.[185]

The Noghays, Kalmuks, Kazakhs and Kyrgyz were nomads. They dealt in livestock, furs and slaves, but also produced mare's milk, felt, saddles and *armyachina* (a coarse type of woollen material). The Kazakhs were especially renowned for their birchwood arrows and decorated reins, and for a supple waterproof material made from sheep-hide which was prized as highly as satin.[186] They either delivered their goods themselves to Bukhara, Khiva, Muscovy, Siberia or China, or else sent them off with Bukharan middlemen, to be exchanged for materials, ready-made clothes, flour, cooking-pots, items of haberdashery and adornment, and also weapons.[187]

The eighteenth century

During the eighteenth century many changes took place. The Kazakhs moved westwards and northwards. Driven away from Lake Balkhash and the Syr Darya by the Kalmuks, they soon controlled most of the trade routes between Central Asia and the Russian empire. They began to guide caravans across the steppes and to trade in the fortresses of the Irtysh and Orenburg lines.[188] Meanwhile the rulers of Bukhara lost control of Balkh, Badakhshan, Tashkent and Ferghana, which made Bukharan trade with India and China more difficult and costly. Indigo, for example, which was essential for the dyeing of fabrics, now had to be acquired from Persia instead of India, musk and castoreum had to be purchased from the Kalmuks and from Tashkent, rather than China. The lapis lazuli and precious stones of Badakhshan were impossible to obtain.[189] In Russia and the Urals, new and highly skilled merchants from Tashkent began to compete with Bukharans and were encouraged to do so by the local authorities.[190] In Astrakhan, however, there was increased interest in the idea of trading with Bukhara. Neither instability in the khanate, nor the tragic fate of the Bekovich-Cherkasski expedition to Khiva in 1717, nor even the conquest of Balkh and Khiva by Nādir Shāh (1736–47) in the 1740s deterred merchants. From Astrakhan Greeks, Russians, Armenians and Indians traded with Iran but also went to Bukhara either individually or with official Russian caravans. Others traded by proxy. Wealthy Indians

185 Semmedo, 1642, pp. 27, 28.
186 Fazl Allāh b. Ruzbihān, 1976, p. 128; Sultanov, 1970, p. 49; on Kazakh trade in the sixteenthcentury, see Fazl Allāh b. Ruzbihān, 1362/1943, pp. 200–1; 1976, p. 116.
187 For more information about the nomads' trade with Bukhara see Burton, 1997, pp. 427–34.
188 Bodger, 1980, pp. 46–7.
189 Hanway, 1754, p. 243.
190 See Ziyaev, 1983, for the careful questioning of a merchant from Tashkent in 1735 and for the Russian fact-finding missions of 1741 and 1742.

employed Bukharans residing in Astrakhan as agents or else lent them money to finance their own operations.[191]

The Russian authorities became more interested in Central Asia due to reports that gold had been found in the upper reaches of the Amu Darya and other rivers.[192] Attempts to locate the sources of this gold and to reconnoitre the area were not successful, however. They merely awakened the suspicions and hostility of local rulers. It was therefore decided to develop trade with Central Asia and India. During the 1740s official caravans were sent to Bukhara and Khiva, and special incentives were offered to Central Asian and Indian traders. Import duties on silver, gold and precious stones were waived, access to Moscow was granted on certain conditions, retail sales were even permitted in 1752 in the newlycreated city of Orenburg, although this privilege was generally reserved for localmerchants.[193] Bukharans, who had taken cottons, lambskins and dried fruit there in 1733, responded as expected. They brought over large quantities of silver and gold, together with diamonds and other precious stones, and they were made particularly welcome. They were even allowed to sell their gems in St Petersburg after the Orenburg fair was over, and the authorities gave them a good rate of exchange for their gold.[194] They also continued to trade in Astrakhan, where they sold a variety of materials, sheepskins and dried fruit in the 1750s, although by that time a far greater range of materials and other items was being delivered there by Khivans, Persians (including Gilanis) and Indians.[195] Meanwhile the Kalmuks took camel hair, lambskins and special felt boots to Astrakhan and in 1738 Bukharans living near China agreed to supply 32.7 tons of best-quality rhubarb root to the tsar's representative in Kyakhta, every year, in exchange for large amounts of Siberian fur.[196]

In the 1780s Bukharan and Khivan deliveries to Astrakhan consisted of white cotton yarn (195,082 roubles' worth in 1783), followed by Bukharan chintz (44,270 roubles),

[191] Yukht, 1957, p. 142; 1990, p. 114.

[192] Gulamov, 1992, p. 41.

[193] Mikhaleva, 1982, pp. 27–30; Matvievskiy, 1969, pp. 105–7; *PSZ*, Vol. 13, p. 655. The privilege of selling retail was specifically granted to Khivans, Bukharans, 'Kashkar' (Kashghar) and to the people 'from the steppes'.

[194] Miller, 1776, p. 68–9; *AVPRI*, fond 109, op. 1, 1762, no. 1, fols. 3a, 17a–20b. A single merchant, for example, declared diamonds worth 9,730 roubles: *PSZ*, 1830, Vol. 13, pp. 99, 497– 8; Vol. 15, pp. 230–1. Silver coins brought over by Bukharans and Khivans originated in India, Iran and Bukhara, and different rates of exchange were laid down for each type. In 1749 a single caravan brought in nearly 6,900 kg of silver.

[195] Miller, 1776, p. 68; *RGADA*, fond 397 op. 1, no. 410, fols. 25a–122b. Cook, 1770, Vol. 1, p. 348, who was in Astrakhan at about that time, lists 'jewels, drugs, copper, fruit, sweetmeats, silks, satins, velvets, brocades and cotton' as the 'produce of Persia, Armenia, Buchara and Chiva' which came over via the Caspian.

[196] *Senatskiy arkhiv*, 1888–1913, Vol. 5, pp. 420–1; *PSZ*, 1830, Vol. 11, p. 684; *PSZ vtoroye*, 1825–81, Vol. 1, p. 1339; *Vneshnyaya politika Rossii XIX i nachala XX veka*, 1974, Vol. 4, pp. 323, 628–32. N.B. Kyakhta was situated south of Lake Baikal on the frontier. The Bukharans from the town of 'Selin' (Selenginsk) who signed a similar contract in 1772 were said to have originated in Kashmir.

karbās (18,123 roubles), Bukharan lambskins (6,067 roubles) and lesser quantities of Indian and other materials, ready-made clothes, furs and raisins. Woollen cloth, indigo and other dyes, hides, iron, steel, mirrors and many items of haberdashery were taken back. India still provided Bukharans with medicines, gold and jewels, in addition to materials. Luxurious silks came from Persia, and Kashghar supplied rhubarb, Chinese tea, porcelain and medicinal herbs.[197]

Meanwhile the Kazakh contribution to the Orenburg trade was equivocal: the Kazakhs might lead caravans astray in order to rob merchants of their goods,[198] but they were also keen to barter their livestock. They sold about 200,000 sheep a year there (worth theequivalent of 250,000 roubles in 1782–5), quite apart from lambs, horses, camels, goats, and furs from the steppes. They also dealt in Bukharan chintzes, selling between 250 and 330 Bukharan curtains per year, which was a far cry from the sixteenth century when they were mainly interested in buying enough material to provide people with clothes.[199] The scale of the Kazakhs' dealings with Bukhara and Khiva is not clear, however, although they definitely supplied them with Russian slaves such as Philip Efremov, who wrote a valuable account of his experiences in captivity.[200]

The early nineteenth century

At the turn of the century, when the wars of the French Revolution and the continental blockade closed the sea routes between Asia and Europe, the Bukharans played a particularly useful role for the Russians. They supplied them with Kashmir and Persian woollen shawls, English goods from India and their own cotton and cotton goods. This service was so highly appreciated that special privileges were offered to them in 1808: they could trade without paying dues in Astrakhan and Orenburg, and they would no longer have to declare and submit their goods to examination in Siberia.[201] Interestingly enough, it was the

[197] *SPBFII*, fond 36, op. 1, no. 554, fols. 260a–264a; *Ermitazh 283*, fols. 43b–44a.

[198] According to Mikhaleva, 1982, pp. 20, 55, caravans were robbed of a total of 1.5 million roubles between 1764 and 1800.

[199] *SPBFII*, fond 36, op. 1, no. 554, fols. 264b–266a. The Kazakhs, known here as 'Kirgiz-kaisak', also appear to have bartered materials originating in Khiva or Tashkent. Apollova, 1960, p. 265, gives a figure of 87.9 and 95.3 per cent for their cattle imports. See Fazl Allāh b. Ruzbihān, 1976, p. 101, for their activities in the sixteenth century. Nebol'sin, 1835, Vol. 2, p. 177, says the *zanaveski* were in fact bedspreads.

[200] Efremov, 1893, p. 129. Efremov was sold to Bukhara by his Kazakh captors in 1774. For slaves in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Elphinstone, 1972, Vol. 1, p. 325; Harlan, 1939; Burnes, 1973, Vol. 1, pp. 281, 283 et seq.; Meyendorff, 1826, pp. 284–5.

[201] Mikhaleva, 1990, p. 133.

Bukharans and Persians, not the Indians, who took Indian goods to Russia. The Indians settled in Astrakhan preferred to deal in Bukharan, Persian and Khivan goods.[202]

Meanwhile trade in Kabul was fairly brisk. Elphinstone does not specify who the carriers were or what goods were exchanged with Persia, but he writes that Kashmir shawls, Multani chintzes, turbans, indigo and fine white cloth were taken to 'Toorkistan'. In return, horses, gold and silver coins were brought over, together with Russian articles ranging from woollen cloth and leather to spectacles and tin, and including cochineal, cutlery,cast-iron pots, needles and mirrors. Small quantities of Bukharan cotton and lambskins, fine camel-hair cloth and 'a few two-humped camels from the Kazakh country' also made their way to Kabul,[203] as did horses from Bukhara and Balkh which Kabulis sold in northern India after they had been fattened locally. Finally, Kabul received a variety of goods from Chinese Turkistan (East Turkistan, i.e. Xinjiang) which included textiles (woollens, silks, satins and raw silk), crystal, tea, porcelain, gold-dust, and gold and silver ingots.[204]

Two years after the Bukharans had been granted special trading privileges, Russian officials began a campaign against them, determined to put an end to their alleged stranglehold over Russia's Asian trade. Some suggested that Tashkentis be encouraged to compete with them, as being nearer, more conveniently situated, more active as traders and better craftsmen. Others welcomed the Kokand ruler's successes against Bukhara and looked forward to trading directly with his subjects, rather than through Bukhara.[205]

By this time the Kazakh contribution to Russian trade had increased, with sales of 3–4 million roubles in horses and purchases of only 1.5 to 2 million. This imbalance was apparently due to the dangers encountered on the steppes. From 1798 certain tribes had multiplied their attacks on caravans, and more especially those known to be Russian. The situation deteriorated further after would-be traders among the Kazakhs tried to control the raiders. When fighting broke out between them, Russian traders either gave up their expedition altogether or entrusted their goods to Tatar agents, confident that although Tatars might be delayed, they would not be plundered by the Kazakhs.[206] Central Asians also managed to cope with the dangers on the steppes, judging by the yearly arrivals of 3,000–4,500 camels from Bukhara, 1,000–2,000 from Tashkent and Kokand, and 500 each

[202] *Russko-indiyskie otnosheniya v XVIII v.*, 1965, pp. 405, 408, 402.

[203] Elphinstone, 1972, Vol. l, pp. 384, 385, 387; Jenkinson, 1903, p. 472, mentioned similar goods in 1559.

[204] Elphinstone, 1972, Vol. 1, pp. 385, 286. No details are provided about the Kabul–Persia trade, except for the fact that caravans marched at night, as they did on the way to India.

[205] *Vneshnyaya politika Rossii XIX i nachala XX veka*, 1974, Vol. 5, pp. 617, 639.

[206] Ibid., Vol. 5, pp. 563, 617–19; Vol. 4, pp. 329, 633. However, in view of British hostility after Tilsit, in late 1808, Russians refused to send European and costly goods to Central Asia for fear of a drop in price that would cause them losses.

from Khiva and Kashghar, as recorded at Orenburg in 1810, total imports being worth 8–10 million.[207]

The 1820s

In 1820–1 the presence in Bukhara of Kazakh, Turkmen, Persian, Kashgharian, Tashkenti, Kokandi, Kabuli and Indian merchants was noted by the members of a Russian mission. They also mentioned a few Russians, Tatars and Armenians. Kashgharians traded in the Siberian town of Petropavlosvk, as did Tashkentis and Kokandis, whose contribution to trade had become significant enough to be monitored by a newly appointed Kokandi official.[208]

The Kazakhs whom Meyendorff saw in Bukhara were experienced merchants. In addition to slaves, as in the past, they carefully herded sheep over because they fetched a better price than on the Russian frontier. They had sold 100,000 sheep for about 1,600,000 roubles and then purchased silk gowns, thick cotton cloth, wheat, oats, sorghum and peas, partly for their own use and partly for resale at a profit.[209] Turkmen traders supplied Bukhara with slaves, fresh butter, horse blankets, woollen carpets and warm materials of goat and camel hair, but their speciality was the remarkably speedy and handsome *argamak* horse for which local noblemen paid 800–2,500 roubles, apparently as much as for a young and pretty female slave.[210]

The trade between Bukhara and Russia was dominated by Bukharans, although some Russian Tatars and Astrakhan Armenians were also involved. Bukharans purchased a variety of metals, together with local and English materials, and apparently smuggled out large quantities of Dutch and Spanish coins. Among the goods that they took to Russia, Eversman lists Persian shawls, Indian indigo and Chinese *geschirre*s (porcelain dishes?). However, an 1819 customs list from Orenburg shows that raw (275.4 tons) and spun cotton (299.7 tons) also figured prominently, as did cotton materials (172,000 pieces) and Bukharan lambskins (64,825). There were also 12,000 turquoises, 114 kg of lapis lazuli, nearly 500 kg of madder, 132 shawls and a number of silk pieces, and quantities of furs, dried fruit, tea and rhubarb.[211]

[207] *Vneshnyaya politika Rossii XIX i nachala XX veka*, 1974, Vol. 5, p. 618.

[208] Meyendorff, 1826, pp. 209, 217, 249, 251; Eversman, 1822, pp. 76–7; Ziyaev, 1983, pp. 115, 118. A caravan of 500 camels from Kokand arrived in Petropavlosk in 1822.

[209] Meyendorff, 1826, pp. 209, 286, 212; Nebol'sin, 1855, p. 168. According to Nebol'sin's sources, between 1823 and 1849 sheep fetched 1–2 gold coins each.

[210] Meyendorff, 1826, pp. 284, 209, 217, 286; Eversman 1822, p. 91.

[211] Eversman, 1822, p. 76; Meyendorff, 1826, p. 241; *SPBFII*, fond 36, op. 1, no. 554, fols. 260a– 264a. Interestingly enough, raw cotton did not figure at all in the customs records for 1782– 5 and a far lower

The Bukharan trade with Persia was on a smaller scale. Only 500 camels were involved, as against the 1,300 camels in the trade with Russia. The carriers were Bukharans, and the merchants came from Mashhad and Herat. Persian silks, woollen cloth and coarse shawls used as, or with, turbans were taken to Bukhara, together with a few carpets and turquoises, to be sold against 'Russian goods' (probably iron, copper, glassware and cochineal), cloves and rhubarb, Bukharan silks, cottons and large quantities of raw cotton.[212]

Kokandis, Bukharans, Tashkentis, Russian Tatars and Armenians all plied between Bukhara and Kashghar. Using about 600 camels a year they carried Chinese porcelain and tea from Kashghar, and all types of articles from Bukhara, especially furs, gold thread and braid, corals, chintz, printed silks and other materials. Nearer home Kokandis and Tashkentis took their plain white cotton materials to Bukhara to have them dyed or printed by skilled Bukharan craftsmen. They also brought raw cotton, raw silk of slightly inferior quality and silk materials, which Meyendorff considered more durable than local varieties, and they took back prints of all kinds.[213]

Goods from Kashmir, Afghanistan and India were mainly transported to Bukhara by Afghan and Indian merchants from Kabul, Shikarpur, Peshawar and Multan, although a few Bukharans were also involved. The popularity of Kashmir shawls was then at its peak. According to Meyendorff 20,000 were taken to Kabul every year, of which 12,000 went to Persia, Turkey, Arabia and Africa and 3,000 to Bukhara. Two-thirds of the Kashmir shawls which reached Bukhara went on to Russia, many to be sold at the Nizhniy Novgorod fair, but the less valuable shawls of Kabul and Herat brought over by Kabulis were probably used locally,[214] as turbans. Indigo was also carried by Kabulis. Russian goods – muslin, iron, copper, glass panes, cochineal – were taken back to Kabul, together with paper, gold brocade (which was cheaper in Bukhara than in India) and Bukharan raw cotton, which was needed to supplement the poor local production.[215] Indian visitors to Bukhara brought Kashmir shawls, silk and gold brocade, fine cottons used for turbans and linings, a small number of pearls and large quantities of indigo, all of which they exchanged against Dutch

quantity of spun cotton had been taken over at the time. As for the number of *vyboyka* pieces declared, this added up to under 74,000 in these 4 years, whereas 151,600 pieces were declared in 1819. The general assortment was also less wide-ranging, lacking, for example, such items as tea, rhubarb and carpets.

[212] Eversman, 1822, p. 76; Meyendorff, 1826, pp. 250–1.

[213] Eversman, 1822, pp. 76–7; Meyendorff, 1826, p. 251, gives the quantity of raw silk taken to Bukhara by Kokandis in 1821 as 500 *puds*, i.e. 8,190 kg, and he valued it at 304 roubles per *pud* (1 *pud*=16.38 kg.), as against the Bukharan variety which fetched 352.

[214] Meyendorff, 1826, pp. 249–51, 241–2. The customs record of 1819 quoted by Meyendorff does not confirm the figure of 2,000 given by his Kashmiri informant. In fact only 77 shawls are listed on it. Some 'ordinary shawls' were also taken to Orenburg that year.

[215] Meyendorff, 1826, pp. 250–1, 248.

ducats. Finally, powdered sugar seems to have reached Bukhara from Peshawar, together with yellow belts, wooden combs and carpets.[216]

The English involvement

Meanwhile, the British had begun to take an interest in Central Asia for political and economic reasons.[217] In 1809–10 they had been accused of selling their goods very cheaply in order to secure a foothold in Bukhara. Two years later they surveyed the route from India to Bukhara and in 1825 Moorcroft and Trebeck were on their way to Bukhara when death overtook them in northern Afghanistan.[218] In 1830 a detailed report to the British government listed Bukharan requirements as good-quality broadcloth, chintzes and other cotton goods, cast-iron pots, glass bottles and mirrors, tea, indigo, sugar and paper, together with small numbers of scissors, razors and penknives.[219] All of this, together with iron, steel, copper and tin, could be supplied at competitive prices by Britain and British India, 'the freight of a load of 1 ton of iron' from Britain being 'far less than the cost of [hiring] one camel from Orenburg to Bukhara'. A much better quality of tea, an item 'of the greatest request among the Uzbeks', could also be sent from Bombay to compete with the Kashghar variety available locally.

Bukhara's main exports were said to consist of slaves, furs, sheep, cotton and tobacco intended for Kabul, low-priced gold, silk and horses, small quantities of coarse cloth and glass beads, and also pistachio, jujube and nuts used in dyeing. In the circumstances, and because caravans were seldom attacked on the new route through Khulm (Afghanistan), an annual spring fair on the banks of the Indus seemed a practical proposition.[220]

After visiting Bukhara in 1832–3, Alexander Burnes wrote in more detail about its commerce. Many English goods were arriving there via Russia and were becoming very popular. Chintz sold at a profit of up to 50 per cent. English broadcloth was purchased at Nizhniy Novgorod in preference to the Russian variety, for it was longer-lasting and more colourfast. Indian goods were in great demand. They included Dacca (Dhaka) muslins, Benares brocade (500 pieces imported yearly), Punjab white cloth used exclusively for turbans, a little coarse sugar and especially indigo, averaging 'five hundred camel-loads a

[216] Ibid., pp. 249–51.
[217] Yapp, 1980, pp. 137, 141, 162.
[218] Mikhaleva, 1982, p. 76; Khalfin, 1974, p. 96.
[219] The report was signed by P. B. Lord and A. Burnes.
[220] Lord, 1830, fols. 500a–507b.

year' (approx. 47,000 kg) and partly exported to Yarkand.[221] Bukhara was exporting silk and wool to Kabul and India. Its trade with Persia consisted mainly of opium and shawls from Kirman exchanged for Bukharan lambskins. With their taxes on merchants and goods Badakhshanis indirectly controlled its trade, bringing in coarse porcelain, musk, bullion and especially tea via East Turkistan to the tune of 950 horse-loads per year (approx. 90,600 kg), taking back karakul lambskins and Persian opium.[222]

The success claimed by Burnes for English goods appears to have been short-lived in Bukhara, but contradictory accounts were given subsequently by Russian officials. Hagemeister, who visited Persia in 1837, was told that English chintz was not liked because it did not last and was far too expensive. Khanykov said in 1841 that it reached Bukhara from Mashhad and Kabul and fetched 2.5–3 *tillā*s (coins) for a piece about 25 m long, that is, between 25 and 50 per cent more than a piece of Russian chintz which was 33 per cent longer. Lehman, who was in Bukhara with Khanykov, said he found none in the market,[223] but Nebol'sin insists that it was particularly successful there in 1841 and 1842 because of its incredibly low price. He explains, however, that prices had doubled by 1844 and that of the two qualities available the first was excellent but prohibitively expensive, while the second was unreliable, short in length, full of holes and with faded colours.[224] He says nothing about English muslin but, according to Khanykov, this was not popular because the birds embroidered on it were thought to contravene Islamic law.[225]

The period 1837–50

Meanwhile Hagemeister was told in 1837 that the quantities of cattle and horses that the Kazakhs sold to Russia equalled their combined sales to Khiva, Bukhara, Kokand and China. Helped by their experience on the Irtysh line, where they had been supplying Russian garrisons with furs, sheepskins and lambskins, cattle, sheep and horses since about 1765, the Kazakhs bartered cattle for tea with the Chinese.[226] They provided tallow produced from sheep's fat to Bukharans who took it from the Siberian line to Russia for the benefit of English buyers.[227] As in 1820 they continued to take their sheep to Bukhara,

[221] Burnes, 1973, Vol. 2, pp. 429–33, 443, 434–6; see further about Burnes' mission in Yapp, 1980, pp. 202–7, 210.

[222] Lord, 1830, fols. 496b–498b; Burnes, 1973, Vol. 2, pp. 436–40 et seq., 175.

[223] Hagemeister, 1839, p. 149; Khanykov, 1843, pp. 173, 174, 177; Lehman, 1969, p. 75.

[224] Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 216–17. This exhaustive account was carefully put together on the basis of oral information, administrative reports and customs records dating from 1823 to 1849.

[225] Khanykov, 1843, p. 170.

[226] Hagemeister, 1839, pp. 253, 249; *SPBFII*, fond 36 op. 1, no. 553, fols. 432a–b, 437a–48a, 450a–b.

[227] Hagemeister, 1839, p. 248.

rather than Tashkent or Russia, purchasing cauldrons as well as grain and materials in exchange.[228]

According to Nebol'sin, the Kazakhs were also involved in illicit dealings with Bukharan and Khivan merchants who wished to avoid the government tax payable on commodities. The merchants would barter most of their cottons against Kazakh livestock, well before reaching the official barter hall. Then they hired a Kazakh to take the livestock through customs as his own, knowing that as a Russian subject he would have no tax to pay. They themselves declared a moderate quantity of cotton fabrics on which little tax was payable and they sold this in Orenburg, while supervising the sale of their illicitly acquired livestock against the gold which they would later take out of the country. Another subterfuge consisted in disposing of expensive silk materials and robes in the Kazakh encampments, and then refilling the bales with cheap cottons so that there was no discrepancy between the numbers checked at the frontier and those presented at customs.[229]

During this period the Turkmens supplied Persian slaves and carpets to Bukhara. In exchange they probably purchased the Bukharan lambskins that they used for their tall hats, together with other items, such as those that they are known to have bought near Buzachi in 1841, namely fabrics, sashes, ready-made clothes and needles, together with tobacco, mercury, flour, trunks, iron and cast-iron pots.[230]

As for the Khivans, according to Khanykov they mainly took apples and untreated ox hides to Russia, exchanging them at Orenburg for the iron and cast-iron goods that they sold in Bukhara, while their local competitors were busy trading at the Nizhniy Novgorod fair. A more comprehensive picture, however, can be gleaned from Nebol'sin. Iron goods and cauldrons were certainly taken to Bukhara, but so were Russian hides, raw silk, sesame seeds and oil. Khivans did not visit Troitsk, however, and although their imports to Orenburg were similar to those from Bukhara, their total value in 1840–9 was 80 per cent lower. Quantities were comparable in the case of raw cotton and plain cotton (white *byaz* or *bayāz*), larger in the case of *zandānīchī* and ready-made gowns, but smaller in the case of furs, shawls, dried fruit, prints and cotton yarn.[231] In Bukhara Khivan merchants purchased large quantities of local tobacco and lambskins for resale to the Turkmens and Karakalpaks (Qara-Qālpāqs), in addition to items intended for Khwarazm, namely cotton yarn and prints, robes 'of the best quality', green tea from Kashghar and an inferior quality of both martens and indigo. They also traded with Persia, buying chintz, white linen,

[228] Nebol'sin, 1855, p. 168.
[229] Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 287–8, 74, 293.
[230] Ibid., pp. 170–1, 305–6; Khrulev, 1863, pp. 27–8.
[231] Khanykov, 1843, pp. 172–3; Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 278–333, 169. Khivans imported 1,121.7 tons of raw cotton into Russia, as against 1,305 tons, together with 391,613 *puds* of *byaz*, as against 399,620.

expensive woollen cloth and slaves in Mashhad, in exchange for ready money, Russian hides and cloth, sesame seeds and Khivan silk.[232]

Kokandis traded with Russia, Bukhara and Kashghar. They competed with Bukharans in Russia, but only at Troitsk and in the towns of the Irtysh line.[233] According to Khanykov, two main Kokandi caravans arrived every year in Bukhara with Chinese goods, but many small groups of Bukharans travelled to Kokand, taking raw cotton and special plants used as dyes to be exchanged against tea, china cups, Chinese and local silk materials, and large quantities of Russian iron, cast-iron and steel goods. Nebol'sin adds raw silk and berries to the goods that Bukharans purchased in Kokand, and lambskins, muslins, 'chintz and other Russian goods' to the items that they sold there. Kokandis, for their part, transported Russian iron, cast-iron, steel, woollen cloth, hides and cotton materials to Kashghar and returned with tea, porcelain dishes, silk and silver ingots.[234]

By 1841 the Bukharo-Persian trade had changed, focusing on the sale of Bukharan lambskins. According to Khanykov, Mashhadis 'rushed' to purchase them in the spring, when they were at their cheapest, and Nebol'sin explains that quantities increased considerably after 1844, when Bukharans began to take them to Persia for the benefit of English customers.[235] Khanykov writes of three to four yearly caravans from Mashhad bringing English chintzes, calicoes and muslins, Persian and Turkmen carpets, local silks, shawls and a few turquoises to Bukhara, and returning with raw cotton and locally produced goods, in addition to lambskins.[236] But Nebol'sin's well-documented account is much fuller. He lists indigo, Kashmir shawls and scarves, cochineal, Russian materials, hides, cauldrons and trunks among the items taken to Persia, adding ginger, sweetmeats, cloves, pepper and heavy Persian brocade to the goods which reached Bukhara.[237]

By 1850 the scale of Bukhara's trade with Russia was such that it could supply Russian articles to all its neighbours.[238] Thus Russian hides, cloth, cast-iron and steel objects were sold to Kunduz, and, according to Nebol'sin, Russian copper, cauldrons, trunks, needles,

[232] Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 169–70.

[233] Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 278–333. Generally the trading activities of Kokandis and Tashkentis at Troitsk were on a much smaller scale than those of Bukharans. See Ziyaev, 1983, pp. 110–24, for figures of combined Bukharan and Tashkenti imports of fabrics to the various towns of the Irtysh line.

[234] Khanykov, 1843, pp. 175–6; Nebol'sin, 1855, p. 172.

[235] Their import into Persia and resale to Britain would ultimately lead to their being known as 'Persian lamb' in the pre- 'Animal Rights' context. Nebol'sin, 1855, p. 170.

[236] Khanykov, 1843, p. 173. The turquoises were apparently smuggled in and were not of the best quality, as this was reserved for Russia.

[237] Nebol'sin, 1855, p. 170.

[238] Ibid., pp. 331–2. Between 1840 and 1849 Bukharans took 5.2 million roubles' worth of goods and coins back from Orenburg and Troitsk, quite apart from supplies purchased in Siberia and Kokand. During the same period Bukharan sales registered at Orenburg and Troitsk fetched a total of 7.3 million roubles.

knives, razors, gold thread, braid, tinsel, cochineal, woollen cloth, and a light silk used for waistcoats or upholstery were supplied to Afghanistan. Interestingly enough, he felt the need to explain that neither Russian hides, nor chintz, nor sugar were included, owing to the use of local *saigach* (saiga, a sort of antelope) hide for shoes and to the greater availability of English chintz and Peshawar sugar. In addition to Russian goods, Bukharans took raw cotton and silk, goat's down, cotton materials and scissors to Kabul and Herat, bringing back English chintz, Kashmir shawls, Multani silks and thin cottons, Indian muslin, heavy brocade, spices, opium and large quantities of indigo.[239]

At Orenburg and Troitsk, the lion's share of the Bukharan goods declared in 1840–9 consisted of raw cotton and yarn (over 2 million roubles) and cotton materials (over 3 million), followed by lambskins (833,824 roubles). There were 116,288 roubles of silk, lesser quantities of raw cotton and yarn than in 1819 but much larger quantities of *byaz* and carpets,[240] and there were also items such as *zandānīchī* and cotton robes which had not figured in 1819. The most valuable items taken back were coins and cotton goods (1,426,464 and 1,044,714 roubles respectively), followed by metals and metal goods, and hides. Dyes were also important.[241]

Central Asian trade developed greatly in the period under review. Although from the eighteenth century Tashkentis, Kokandis, Kazakhs, Kabulis and Kashgharians competed with Bukharans and Khwarazmians for the Russian, Siberian and Chinese markets, such was the range of goods carried that the new traders were able to work alongside those of longer standing, and even to act as go-betweens. Changes in emphasis took place, due to such developments as the sudden popularity of Kashmir shawls and Bukharan lambskins. Central Asians also made the most of new possibilities, taking back substantial quantities of metal and metal goods from Russia in the 1840s (16 per cent of Bukharan purchases),

[239] Nebol'sin, 1855, p. 171; Khanykov, 1843, pp. 174–5, gave the impression that the Bukharo-Kabuli trade was totally in the hands of Kabulis in 1841. Additional items mentioned were small quantities of silk materials, lambskins and a sizeable amount of gold originating in Bukhara, and between 3,000 and 3,500 camels were said to be involved.

[240] Meyendorff, 1826, p. 241; Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 331, 267, 269–70, 332, 276–9, 282–3, 306. In 1819 Bukharan imports were 16,813 *pud*s of raw cotton and 18,296 of cotton yarn, but annual imports to Troitsk and Orenburg in 1840–9 could be as little as 1,488 and only averaged 12,994. However, imports of *byaz* seem to have grown vastly, from 20,410 pieces 16 m long to between 77,927 and 172,000 pieces of unstated length. Other materials are difficult to compare, but carpets had grown from 5 in 1819 to an average of 165. See Hagemeister, 1839, Tables. Surprisingly, in the 5 years from 1833 cotton yarn imports from Bukhara totalled nearly as much as in the 10 years from 1840, and the value of cotton goods taken back in 1833–7 was higher at nearly 1.5 million roubles. Perhaps Bukharans realized that an energetic new governor of Orenburg, Perovsky, was keen to develop trade, or else Hagemeister included centres such as Sariachik, Astrakhan, Novo-Aleksandrovsk and Petropavlovsk.

[241] Nebol'sin, 1855, pp. 268–322, 331, 209–10; Hagemeister, 1839, Tables.

together with large amounts of factory-made cotton materials (20 per cent of the Bukharan, and 34 per cent of the Khivan purchases). The process had already begun whereby the raw cotton that they brought over was used by Russian manufacturers to produce large quantities of cheap materials intended for Russian Muslims and for Central Asia. Although not very noticeable as yet, this process would eventually result in the total elimination of Central Asian textiles from the Russian market. In the meantime, however, the merchants would continue to deal, as before, in a variety of goods ranging from dyes and precious stones to spices, tea, fruit and medicinal plants.

16

MONETARY SYSTEMS AND PRICES

E. A. Davidovich, E. V. Rtveladze and S. Moosvi

Contents

Part One

NORTHERN PARTS OF CENTRAL ASIA: MONETARY POLICY AND CURRENCY CIRCULATION UNDER THE SHAYBANID AND THE JANID (ASTARKHANID) DYNASTIES

(*E. A. Davidovich*)

The sources available for a study of currency and currency circulation in Central Asia between the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century are relatively numerous. The most important sources of information are the coins themselves, individual pieces as well as coin hoards, but there are also hundreds of documents (*wasīqa*s, or deeds of purchase, and *waqf-nāma*s, or deeds of endowment) that shed light on the subject. The information contained in narrative written sources is also useful, although it tends to be too brief, generally indirect and often in need of interpretation.

The monetary reforms of Muhammad Shaybānī Khān, 1507–10

Once, after much strife, Shaybānī Khān (1500–10) had subjugated the central part of Transoxania in 1501, he attempted to normalize the situation and even tried to introduce a new currency. However, his new wars called for further spending. Having conquered Khwarazm and the Hisar principality, he entered Khurasan and captured Herat, their main capital, in 1507. In May of that year, Shaybānī Khān entered Herat. The very first Friday after his arrival, the *khutba* (sermon) was recited in the city's Friday mosque (*masjid-i jum*^{c}*a*) in his honour as sovereign. It was during this same ceremony that his monetary reforms were announced. Why was it considered so important to link the two acts, one political and the other economic? An answer to that question is to be found in the pre-reform situation in Khurasan and in the nature of the reforms themselves.

Shaybānī Khān's military successes in Transoxania and expectations of his inevitable sweep into Khurasan gave rise to inflation and may have sparked off a crisis. One indication is to be found in the exchange rate for the silver *tanga* in relation to the copper coins (*dīnār*s). The Timurid silver 1- *tanga* piece, which weighed 1 *misqāl* (4.8 g), was still worth 18 copper Herat *dīnār*s in 1504–5, but by 1506, the exchange rate had risen to 36 *dīnār*s.[1] The retail trade in food and consumer goods was conducted in *dīnār*s. Thus, even before Shaybānī Khān's conquest of Herat, retail prices had practically doubled and must have risen still further. This would imply that the announcement of monetary reforms at the same time as the announcement of a new ruler was intended to stabilize prices and to make the population favourably disposed towards the conqueror.

Khwānd Amīr, the contemporary historian, provides a fairly detailed description of the content of the reforms. Shaybānī Khān is said to have directed that half a *dāng* should be added to the former *tangacha*, that 'the coins having received the imprint of the most august die should each be considered to be worth 6 *kebeki dīnār*s, and that the former 1-*misqāl tangacha* should be accepted against 5 *dīnār*s.'[2]

Various questions arise, however, if this text is taken in isolation. Clearly, 'former *tangacha*' refers to the silver coinage of the Timurid rulers. But why does Khwānd Amīr use the term '*tangacha*', which means 'small *tanga*', rather than '*tanga*'? What does receiving 'the imprint of the most august die' mean? Does it imply the issuance of a new coinage bearing the name of Shaybānī Khān, or does it imply the overstamping of the Timurid coinage with the name of Shaybānī Khān?[3] What is meant by the phrase 'half a *dāng* should be added' (half a *dāng* is one-twelfth of any other denomination)? Does it imply increasing the entire coinage by half a *dāng* (which would imply the casting of new coins) or increasing the exchange rate (which would imply the overstamping of the old Timurid *tanga*)? And what is the kebeki *dīnār*, to which the *tangacha* exchange rate is pegged?

It has sometimes been incorrectly surmised that a *tangacha* was a 'small *tanga*' (quarter) and that a *kebeki dīnār* was a copper coin. The rest of Khwānd Amīr's text has been interpreted in two different ways. According to the first, the directive was for the minting of new silver coins bearing the name of Shaybānī Khān, the weight of which was to be greater than that of the Timurid coins by half a *dāng*.[4] According to the second, Shaybānī Khān intended the old Timurid coinage to be overstamped with his name, and the exchange

[1] Davidovich, 1983, pp. 48–9.
[2] Khwānd Amīr, p. 359.
[3] Overstamping means a small stamp with an inscription or design in a cartouche on coinage at various times after minting.
[4] Davidovich, 1954, pp. 85–108.

rate for these overstamped coins to be raised above the former rate by half a *dāng* (other amounts by which the exchange rate was to be increased have also been mooted).[5]

Other written sources, but above all the numismatic evidence, make it possible to understand what Khwānd Amīr meant, and also shed substantial new light on the nature of Shaybānī Khān's reforms.[6] The term *dīnār* has many meanings. Initially it was used to refer to gold coins, then to gilded silver coins, then to silver coins, and finally, in the fifteenth century, to both silver and copper coins. How did contemporaries in the fifteenth century establish the exact meaning of the term? The answer is by means of epithets. The epithet *kebeki* meant that the *dīnār* was silver. The value of a *kebeki dīnār* was established by reference to its weight (for example, the weight of 6 *kebeki dīnār*s was equivalent to 1 *misqāl* of silver) and its equivalence to a certain quantity of copper *dīnār*s. Many epithets were used to qualify the copper *dīnār*. These included names of cities (e.g. Herat *dīnār*) and the term *fulūs* (sing. *fals*) (*dīnāri fulūs*=copper *dīnār*). Khwānd Amīr describes a *kebeki dīnār* as having the weight of one-sixth part of a *misqāl*.[7] The terms *tanga* and *tangacha* are synonymous, as attested by documentary and other sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Once the meanings of the terms have been established, it is possible to understand Khwānd Amīr's text and the numismatic data enable us to appreciate the original nature of Shaybānī Khān's reforms and their significance:

First, 'the coins having received the imprint of the most august die' must refer to the stamping of silver coins bearing the name and titles of Shaybānī Khān, and not the overstamping of old Timurid coinage. This is made clear by the simple fact that not a single coin overstamped with the name of Shaybānī Khān has been found to date, while more than 1,000 pre-reform (types 1–3) and post-reform (type 4) issues bearing his name have been identified.[8]

Second, 'half a *dāng* should be added to the former *tangacha*' means that the standard weight of coins issued under Shaybānī Khān was increased by half a *dāng* (one-twelfth) as compared with those issued under the Timurids. That is borne out by the fact that the standard weight of the last of the Timurid *tangacha*s (and of the pre-reform *tangacha*s of Shaybānī Khān) is 1 *misqāl* (4.8 g). Accordingly, the coins that were to be issued under Shaybānī Khān should have weighed 1 *misqāl* (4.8 g) plus half a *dāng* of 1 *misqāl*(0.4 g), i.e. 5.2 g in total. The *tangacha*s issued under Shaybānī Khān were indeed issued in

5 Masson, 1972, pp. 27–36.
6 Davidovich, 2001, pp. 129–85.
7 See Davidovich, 1983, pp. 32–57, for further information on these and other coinage-related terms.
8 *Description, Classification& Catalogue of Coins Issued under Shaybānī Khān*, see Davidovich, 1992, pp. 77–80, 181–3, 268–95, 401.

TABLE 1. Weight of post-reform *tanga* of Shaybānī Khān (type 4)

Weight (g)	5.4	5.3	5.2	5.1	5.0	4.9	4.8
Quantity	1	12	65	62	10	6	1
Percentage		7.6	41.4	39.5	6.4	3.8	

accordance with that standard (see Table 1): out of 157 coins, around 90 per cent weigh 5.1–5.2 g (average: 5.15 g). Taking into account wear from circulation, this fits in exactly with the new standard weight: 1 *misqāl* plus half a *dāng* (5.2 g).

The reform was announced during May 1507. However, it did not come into effect immediately and simultaneously in all cities. The post-reform *tanga* appeared in Herat in 913/1507, while Samarkand and Bukhara continued to issue the 1-*misqāl tanga*. It was only in the following year (914/1508–9) that the post-reform *tanga* (type 4) began to be issued everywhere in accordance with the new weight standard (see Table 2). It is worth noting that the standard post-reform *tanga* minted in various cities circulated at the same exchange rate throughout the territories controlled by Shaybānī Khān, regardless of the place of issue.

Khwānd Amīr also states that the exchange rate for the old Timurid *tangacha* (4.8 g) was to be reduced to 5 *kebeki dīnār*s (i.e. the equivalent of 4 g of silver). This would appear to be feasible, given that the silver content was slightly undervalued (not by very much, when the wear and tear from circulation is taken into account) and this would have encouraged the elimination of the old *tangacha* from the market by economic forces. Khwānd Amīr states that the exchange rate for the new *tangacha* (5.2 g) bearing Shaybānī Khān's name was to be set at 6 *kebeki dīnār*s (4.8 g), which is quite impossible: why issue new high-weight coins and immediately doom them to hoarding? There is probably an error or omission here: the word '*nīm*' (half) has presumably been left out. The new *tanga*s were equivalent not to 6 *kebeki dīnār*s (4.8 g), but to 6.5 *kebeki dīnār*s (5.2 g). Omissions are not a rare occurrence in medieval manuscripts, still less in later transcripts.

One wonders, however, if it is possible for the exchange rate for one group of silver coinage (type-4 Shaybānī Khān *tanga*) to correspond to the weight of the metal, while the exchange rate for the other group (Timurid *tanga*) has been reduced by almost 16 per cent. The evidence shows that it was possible, and that it was not a unique occurrence. We shall see that the circulation of Shaybānī *tanga*s was organized in exactly the same manner following 1525.

The nature of the reforms and their later development are not described exhaustively by Khwānd Amīr. In fact, the reforms were continued and expanded. For example, part of the Timurid *tanga* issue was subsequently overstamped (one of the anonymous overstamps

TABLE 2. Year and place of mint of the post-reform silver *tanga* of Shaybānī Khān (type 4)

	Place of mint													
Year	Astarabad	Balkh	Bukhara	Herat	Mashhad	Merv	Nimruz	Nisa	Nishapur	Qain	Sabzevar	Samarkand	Sarakhs	Tun
913/1507				*										
914/1508–9	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*			*
915/1509		*	*		*	*			*			*		
916/1510			*									*		
n/a				*		*	*			*			*	

bearing the word '*shirmard*'). As a result, in the khanate as a whole, there were three groups of silver coins, each with its own exchange rate: the Shaybānī Khān *tanga* (equal to 6.5 *kebeki dīnār*s, and in Herat to 39 copper Herat *dīnār*s); the old, i.e. Timurid, *tanga*(5 *kebeki dīnār*s, or 30 Herat copper *dīnār*s); and the Timurid *tanga* bearing the anonymous overstamp (exchange rate lower than the first group but higher than the second).

The reforms of Shaybānī Khān also concerned gold coinage (*ashrafī*). Although the known specimens bear no date, the use of the post-reform title of Shaybānī Khān identifies the period during which they were issued.

Khwānd Amīr makes no reference to copper coinage either, despite the fact that it was also affected by the reforms. For example, in 914/1508–9 Samarkand and Bukhara began issuing new copper *dīnār*s of the same weight as the post-reform type-4 silver *tanga*. The coinage issued by Samarkand even bears an inscription giving the new weight: '1 *misqāl* and half a *dāng*'. Shaybānī Khān's reforms, which were begun in 1507 and subsequently expanded, created stable conditions for monetary transactions. No subsequent ruler managed to repeat this achievement until 1785 (see below).

The currency crisis and the reforms of Kuchkunchī Khān

The death of Shaybānī Khān in 1510 was followed by a ruinous war in Transoxania between the Safavids, the Timurid Bābur and the Shaybanids. The situation was aggravated by the severe winter and heavy snows of 1512, and the result was economic collapse, with prices for goods and food rising. Wāsifī, the renowned diarist and poet, who was living in Samarkand in 1512–13, wrote: 'This year price rises and hunger have reached such levels in Samarkand that the people have seen no [other bread] than the flatcakes of the moon and of the sun on the table of the sky.'[9] Wāsifī's ode entitled *Hunger* provides a particularly vivid description of the gravity of the situation.

The numismatic data reflect the troubles of the time. The silver and copper coinage issued under Shaybānī Khān disappeared from circulation, and conditions were not conducive to the regular minting of new silver coins. In 1511 and at the beginning of 1512, new copper coins with their standard weight reduced to 3.2 g (two-thirds of a *misqāl*, or 4 *dāng*s) began to be minted in abundance as a replacement for Shaybānī Khān's copper *dīnār* weighing 1 *misqāl* and half a *dāng* (5.2 g).

In 1512 the Shaybanids won their victory over Bābur, elected Kuchkunchī Khān (1510–30) as head of the dynasty and divided the khanate into principalities; but this,

[9] Boldyrev, 1957, p. 122.

instead of normalizing the economic situation, aggravated it still further. The standard weight for copper coins was further reduced to 2.8 g (3.5 *dāng*s) and the coins were minted in abundance. However, since the end of the fifteenth century, the weight of copper coins had been regarded as having the same significance as the weight of silver coins. The sudden halving of the standard weight for the copper *dīnār* thus pushed prices still higher. To add to the confusion, the new copper coins were not traded on a uniform basis throughout the state, as the rulers of the principalities pursued their own separate monetary policies. This meant that different exchange rates were applied to local and non-local copper coins having the same weight.

During this period of inflation, the market absorbed an enormous volume of copper coins. The year 919/1513–14, however, ushered in a period of stabilization and falling prices for at least some foodstuffs and consumer goods, as indirectly witnessed by the fact that in that year the volume of low-weight coins minted fell drastically, and in 920/1514–15 such coins began to be included in hoards.

The first stage of the reforms[10] began with the issuance of new high-weight copper coins, thereby eliminating one of the reasons for inflation and lack of public confidence in the monetary system. However, there was a lack of consistency, as Kuchkunchī Khān proved unable to ensure the circulation of the new copper coins throughout the khanate. The fairly regular minting of silver coinage bearing the name of Kuchkunchī Khān between the years 1515 and 1519 did not affect the whole of the khanate. This was due to the fact that a uniform standard weight for the *tanga* was not applied at that time (for example, in Samarkand and Bukhara).

The second stage in the reforms involved a series of more co-ordinated measures aimed at organizing currency circulation on a khanate-wide basis. The silver *tanga* issues of 932/1525–6 and 934/1527–8, for example, were minted on the basis of a unified standard weight (1 *misqāl*, or 4.8 g). The nonstandardized silver coinage of the previous period was pegged to a standard exchange rate thanks to khanate-wide overstamps in 934/1527–8 and in 935/1528–9. By 930/1523–4 the weight of the copper coinage had also been standardized at over 1 *misqāl*.[11]

However, the varied changes in the minting of both copper and silver coins did not restore confidence in the monetary system, even after the completion of Kuchkunchī Khān's reforms. Inflation affected not only the coins themselves, but also their names. This is best illustrated by the descriptions of money contained in the *waqf-nāma*s in cases where

[10] Davidovich, 1972, pp. 174–204.

[11] The *dīnār* weight standard adopted under Shaybānī Khān, i.e. 5.2 g (1 *misqāl* and 2 *nukhud*s), may have been readopted. However, to prove this it would be necessary to examine the weight of copper coins in the best possible condition.

various disbursements and expenditures are envisaged in the form of cash. The directives contained in the *waqf-nāma*s were intended to be 'eternal', and therefore it was important to specify amounts of money in such a way as to ensure that at any time in the future, following whatever changes as might occur, it would be possible to convert the allocated amounts into any other currency. The following two examples show that there was still a lack of confidence in monetary stability following the reforms instituted by Kuchkunchī Khān.

At that time (in the mid-1520s), very substantial assets had been transferred to the two *madrasa*s of Shaybānī Khān. All cash disbursements and expenditures were expressed not in silver *tanga*s (as was usually the case subsequently), but in copper *dīnār*s, the value of which was specified in two ways: in the first place, 1 *dīnār* was deemed to be equal to 6 of the smallest coins – the *fulūs* (the usual exchange rate between the *fulūs* and the full-value, ordinary *dīnār*s); and in the second place, 20 *dīnār*s were deemed to be equal in value not to 1 silver *tanga* (which at that time weighed 1 *misqāl*), but to 1 *misqāl* of pure silver.[12]

The other example is just as interesting, as it shows that rapid inflation affected not only the very smallest copper coins, but also their name, *dīnār*. Copper coins are described as follows, a decade after the completion of the reforms of Kuchkunchī Khān, in a document dated 942/1535: 'a *fals* of a number of *fulūs* [weighing] 1 *misqāl* and 2 *nukhud*s [barley-grains], currently in circulation in Bukhara'.[13] The word '*dīnār*' does not figure at all. Instead, the weight of the copper coins is established as their most important and reliable characteristic.

Monetary policy following the reforms of Kuchkunchī Khān

There are numerous sixteenth-century documents (*wasīqa*s and *waqf-nāma*s) in existence that make plain the basic principles of the Shaybanids' monetary policy. The documents provide detailed descriptions of silver coinage (the terms *tanga*, *tangacha* and *khānī* are all synonymous), giving their weight, quality and exchange rate.

Any consideration of the real and average weight of the *tanga* would lead to the conclusion that the standard weight for this particular coin was frequently subjected to slight downward revisions (see Table 3). The average weight of the *tanga* under the first three rulers (1531–40?), as stated in the table, is 4.7 g. Under the following three rulers (1540–60), it falls to 4.65 g, and under the last two (1560–98) to 4.55 g and 4.6 g.

[12] Mukminova, 1966, pp. 222–3 (text), p. 311 (translation).
[13] *Waqf-nāma*, Rabi' 1, 942/Sept. 1535, to the Haziyan *madrasa* at Bukhara.

However, the impression this creates is misleading, as the standard weight actually remained unchanged, at 1 *misqāl* (4.8 g), as stated in the hundreds of documents prepared after the completion of Kuchkunchī Khān's reforms. The differences in average weight are due to the different lengths of time the coins had been in circulation (as witnessed by the condition of the hoards). One example will make this clear: the average weight of an ^{c}Abdullāh Khān II (1583–98) *tanga* minted in 991/1583 is equal to 4.5 g. The composition of the hoard shows that the coins had been in circulation not only under ^{c}Abdullāh Khān II (15–16 years), but also under the first of the Janid (Astarkhanid) sovereigns (the following dynasty), or in other words, for not less than 30 years. Over the 30-year period, the coins shed 0.3 g, or 0.05 g for each 5 years in circulation.[14]

Regarding standards of purity, all of the documents stress that they are referring to 'pure, good' *tanga*s. Accordingly, contemporaries considered that provided no other metals had been added to the silver, it was pure. When assessing the quality of the metal, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that certain base metals generally remained in the silver due to inadequate preliminary purification procedures. Abū'l Fazl (1551–1602), in his work the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, notes that Iran and Turan in particular do not know how to purify silver: he indicates that base metals make up more than 3 per cent of the weight of coins issued in these countries.[15]

Analysis of the purity of sixteenth-century *tanga*s carried out by the Numismatics Department of the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg using assay methods (the touchstone and needles method) has shown the high level of purity reached by the vast majority of *tanga*s issued under all Iskandar Khān's predecessors, viz. 960 carats. The

TABLE 3. Average weight of the *tanga* following the reforms of Kuchkunchī Khān

Ruler	No. of coins	Weight (g)							
		4.9	4.8	4.7	4.6	4.5	4.4	4.3	Lower
Abū Sa^{c}īd (1531–4)	84		10	48	17	–	–	–	–
^{c}Ubaydullāh (1534–9)	148		8	96	34	4	–	–	–
^{c}Abdullāh I (1539–40)?	44	1	1	33	7	2	–	–	–
^{c}Abdul' Latīf (1540–51)?	372	1	11	181	148	18	3	4	6
Nauruz Ahmad (1552–6)?	81		1	31	33	7	5	–	4
Pīr Muhammad I (1556–60)	107	1	1	41	47	14	1	1	1
Iskandar (1560–83)	335	1	2	17	128	95	30	21	41
^{c}Abdullāh II (1583–98)	292	–	1	56	123	44	27	15	15

[14] That, incidentally, is the average rate of weight losses calculated on the basis of a large volume of coinage.

[15] Abūl Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 14; Vol. 2, pp. 18, 22.

reign of Iskandar Khān (1560–83) brought a major change: high-carat *tanga*s (960) do exist, but the majority had a higher base-metal content, their purity falling to 916 carats, 875 carats, 800 carats, and some even lower.

The situation improved under ᶜAbdullāh Khān II. The *tanga* issued in the capital, Bukhara (and in Herat, which was conquered by ᶜAbdullāh Khān in 1584), reached the highest level of purity – 960 carats. The Samarkand *tanga*s were initially 916 carats, and then rose to 960 carats. Lower-carat *tanga*s were issued in Balkh (875 carats, 916 carats) and in Tashkent. Nevertheless, even the *tanga*s issued under Iskandar Khān are referred to in documentary sources as 'pure'.

All *tanga*s that went into circulation can be divided into two categories: the 'new' *tanga* and the 'old' *tanga*.[16] Most of the documentary sources refer to the 'new' *tanga*, the exchange rate for which was linked to the copper *dīnār*. The 'new' *tanga* was initially valued at 20 copper *dīnār*s, and later, at 30. 'Old' *tanga*s are referred to as '*dah-nuhī*' ('nine-tenths'). That suggests that the exchange rate for the 'old' *tanga* was 10 per cent less than that for the 'new' *tanga*. Thus, if a 'new' *tanga* was worth 20 or 30 copper *dīnār*s, then an 'old' *tanga* would have been worth 18 or 27 copper *dīnār*s, respectively. This supposition is borne out by two documents dating from the end of the sixteenth century. A *wasīqa* dated 29 Safar 998/7 January 1590, prepared with respect to a property in the vicinity of Samarkand, describes the money as follows: 'the khan's *tanga*, silver, good, pure, stamped [and weighing] 1 *misqāl*, old, [equal to 27 *dīnār*s]'.[17] At that time, 1 'new' *tanga* was equivalent to 30 copper *dīnār*s.

'New' and 'old' *tanga*s were differentiated by examining the shape of the cartouche. The following rules for designing and positioning inscriptions finally emerged during the sixteenth century: cartouches were stamped on the centre of both the obverse and reverse of the flan. Sometimes the cartouche was simple in form (a circle, a square, a polyhedron, etc.), but it could be much more ornamental. On the obverse, the name and titles of the sovereign, valedictions to the sovereign, the place of minting, and often the date were shown inside and around the cartouche. The cartouche on the reverse always contained a symbol of the faith and around the edge the names of the first four caliphs, accompanied by various formulae. There was no need to read the inscriptions in order to distinguish an 'old' *tanga* from a 'new' one: it sufficed to know and remember the shape of the cartouche on *tanga*s declared to be 'new'. All other *tanga*s, whatever the shape of the cartouche, were deemed 'old', and hence forfeited 10 per cent of their purchasing power.

[16] Davidovich, 1950, pp. 137–70.
[17] Ibid., p. 143.

Naturally, the general trend was to hoard 'old' *tanga*s and spend 'new' *tanga*s, since the latter could be declared 'old' at any time. It is no coincidence that the hundreds of *wasīqa*s in existence specify payment in 'new' *tanga*s. Indeed, it is possible that in private transactions the price varied depending on which type of *tanga* was used as the means of payment. In any case, the difference in the exchange rates was most definitely observed in transactions among private parties and the treasury. The scale of those transactions, incidentally, was quite large. In the sixteenth century, taxes were levied in money on the exercise of professions and trade, lease payments for stateowned land and urban constructions, rental payments on gardens, plantations and clover fields, and special taxes payable to government officials, etc.

Money-based trade between different regions and cities was impeded for limited periods of time by the independent policies pursued by the rulers of the major principalities, which prevented the circulation of silver coinage on a standardized basis throughout the khanate. Those policies involved the establishment of different exchange rates for the *tanga* issued within the principality and the *tanga* issued in other principalities. One of the clearest examples is offered by the policies of the rulers of Tashkent, who were the main rivals of Iskandar Khān and his son ᶜAbdullāh Khān II. The Tashkent rulers overstamped the *tanga* with the name of their city, Tashkent (and occasionally with the date in figures: 980/1572–3 and 981/1573–4). Clearly, *tanga*s bearing overstamps of this nature had a special status within their principality.

The pre-reform situation and the monetary reforms of ᶜAbdullāh Khān II in the late seventeenth century

The Shaybanid khanate was divided into larger and smaller principalities ruled over by members of the dynasty. The head of the dynasty was a ruler of one of the principalities, but not necessarily the strongest or the most authoritative. His name and titles were carried on the silver coins issued by all the cities (with rare exceptions), and the principal city of his principality was considered the capital of the khanate. Thus, during the first half of the sixteenth century, the capital was located at various times at Samarkand, Bukhara, Balkh and Tashkent. However, these major cities were not the only ones to issue *tanga*s: after the reforms of Kuchkunchī Khān, mints opened in many towns and no restrictions were placed on their activities.

From the middle of the sixteenth century, the ruinous inter-principality wars began to intensify. ᶜAbdullāh Khān II began a sustained campaign of 'gathering land' and gradually came to assert his sovereignty over all the major principalities: Bukhara (1557), Balkh

(1573), Samarkand (1578) and Tashkent (1582). In 1583 he declared himself head of the dynasty and made great efforts to remedy the consequences of the wars and improve the conditions for trade between and within cities. Monetary reform formed part of the measures taken.

The Shaybanid silver *tanga*s were of good quality, and for that reason always managed to find their way into the currencies of other countries, as shown by overstamps affixed abroad. There are *tanga*s issued in the reigns of Kuchkunchī Khān (1510–30), ᶜAbdu'l Latīf Khān (1540–51), Nauruz Ahmad Khān (1551–6) and Pīr Muhammad Khān I (1556–60) that bear overstamps from Kabul. Certain Kabul overstamps give dates in figures: 962/1554–5, 964/1556–7 and 965/1557–8. Silver coinage began to leave the khanate in much greater quantities under Iskandar Khān, when his son, ᶜAbdullāh Khān II, began fighting with the other Shaybanids. While the coinage issued under Iskandar Khān often bears overstamps from Kabul, more frequent is the overstamp of Akbar (1556–1605), the outstanding ruler of the Mughal dynasty of India. Most of the Akbar overstamps are dated between 980/1572–3 and 984/1576–7. This massive flight of the *tanga* is the first evidence of the fact that silver was undervalued at that time in the Shaybanid khanate and that a more favourable exchange rate was applied in India.

The best evidence of the undervaluation of silver under Iskandar Khān is provided by the reforms of his son, ᶜAbdullāh Khān II. The most important element of the reform was the 150 per cent increase in the official exchange rate for silver coinage. Whereas 1 'new' *tanga* had previously been equivalent to 20 copper *dīnār*s, it was now valued at 30 copper *dīnār*s. The second element of the reform involved the use of purer silver. All *tanga*s issued under ᶜAbdullāh Khān II that have been subjected to assay are found to be 960-carat silver.

The third aspect of the reform concerned the reduction of the number of mints licensed to issue the silver *tanga*. Bukhara was the most prolific producer of silver *tanga*s, with a new issue every year. *Tanga*s were also minted on a regular basis in Balkh. Minting was carried on sporadically in Samarkand and Tashkent. Following his conquest of Herat and Mashhad, those cities also issued *tanga*s bearing the name of ᶜAbdullāh Khān II, primarily for political reasons.

The fourth aspect of the reform concerned the minting of gold coins (*ashrafī*s) of various denominations. We are currently aware of *ashrafī*s weighing 1 *misqāl* (4.8 g – the main denomination), a half-*misqāl* and a quarter-*misqāl*. Certain half-*misqāl ashrafī*s also bear the date of issue: 995/1586–7 and 1005/1596–7,[18] while the 1-*misqāl* and quarter-*misqāl*

[18] Davidovich, 1992, p. 267, nos. 3–6, types 1–43; denominations of *ashrafī*s weighing 0.90 and 0.93 g (ibid., nos. 7–8, types 5–6) unclear.

coins indicate the place of minting (Mashhad, Herat, Badakhshan).[19] The fifth element of the reform involved the resumption in certain cities of intensive minting of copper coins of various denominations, as these were needed for everyday purchases of food and consumer goods.

Monetary policy and currency circulation under the Janids (Astarkhanids) in the seventeenth century

Under the Janids, there were no changes as regards policy on weight. The standard weight for the base denomination remained at 1 *misqāl* (4.8 g), as stated in all documents that describe the *tanga* in the seventeenth century. However, the policy on purity standards for the *tanga* underwent radical changes.[20]

The documentary (*wasīqa* and *waqf-nāma*) descriptions of *tanga*s can be divided into two groups. Nine *wasīqa*s from the reigns of the Janid khans Walī Muhammad (1605–11), Imām Qulī (1611–41), Nadr Muhammad (1641–5) and ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz (1645–80) dating from 1606 to the last quarter of the seventeenth century refer to the *tanga* as equal to 30 copper *dīnār*s. In other words, the *tanga* exchange rate was equal to that of the 'new' *tanga* of the last of the Shaybanids. The words 'new' and 'pure' crop up only rarely in the descriptions, however. It is interesting that the mints had stopped issuing copper *dīnār*s by that stage (they had turned into units of account). As units of account these were not subject to the exchange-rate fluctuations of real copper coins, and so were a more stable peg against which to fix the exchange rate for silver coins.

The *waqf-nāma*s and *wasīqa*s of the seventeenth century also describe other 1-*misqāl* *tanga*s, which in most cases are referred to as 'old'. However, their copper–*dīnār* exchange rate is not mentioned. All of these descriptions contain fraction-of-ten definitions: 'nine-tenths', 'eight-tenths', etc. (Table 4), which primarily refer to the purity of the metal. According to various sources from different periods, the purity of the metal was indeed described in this way. Pure silver was referred to as '*dah-dahī*' ('ten-tenths'). There is also material evidence that the fraction-of-ten determinations contained in the documents referred to above with regard to the silver *tanga* (Table 4) concerned the purity of the metal. Here we will examine just three of those pieces of evidence.

In documents dated 1052/1642 and 1067/1657, the fraction-of-ten definitions ('six-tenths') are followed by the phrase 'decreased by 10 *nukhud*s'. As stated above, 1

[19] Album, 1998, p. 141, nos. 2992, 2994.
[20] For further information on Janid coins and issues related to monetary policy and currency circulation, see Davidovich, 1964.

TABLE 4. Seventeenth-century definitions of the ‘old’ *tanga* in fractions of ten

No.	Date of document	Epithet ‘old’	Definition in terms of ‘tenths’ and %	Dynasty head
1	1017/1608	‘old’	$^{9}/_{10}$=90%	Walī Muhammad (1605–11)
2	1018/1609	‘old’	$^{9}/_{10}$=90%	Walī Muhammad
3	1024/1615	‘old’	$^{8}/_{10}$=80%	Imām Qulī (1611–41)
4	1027/1618	‘old’	$^{7}/_{10}$=70%	Imām Qulī
5	1032/1622–3	–	$^{8}/_{10}$=80%	Imām Qulī
6	1032/1623	‘old’	$^{6.5}/_{10}$= 65%	Imām Qulī
7	1052/1642	‘old’	$^{6}/_{10}$=60%	Nadr Muhammad (1641–5)
8	1066/1656	–	$^{3.5}/_{10}$=35%	ᶜAbdu’l ᶜAzīz (1645–80)
9	1067/1657	‘old’	$^{6}/_{10}$=60%	ᶜAbdu’l ᶜAzīz
10	1088/1677	‘old’	$^{7}/_{10}$=70%	ᶜAbdu’l ᶜAzīz
11	1091/1680	‘old’	$^{2.5}/_{10}$=25%	Subhān Qulī (1680–1702)
12	1099/1687–8	‘old’	$^{2.5}/_{10}$=25%	Subhān Qulī
13	1100/1689	–	$^{2.25}/_{10}$=22.5%	Subhān Qulī
14	1103/1692	–	$^{2.25}/_{10}$=22.5%	Subhān Qulī
15	1106/1695	–	$^{2.25}/_{10}$=22.5%	Subhān Qulī
16	1111/1699	–	$^{3}/_{10}$=30%	Subhān Qulī

nukhud (barley-grain) in Central Asia was equal to 0.2 g. Thus, 10 *nukhud*s were equal to 2 g. However, this does not refer to a reduction in the weight of the *tanga*, since in the same documents it is stated that the *tanga* weighed 1 *misqāl* (4.8 g). The natural conclusion therefore is that the documents are referring to a 2 g reduction in the silver content of coins that have a total weight of 4.8 g. It follows therefore that the *tanga* contained around 58 per cent silver and around 42 per cent base metal. Clearly, in the two documents, the purity of the silver is determined twice, since 58 per cent silver and ‘six-tenths’ *tanga* are one and the same thing (with an inevitable small difference arising due to the two different systems of determining the quality of the metal).

The second piece of evidence is provided by chemical analysis of the coins. Analysis of large quantities of hoarded *tanga*s issued under Imām Qulī and Nadr Muhammad has revealed a silver content close to 65 per cent in certain coins and 60 per cent in others (with a copper content varying around the 40 per cent mark accordingly). These, therefore, are ‘six-and-a-half-tenths’ and ‘six-tenths’ *tanga*s.

The narrative sources provide direct and indirect evidence of the existence of *tanga*s of various levels of purity. One such source is Mahmūd b. Walī, whose work entitled *Bahr al-asrār* [The Ocean of Secrets] was written in Balkh between 1634 and 1641.[21] Mahmūd

[21] Akhmedov, 1977, p. 7.

writes: 'The minted silver of Balkh and *mā warā' al-nahr* [Transoxania] is called the *tanga*, and it is close to a *misqāl*. But the purity is almost one quarter less than perfect.'[22]

Thus throughout the seventeenth century and under the Janids, the silver *tanga* contained base metal (copper) on a perfectly legal basis. The process whereby base metal came to be added to minted silver may be divided into three stages, as witnessed by the composition of hoards. In the first stage, the *tanga*s were still minted from very pure silver. In the documentary sources, these *tanga*s are referred to as 'old' or 'pure' or 'free of base metal'. These were the high-purity Shaybanid *tanga*s. Then we begin to see mixed hoards of Shaybanid and early Janid coins. The *tanga*s that were minted during this second stage were less pure, but nevertheless their silver content was not less than 60 per cent. Hoards have been found that are made up of coins minted during that phase with 60–65 per cent silver content. During the third stage, *tanga*s were minted with 35–22.5 per cent silver content.

Gold and silver in the eighteenth century. The reforms of 1785

While the silver content of the *tanga* tended to fall by 5–10 per cent at a time in the seventeenth century, this was not a linear process: a comparative analysis of the data shows that the population desired 'good-quality coinage', and that for that reason the silver content sometimes went up before falling again. However, an unprecedented event occurred in 1708. ᶜUbaydullāh Khān (1702–11) was the last of the Janids to attempt to take on the powerful emirs of the Uzbek tribes and the tribal nobility in order to centralize authority and increase tax revenues. He took the preliminary step of increasing the silver content of the *tanga* to 35 per cent. When the treasury had collected a large quantity of these 'good' *tanga*s, they were secretly melted down, and from each were cast four. Thus, each of the new *tanga*s had a silver content of around 9 per cent.

It was then announced that despite the difference in quality, the two categories of *tanga* would circulate at the same exchange rate. That gave rise to stormy reactions. First, artisans and traders closed their shops. Then a crowd of poorer people approached the Ark (the fortress and residence of the khan), began throwing stones and demanded that the order be rescinded. According to a court historian, they were dispersed, several people were hanged and the order was reinforced. The court historian could not have written otherwise. In actual fact, ᶜUbaydullāh Khān compromised by declaring that good coinage (35 per cent silver content) should be treated as equal to not one, but two of the new coins.

[22] *Bahr al-asrār*, MS no. 2372, fol. 276.

The new coins, which were similar in appearance to copper coins, subsequently gained the appellation 'singles', while the old coins (35 per cent silver content) were nicknamed 'doubles'. Descriptions of exchange rates contained in the *wasīqa*s often define 'singles' in terms of 'doubles', and vice versa. For example, a payment made in 'singles' was described in a *wasīqa* dated 1132/1720 as follows: 'An amount of 6,000 *tanga*s in singles of the established type, generally accepted, which are equal in amount to 3,000 *tanga*s in doubles of three-and-a-half-tenths, such as are in circulation at present.' A payment made in 'doubles' was described in a *wasīqa* dated 1131/1719 as follows: 'An amount of 12,000 *tanga*s of three-and-a-half-tenths, doubles, which are equivalent to an amount of 24,000 *tanga*s in singles, worthy of trust.'

No further major changes took place with regard to the composition or circulation of silver coinage in the subsequent decades of the eighteenth century. Some *tanga*s minted in the previous century continued to circulate. New *tanga*s, minted after the reign of ᶜUbaydullāh Khān, were of relatively high purity and indeed approached the 'double' *tanga* of ᶜUbaydullāh Khān in terms of quality. For example, the *tanga*s minted under-Muhammad Rahīm Khān (1753–8) had around 30 per cent silver content and 70 per cent copper content.

Two major changes took place in terms of currency management in the eighteenth century. The first involved the regular minting of gold coins (*ashrafī*s), and the second was the reform of 1785, which completely altered the minting and circulation of silver coins.

Gold coins began to be minted at the end of the seventeenth century, but this did not become a regular occurrence until the eighteenth century. In terms of appearance, there were great differences between the silver and gold coinage. The inscriptions on the gold coins (unlike those of silver) were not divided into two parts, one inside and the other outside the cartouche. On the obverse side, the name and titles of the sovereign were all stamped in a field encircled by a plain thin rim or sometimes by a more decorative frame. The date in figures was often stamped alongside the name and titles of the sovereign. On the reverse side was a symbol of the faith and frequently the date in figures, encircled by a thin rim or frame. Changes were made later, during the reforms of 1785.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the standard weight for gold coins remainedunchanged at 1 *misqāl* (4.8 g). The quality of the gold in the *ashrafī* was good. An examination of nine coins carried out by the State Hermitage Museum (using a touchstone and needles) revealed that all of the coins had the same level of purity – 958, the highest possible.

The minting of gold coins in the eighteenth century was not just a political move aimed at enhancing dynastic prestige (as had been the case earlier). The *ashrafī*s became a real

means of settlement in major transactions. For that reason, they are referred to in *wasīqa*s. For example, a deed of purchase dated 1121/1709 describes the money paid as follows: '*Ashrafī*s of the best red gold, 1-*misqāl*, new'. An examination of the real and average weight of gold coins shows that they began to be used in major transactions at a gradually increasing rate. The average weight of *ashrafī*s minted under Abū'l Fayz Khān (1711–47) was equal to 4.7 g, while the average weight of *ashrafī*s minted in the second half of the eighteenth century was 4.6 g, although the opposite would be expected, given that the *ashrafī*s issued in the first half of the century were in circulation for longer periods. That would imply that the speed of circulation of gold coins increased sharply in the second half of the century, bringing down their average weight to 2 g below the standard weight.

The monetary reforms of 1785 made by the Manghīt rulers in the name of Abū'l Ghāzī Khān (1758–85), the nominal khan of Bukhara, altered the silver coinage in all respects. The characteristics of the post-reform *tanga* may be categorized as follows:

1. *Size and appearance*: the coins are smaller than their predecessors, with a diameter of 18–19 mm. Their shape is exactly, or almost exactly, circular; the inscriptions on both faces are neatly distributed, taking up all or nearly all of the space on each side of the coin.

2. *Content and relative positions of the inscriptions*: the post-reform coins do not bear a symbol of the faith or the names of the first four caliphs. The title of the ruler and valedictions are also omitted. Thus the inscriptions are completely different in terms of content to those found on coins from the previous century. The post-reform *tanga*s bear only the name of the ruler with a short title (obverse), the name of the mint (reverse) and the date in figures on either side of the coin.

3. *Minting technique*: without going into the technical details,[23] we can state that the minting technique used for the post-reform *tanga*s represented an improvement on that previously used.

4. *Standard weight*: while for nearly three centuries (following the reforms of the Shaybanid Kuchkunchī Khān), the standard weight for the *tanga* had been equal to 1 *misqāl* (4.8 g), the standard was now brought down to seven-tenths of a *misqāl*. The *wasīqa*s sometimes refer to 'the weight of seven'. This was the weight of a *dirham* – 3.36 g. The weight standard was retained by the new Manghīt dynasty (see below).

5. *Purity standard*: a visual analysis is sufficient to show that the postreform *tanga*s have a higher silver content than their predecessors. This is confirmed by assay analysis

[23] Davidovich, 1964, pp. 224–31.

(using touchstone and needles) of the coins of the collections of the State Hermitage Museum, which are 960 carat.

6. *Minting procedures*: the high precious-metal content of the coins, as well as information drawn from documentary sources, suggests that a completely new approach was adopted to minting – that of free minting. The high precious-metal content of the post-reform *tanga* and the free minting arrangements are the clearest evidence of the significance of the reforms of 1785.

7. *The mīrī*: the pre-reform *tanga*s of the seventeenth century, which had a silver content of 30–35 per cent, were not withdrawn from circulation. Instead they were declared to be equal to 4 new *tanga*s and were renamed *mīrī*s.[24]

The coexistence of high precious-metal content gold and silver coins which were both used as legal tender leads to the conclusion that the monetary system was based on two metals. The ratio of gold to silver was in the region of 1:16.

Part Two

EASTERN AND NORTHERN CENTRAL ASIA (*c.* 1750 TO *c.* 1850)

(*E. V. Rtveladze*)

East Turkistan (Xinjiang)

The establishment of the Qing dominion over East Turkistan in the mid-eighteenth century led to the minting of copper coins on the Chinese model, with a square hole in the middle, which were known in Uighur as *yarmak*s. They were threaded on cords into bunches, and the monetary unit was not one coin but a bunch of 500 or 1,000 *jian*s in weight. There were also silver *lian*s of varying weights in circulation, the most common being 'the treasury *lian*', weighing 37 g.

[24] The term '*mīrī*' was used from the reign of Timur to denote small silver coins, which were exchangeable at a rate of 4 to 1 for *tanga*s issued under Timur. The term was retained through to the nineteenth century to refer to any coin that was equal in value to a quarter of another.

Copper coins began to be minted on a regular basis in the city of Yarkand (Yārqand) in 1760 in order to support trade in East Turkistan, and later in the reign of the Qing emperor Qianlong (1735–96), mints were opened in Aksu, Ili, Osh (Uch Turfan), Khotan and Kashghar. The coins were minted out of cuprite (red copper). They were small and thick with a square hole in the middle; on the obverse, the caption ‘Qianlong Dong Bao’ was set down in Chinese characters; the legend on the reverse was in the Uighur language, with the sign of the mint. One coin weighed 2 *jian*s (that is, 3.73 g) and was the equivalent at the rate for silver of 1 *fen* (weight 0.37 g). All old coins were withdrawn from circulation and smelted into new, Chinese-style coins. In all, up to 500,000 coins were struck.[25]

In the 1820s and 1830s, money circulation in the region fell into disorder due to the shortage of small copper coinage; the subsequent rising prices also brought about a rise in the silver rate. There was a large amount of silver in circulation but little copper due to the arrival in Xinjiang of Chinese troops who were paid in silver.

In order to restore order to money circulation in the area at the end of the 1830s, Na Yanchen carried out a monetary reform: copper coins were minted above the standard, and a new and heavier coin was introduced with an increased face value. While before the reform the weight of one coin had been 3.73 g, afterwards it became the equivalent of 1 *jian*, 2 *fen*s (around 4.47 g). The denomination also changed, as the ‘fivefold coin’ (*dang u*) weighing 1 *jian*, 5 *fen*s (around 5.5 g) was renamed *dang shi* (‘tenfold’).

In the mid-nineteenth century there was an abrupt fall in demand for copper coins; at the same time there was a growing demand for silver, needed to pay for the import of opium into China, forced upon it by Britain.

Money in the Kokand khanate

Gold, silver and copper were all used in the monetary system of the Kokand (Khoqand) khanate. Gold coins were called *tillā*s; the silver coins, of various denominations, were termed *tanga*s, *dirham*s and *mīrī*s; and the copper were designated *fulūs* or *pūl*s. The legends in Arabic script on the coins give the name of the ruling khan, his titles, the mint sign (Kokand was the only mint), often also with a title, and the date according to the Islamic calendar. Not all the rulers of the Kokand khanate struck gold coins. They were first issued under Muhammad ᶜUmar (1810–22), when he carried out a monetary reform near the end of his reign. The weight of the *tillā* was 4.47–4.6 g, with a diameter of up to 2 cm. One *tillā* was the equivalent of 21 *tanga*s.

[25] Tukhtiev, 1989.

Under the first Kokand khans, Nārbūta (*c*. 1774–98) and Muhammad ᶜĀlim (1798–1810), silver-plated copper *dirham*s came into circulation. Only under Muhammad ᶜUmar was the minting undertaken of high-quality silver *tanga*s, weighing 4.0–4.6 g. Subsequently, they weighed between 2.9 and 3.2 g and the diameter was 1.6–2.0 cm. One *tanga* was the equivalent of 4 *dirham*s or 45–60 *pūl*s. In the mid-nineteenth century 1 *tillā* was the equivalent of 3 roubles, 60 kopeks in Russian silver and 1 *tanga* was worth 20 silver kopeks.[26]

Copper *fulūs* were issued in great quantities by all the Kokand khans. They weighed between 2.6 and 4.9 g and their diameter was 13–22 cm; the fluctuations in weight and diameter probably reflect the different values of copper coins.

The last issues of coins in the Kokand khanate belong to the reign of Nasru'ddīn Khān (1875–6), when gold, silver and copper coins were still being struck. The Russian conquest in 1876 naturally terminated the Kokand currency.

Money in the Bukhara emirate

In the Bukhara emirate gold, silver and copper coins were minted on a regular basis under all the members of the Manghīt dynasty (1753–1920). The gold (*tillā* or *ashrafī*) and silver (*tanga*) coins of the Manghīts' own mints were issued as early as the reign of Muhammad Rahīm Khān (1750–8). The silver *tanga*s of Muhammad Rahīm Khān were of low quality, consisting of 30 per cent silver and about 70 per cent copper.[27] Their weight varied from 2.4 to 3.9 g, although initially it had been fixed at 1 *misqāl*, or 4.8 g.[28] According to Philip Efremov, a Russian slave who wrote an account of his time in captivity from 1774 to 1782, the Bukhara *tanga* was about half copper, and 1 gold coin was worth 30 *tanga*s.[29] Furthermore, until the reform during the reign of the last puppet khan, Abū'l Ghāzī (1758–85) in 1785, silver *tanga*s of the last Janids were still in circulation.

Abū'l Ghāzī Khān's monetary reform, described by Davidovich, introduced major-changes into the monetary system of the Bukhara khanate. Essentially, the weight and dimensions of the silver coins were reduced (18–19 mm; 3.1 g) and the profession of faith, name of the caliph and honorifics were removed from the inscription. Only the name of the khan remained with a brief title, Bahādur Khān, the designation of the mint and the date in figures, and a high standard was established for the minting of silver coins.[30] There was also a transition to the free minting of coins – any private individual could take silver to the

26 Ishankhanov, 1976, pp. 4–5.
27 Davidovich, 1979, p. 407.
28 *Stranstvovaniye Filippa Efremova*, 1811.
29 Davidovich, 1964, p. 164.
30 Davidovich, 1964, pp. 164–5.

state mint and receive silver coins in exchange. Semyenov cites reports of such free mints, stating that gold and silver in the form of minted coins were worth considerably more than in their raw state. For example, in Bukhara prior to the Soviet Revolution, the silver used in a *tanga* was worth 11 kopeks, while the *tanga* was worth 20 kopeks before 1901, and 15 kopeks after 1901. Such prices allowed the government to make 181.8 per cent profit on each coin minted. The behaviour of the Uzbek emirs and *beg*s, in handing over their silver to the mint and receiving coins in exchange, meant that they enriched themselves considerably.[31] Furthermore, the illegal manufacture of coins was a capital crime: coins could be struck only at the government's mint, situated near the Ark of Bukhara.

According to Davidovich, there were often shortages of current coins in Bukhara in the first half of the nineteenth century, and commerce frequently took place through barter and credit, guaranteed not by any kind of financial documentation but by witnesses. According to the eyewitness accounts of Russian travellers, several kinds of coins were in circulation in the Bukhara emirate at the time: a gold *tillā* weighing 1 2/35 *zolotnik*s (a Russian unit of weight equivalent to 4.266 g); a gold *tillā* weighing 1 1/20 *zolotnik*s; a gold *tillā* weighing 6/7 *zolotnik*; a silver *tanga* weighing 5/4 *zolotnik*; a copper *pūl*, weighing 1 5/4 *zolotnik*s; a copper *pūl* weighing 1 1/35 *zolotnik*s; and a copper (white copper) *pūl* weighing 1 *zolotnik*. The records of Russian travellers and diplomats also contain information on the exchange rates between monetary units in the Bukhara emirate.

According to Captain Meyendorff, who visited Bukhara as a member of the Negri diplomatic mission in 1820–1, 1 gold *tillā* was worth 16 Russian roubles in assignats or 16 French francs. One silver *tanga* was the equivalent of 76 copper kopeks or 76 centimes, and a copper *pūl* was worth 1.38 kopeks or 1.38 centimes. In relation to the local Bukharan coins, 1 *tillā* was worth 21 *tanga*s, and a *tanga* was worth 55 *pūl*s. According to Budrin, who was in Bukhara in 1820, there were 22 *tanga*s to the *tillā*, and a *tanga* was worth 50 copper *pūl*s.[32] The silver to gold ratio was 1:14.7.

According to Meyendorff, 1 *tillā* weighed 1 *misqāl*, that is 4.8 g; the *tillā*s were heavier and bigger than ducats; *tanga*s were the same size as 50-centime coins, but slightly thicker; *pūl*s were the same size – they only began to be struck in brass from 1816, when they replaced the copper *pūl*, now known as the *karapūl* (black *pūl*) and worth one twenty-fourth of a *tanga*.[33]

[31] Abdurakhman-i Tali, 1959.
[32] *Istoriya Uzbekistana*, 1993, Vol. 3.
[33] Meyendorff, 1975, p. 112.

Money in the Khiva khanate

The minting of coins in the Khiva khanate began in the early seventeenth century, when, under Abū'l Ghāzī Khān (1643–63), debased silver coins were issued. Until the end of the century only copper coins were minted. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the khanate experienced a serious political and economic crisis, which had repercussions on the quality of coinage.

It was only as a result of the monetary reform carried out by Muhammad Rahīm Khān (1806–25), one of Khiva's strongest nineteenth-century rulers, that the regular issue of gold, silver and copper coinage was organized. The government mint moved into a summer mosque. (In 1873 the Russian traveller and civil servant Kun, acting on the orders of the governor-general of West Turkistan, removed 4 *pood*s [1 *pood*=16 kg] of stamps from there to St Petersburg, which are to this day conserved in the Hermitage.)

Important information on monetary circulation in Khiva is contained in the notes of Nikolai Muravyev, who visited Khiva in 1819–20.[34] According to him, there were gold (*tillā*), silver (*tanga*) and copper (*karapūl*) coins in circulation. The *tillā* was divided into 14 *abaz*s, which were not real monetary units but units of account to designate 2 *tanga*s. One *tillā* was the equivalent of 4 Russian silver roubles. The *tanga* was the same size as the Russian *grivennik* (10-kopek piece) and manufactured from high-quality silver. In value it was equivalent to 15 Russian silver kopeks. The name of the ruling khan was usually placed on the obverse of the *tillā* and the *tanga*, and on the reverse were given the name of the mint, the year and an Islamic religious phrase. The *karapūl* was minted from copper. The minting was very poor. Forty *karapūl*s were the equivalent of 1 *tanga*, and 1 *karapūl* was the equivalent of 1.5 Russian copper kopeks. It was the same size as the Russian *polushka* (quarter-kopek piece), but two or four times thicker.

In addition to locally minted coins, various foreign coins also circulated in the Khiva khanate. They included the Bukharan gold *tillā*, the Persian gold *riyāl*, the Dutch gold *chervonet* and Russian and Indian coins.

Prices

The history of prices in the states of Central Asia has not as yet been studied adequately. However, different kinds of testimony regarding the prices for various goods, materials and services are contained in the reports of a few Russian and European travellers and

[34] Ibid., p. 113.

diplomats, in particular the French-born Russian diplomat, Desmaisons, who was in Bukhara for four months in the winter and spring of 1834.[35]

Prices for the same goods varied throughout the different states. For instance, raw silk in Bukhara in the early 1830s cost 13–14 *tillā*s the *pood* (16 kg), while in Khujand it sold for 15 *tillā*s the *pood* and in Kokand 16 *tillā*s the *pood*.[36]

Depending on a range of circumstances (such as the shortage of ready money, supply of goods, etc.), there were significant changes in prices throughout our period. The history of indigo prices is particularly interesting. In Bukhara, indigo had always cost 12 *tillā*s the *pood* (1 *tillā* was equal to 15 roubles), but because it was delivered in large quantities and because of a money shortage, its price began falling from 11 to 10, 8, 6 and then 4 *tillā*s the *pood*, until in 1833 it was being sold for 2 *tillā*s, 4–5 *tanga*s. Bukharan merchants and dignitaries bought it in bulk, hoping for an advantageous deal, but with the arrival of a new caravan the price of indigo fell still further; they were obliged to sell at lower prices and were ruined.

We provide below (Tables 5 and 6) prices for the basic kinds of goods to be found in Bukhara (there is hardly any information for other states) in the 1820s and 1830s.

Horses and slaves fetched very high prices. Horses were sold for between 30 and 80 *tillā*s, and even as much as 100 *tillā*s, while an able male slave cost 50 *tillā*s and a female slave up to 80 or even more.

It is interesting to compare the prices cited below with the wages of members of the lower social classes. According to Meyendorff, a cobbler working a full day was paid 45 *pūl*s, when the bread needed by him and his family alone cost half that amount[37] and he

TABLE 5. Price of foodstuffs in Bukhara (1820s and 1830s)

Foodstuff	Price
Rice	42–44 *tanga*s per *batman* (1 *batman*=8 *pood*s=128 kg)
Wheat	12–14 *tanga*s per *batman*
Sesame	32–34 *tanga*s per *batman*
Lentils (*māsh*)	18–19 *tanga*s per *batman*
Barley	10 *tanga*s per *batman*
Joughara (*Sorghum cernuum*)	11 *tanga*s per *batman*
Peas	20 *tanga*s per *batman*
Oats	10.5 *tanga*s per *batman*
Murch (pepper)	20–21 *tillā*s per *batman*
Sugar (from India)	17–20 *tillā*s per *batman*

35 *Istoriya Uzbekistana v istochnikakh*, 1988, pp. 180–1.
36 *Zapiski o Bukharskom khanstve*, 1983.
37 Ibid., p. 74.

TABLE 6. Price of materials in Bukhara (1820s and 1830s)

Materials	Price
Raw silk	13–14 *tillās* per *pood*
Thread	30–32 *tillās* per *pood*
Cotton seed	4–10 *pūls* per *charyk* (2.268 kg)
Cotton boll	48–52 *tillās* per *batman*
Cleaned cotton	6–8 *tillās* per *batman*
Cotton thread	15–25 *tillās* per *batman*
Cotton cloth	4–20 *tangas* for 20 *arshins* (1 *arshin*=71 cm)
Astrakhan fur (small curls)	5–6 *tillās* per *dast* (1 *dast*=1 hand=linear measure)
Astrakhan fur (large curls)	10–12 *tillās* per *dast*
Astrakhan fur (poor quality)	1.5 *tillās* per *dast*

had to provide for other foodstuffs, clothes and lodgings. The last was not cheap: just one room in the caravanserai in Bukhara cost 2–4 *tangas* a month (1 *tanga* was worth 55 *pūls*). These figures demonstrate the extremely poor conditions of life of the lower social classes in Central Asia at the time.

Part Three

THE MONETARY SYSTEM IN SAFAVID PERSIA

(*S. Moosvi*)

The Safavid rulers of Persia inherited a coinage from the preceding Turkmen dynasties that lacked a uniform standard, and was considerably debased during the fifteenth century. Under the first two Safavids, Shāh Ismāᶜīl I (1501–24) and Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76), the only silver coin actually minted was the *tanga*. In practice, the *tuman* and the *dīnār* were just moneys of account. During this period the Iraqi and Tabriz *dīnārs* were reckoned to be of equal value. Under Ismāᶜīl I, silver *tangas* of three different weights and so of different values were issued: a *tanga* of 1 *misqāl* (4.7 g) valued at 50 *dīnārs*; a double *tanga* weighing 2 *misqāls* (9.4 g) equal to 100 *dīnārs*; and a quadruple *tanga* of 4 *misqāls* (18.7 g) reckoned at 200 *dīnārs*. The weight of the *tangas* was later reduced by Ismāᶜīl.[38] Shāh Tahmāsp

[38] Fragner, 1986, pp. 561–2.

gave the name *shāhī* to the *tanga-i shāhī*, held to be worth 100 *dīnār*s. From 1540 it had a weight of 1 *misqāl* or 6.4 g.[39] During the reign of Muhammad Khudābanda (1578–87), the coin reckoned at 100 *dīnār*s came to be called *khudābanda*; in the seventeenth century it was designated *muhammadī* and weighed 1 *misqāl* or 4.7 g. During Shāh ᶜAbbās I's reign (1587–1629) the ᶜabbāsī was introduced, reckoned at 200 *dīnār*s. Its weight was 2 *misqāl*s, reduced in 1593 to 7.8 g. The *shāhī*s (each worth 50 *dīnār*s) and the *muhammadī*s (each worth 100 *dīnār*s) also continued to be minted. A smaller silver coin, the *bīstī* (valued at 20 *dīnār*s), was also introduced.[40]

In the second half of the seventeenth century silver mintage seems to have expanded once again. The *hazār* (known also as the *panj-ᶜabbāsī*) and the *dahshāhī*, worth 1,000 and 500 *dīnār*s respectively, were added to the minted money.[41] In Shāh ᶜAbbās II's reign (1642–66) the Persian silver coins were reputed to be 'very pure', and the *ᶜabbāsī*, in particular, to be of accurate weight. According to Thevenot (1664–7) much care was taken at the mints to maintain this accuracy.[42] Shāh Sulaymān (1666–94) started issuing a slightly heavier *ᶜabbāsī* worth 250 *dīnār*s without discontinuing the older *ᶜabbāsī*. The categories of the coins that were actually minted, therefore, increased considerably and they continued to be minted until the end of the Safavid empire in 1722. The weights and values of the coin officially remained unaltered, except for the weight of the smaller *ᶜabbāsī* of 200 *dīnār*s which was reduced in weight to 5.4 g under Shāh Sulaymān.[43] In 1622 the Safavid coinage was extended to Hormuz and the earlier currency circulating there depreciated and disappeared progressively.[44]

This multiplicity of coins and the insistence on accuracy of weights seem to have necessitated the presence of expert money-testers as well as money-changers. Whether owing to their exemption from Islamic restrictions on any open practice of usury or to their expertise in money-changing, the Indian *banya*s (traders and bankers by caste) became fairly numerous in Persia, becoming closely associated with the mints. Credit was also greatly influenced by the multitude of Indian usurers (in Isfahan alone there were over 10,000 *banya*s in the seventeenth century). Shāh ᶜAbbās I prevented them from settling permanently in Persia, but Shāh Safī I (1629–42) relaxed the restrictions.[45] Jean Chardin (who was in Persia between 1665 and 1677) alleges that they were responsible for Persia losing good money: 'These Indians, like true leeches, extract all the gold and silver of the country

39 Rabino, 1945, p. 15.
40 Fragner, 1986, p. 562.
41 Ibid., p. 562.
42 Thevenot, 1664–7, Vol. 2, pp. 305–6, quoted from Rabino, 1945, p. 4.
43 Fryer, 1986, pp. 56, 560–3.
44 Ibid., p. 564.
45 Minorsky (ed. and tr.), 1943, p. 19.

and send it to their own [country] so that in the year 1677 when I departed from Persia one could not see any good money.'[46] This phenomenon of 'bad money driving out the good' had been noted earlier by Du Mans (1660).[47]

In the reign of Shāh Sulaymān a very serious crisis was caused by the shortage of silver around 1684. It is possible that since India was drawing away silver from other parts of the world, the *banya*s were particularly marked out as the villains, because in the transfers of Iranian silver money and bullion to India they must have played an important part.[48] The scarcity of silver led to the issuing of short-in-weight coins by many mint-masters. The Armenian merchant Hovhannes suffered a large loss in 1684 at Hormuz owing to this cause: 'The money I brought from Shiraz comprised 5 *tuman*s, 5,000 *dian*s, *ᶜabbāsī*s and *mahmūdī*s [*muhammadī*s?]. The chief of the port would not take the money. I gave the sum incurring a loss of 600 *dian*s per *tuman*. Thus my loss totalled 3,300 *dian*s.'[49]

The scarcity of silver and the ensuing problems resulted in an unsuccessful ban on the export of bullion and specie from Bandar ᶜAbbās and in the debasement of coinage and the crisis of 1684, both of which led to a severe disruption of commerce.[50] Much of the problem from underweight or debased coinage was the result of giving mints out on farm. The *Tazkiratu'l mulūk* [Account of Rulers] gives a detailed account of the functioning of mints, but how far the prescribed checks were effective is not clear. Mints issuing silver were situated in all important cities, and the *muᶜayyiru'l mamālik* (superintendent of the assay) had the authority to lease out these mints to the highest bidder.[51] According to Dupree, the mint at Isfahan was farmed out at 2,000–2,500 *tuman*s a year and at Yazd at 600 *tuman*s a year. The unscrupulous farmer of Yazd was dismissed and a heavy fine of 4,000 *tuman*s was imposed on him later on.[52]

Table 7 gives the number of active mints during each reign, as shown by the surviving coins.

The more active mints were clearly those of Isfahan, Tabriz, Qazvin and Mashhad.

The seigniorage and minting charges in Safavid Persia were fairly high. According to Chardin, these were 'higher than in any other country' and amounted to 7.5 per cent.[53] The *Tazkiratu'l mulūk* states that the seigniorage (called *māl-i wājib*) was originally fixed in gold at 30 *dīnār*s per *misqāl*, and silver at 2 *dīnār*s per *misqāl*, but the department of

46 Chardin, 1988, Vol. 6, p. 164, quoted from Haider, 1996, p. 307.
47 Du Mans, quoted from Fragner, 1986, p. 485.
48 Rabino, 1945, p. 7.
49 Khachikian, 1966, p. 178.
50 Fragner, 1986, p. 485; see Haider, 1996, pp. 308–9.
51 Minorsky, 1943, p. 59.
52 Dupree [Dupré] quoted from Rabino, 1945, p. 11.
53 Chardin, 1927, p. 187.

TABLE 7. Active mints according to reign (1501–1717)

Ruler	No. of mints
Ismāᶜīl I (1501–24)	51
Tahmāsp I (1524–1575)	40
Ismāᶜīl II (1576–7)	9
Muhammad Khudābanda (1578–87)	19
ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629)	30
Safī I (1629–42)	18
ᶜAbbās II (1642–66)	19
Sulaymān (1666–94)	5
Sultān Husayn (1694–1722)	14

Source: Rabino, 1945, Table III.

the *dīwān* (state chancellery) gradually increased it: in gold to 50 *dīnār*s per *misqāl*, and in silver to 5 *dīnār*s per *misqāl*. This change was realized partly by reducing the weight of the coin, as can be inferred from the fact that under Sultān Husayn in 1721 the *muᶜayyiru'l mamālik* reduced the weight of the ᶜ*abbāsī* by 1 *dāng* and added the *dāng* to the *wājibī*.[54]

According to d'Alessandri and Chardin, gold coinage in Persia had a very limited circulation. It was generally minted for presentations at Nawruz and on other similar occasions.[55] ᶜAbbās II struck a gold ᶜ*abbāsī* of 144 grains and later reduced the weight to 120 grains. It was further reduced to 114 and 84 grains by Sulaymān and Sultān Husayn. It was commonly known as the *ashrafī*. However, Nādir Shāh (1736–47) in 1737 introduced a *muhr ashrafī* of 171 grains (almost identical in weight with the Indian *muhr*) that continued to be minted till 1788.[56]

Copper coins were minted to serve fractional money. Shāh Tahmāsp I's copper *dīnār* weighed 72 grains, judging from the surviving coins.[57] From the available evidence it has been surmised that each Iranian city had its own copper mint for issuing copper coins called *qaz* or *qazbaqī* (each worth 5 *dīnār*s). But these coins enjoyed full value only in the region where they were minted and elsewhere suffered a discount; they were often re-minted every year.[58]

54 Minorsky (ed. and tr.), 1943, pp. 58–9.
55 Rabino, 1945, p. 14.
56 Ibid., pp. 14–15.
57 Ibid., p. 17.
58 Fragner, 1986, p. 562.

Part Four

THE MONETARY SYSTEM AND PRICE MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

(*S. Moosvi*)

Prior to the establishment of a highly centralized uniform currency under the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556–1605), a number of coins of different weights and varying standards, mainly of billon or copper, were in circulation in northern India and present-day Pakistan. In the area of Punjab and Delhi, the principal coin was the *tanka-i sikandari*, issued by Sikandar Lodī (1488–1517). It was a billon coin, its weight fluctuating below 146 grains; according to assay results, the silver content in it progressively declined until the end of the Lodī dynasty in 1526.[59] Within Rajasthan the Rana of Mewar, Sanghram Singh (1508–29), issued copper coins that curiously bore Persian and Arabic inscriptions on one face and the ruler's name and the Samvat year on the other.[60]

The scarcity of silver that affected Eurasia from the latter half of the fourteenth century is often held to be the cause of the decline of silver coinage of this period.[61] The situation eased when the silver from Spain's American colonies started finding its way to the East, mainly through the Mediterranean. In December 1525 and January 1526, Bābur (who reigned from 1526 to 1530) recorded the receiving of gold *ashrafī*s and [billon] *tanka*s from the revenues of Lahore and in *peshkash* (tribute and offerings);[62] but there is no mention of any silver currency. It is, therefore, interesting that soon after his victory at Panipat in 1526, Bābur began issuing coins of pure silver from four mints, Kabul, Agra, Lahore and Jaunpur. Eighty of these coins are preserved in major museum collections.[63] These silver coins were around 72 grains in weight and were modelled after Central Asian *shāhrukhī*s, though these are not described as such in our sources.[64] Instead, the coin was officially known as *bāburī*.[65]

59 Wright, 1936, p. 408; Haider, 1990, p. 233.
60 Cunningham, 1967, p. 96.
61 Habib, 1987, pp. 26–7.
62 Bābur, 1989, Vol. 2, pp. 446, 460.
63 Haider, 1990, p. 233.
64 Deyell, 1987, p. 14.
65 Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 588.

Humāyūn (first part of reign, 1530–9) continued to issue silver coins of the same weight and style, and the number of mints increased to seven. He started issuing gold coins as well, though these did not exceed 15 grains each in weight. Bābur and Humāyūn both struck copper *tanka*s of around 140 grains each, i.e. of the same weight as the old billon *tanka*s. This seems to have been the basic coin for market transactions and tax-collection. In his memoirs, Bābur records his Indian dominions' revenues in billon *tanka*s.[66]

In spite of early attempts by Bābur and Humāyūn to strike pure silver coins, the credit for formally introducing the classical trimetallic system of coinage untainted by any element of debasement belongs to the Sūr ruler Sher Shāh (1540–5), who overthrew Humāyūn in 1540. Abandoning the billon coinage, he issued a pure silver coin called the *rūpya* (rupee) of probably 178.25 grains.[67] He also issued gold *ashrafī*s, but these were rare. He minted a copper coin called the *paisa*. He extended the issuing of this coinage on a uniform basis from all his 15 mints.[68]

The trimetallic system of Sher Shāh became permanent when it was adopted by Akbar with certain minor modifications. The standard Mughal coinage had a gold *muhr* or *ashrafī*, practically 100 per cent pure, weighing 169 grains; a silver rupee in which the content of alloy did not ever exceed 4 per cent, with its weight fixed at 178 grains; and finally the copper *dām* of 323 grains. By Akbar's later years, 40 *dām*s went to the rupee, and 9 rupees to the *muhr*.[69] These weights and standards were maintained well into the eighteenth century. Jahāngīr (1605–27) at his accession introduced certain innovations, most of which did not affect market transactions. The changes in the weight of the rupee, which did affect the market, were withdrawn on the explicit ground of public inconvenience.[70]

Aurangzeb (1659–1707) made a minor alteration in the weight of the rupee, raising it to 180 grains, and introduced a corresponding addition in the weight of the *muhr* as well. The major change introduced by Aurangzeb was in respect of the copper *dām*: owing to the rising price of copper, he reduced the weight of the *dām* by a third, from 1663–4 onwards.[71] In 1595–6 gold coins were struck at 4 mints, silver coins at 14, and copper *dām*s at 42.[72] But the number of copper mints declined sharply thereafter, while those of silver increased, as is evident from the relative numbers of surviving coins.[73] Clearly,

66 Bābur, 1922, Vol. 2, p. 520.
67 Thomas, 1967, p. 406.
68 Wright, 1936, pp. 362–3.
69 Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 26; cf. Hodivala, 1923, pp. 224–5, for an exhaustive study. See also Habib, 1961, pp. 1–2.
70 Jahāngīr, 1803–4, pp. 5, 96.
71 See Habib, 1961, p. 11.
72 Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 26.
73 Deyell, 1987, pp. 161–3.

silver coinage was pushing out copper: the area for which Abū'l Fazl had recorded 14 rupee mints in the second half of the sixteenth century had 24 by 1700.[74] As silver influx from the New World depressed its price in the seventeenth century, the fractional silver-piece, the *anna* (*āna*), worth onesixteenth of a rupee, began to supplant the copper *dām* in even petty transactions.[75]

The number of silver mints also increased owing to the imposition of Mughal currency in new areas as Mughal arms brought these under imperial control. Sind, which had formally accepted Mughal suzerainty much earlier, was annexed in 1592. Even before this year, foreign trade had brought considerable bullion and specie to Sind.[76] Yet its rulers did not issue silver or gold coins, but simply allowed Portuguese xeraphins (*ashrafī*s) and other foreign coins like *lārī*s and *begī*s to circulate. Only one copper coin, the ᶜ*īsāī*, was minted under Mīrzā ᶜĪsā Tarkhān (1555–65) and this continued under Muhammad Bāqī (1565–85). Jānī Beg (1585–92) replaced the ᶜ*īsāī* with his own copper *mīrī*.[77] But once Sind was annexed by Akbar, the mint at its capital Thatta began issuing the Mughal rupee,[78] and prices of commodities, rates for bills of exchange and amounts of loans all started being quoted in it.[79]

Kashmir was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1586, but the earliest surviving coins from the Srinagar mint (later to be styled Kashmir) date from 1011/1602–3.[80] Perhaps until then the Lahore mint also served Kashmir. Prior to the Mughal conquest, Kashmir had a silver coin called the *rup sansu* that was worth one-quarter of a Mughal rupee, and a copper coin called the *panjuhu* that was worth a quarter-*dām*.[81] In Kandahar, under Bābur and Humāyūn, the silver *bāburī* was in vogue. Akbar does not seem to have opened a mint at Kandahar after its occupation in 1595, and the *tuman* (equivalent to 800 *dām*s=20 rupees) and the *dīnār* (18 *dīnār*s=1 *tuman*) continued to be in use probably mainly as money of account.[82] But in Jahāngīr's reign, a Mughal mint started issuing rupees from Kandahar until it was lost to Iran in 1622.[83]

When the armies of Shāh Jahān (1628–58) occupied Balkh and Badakhshan in 1646–7, Shāh Jahān first ordered the minting of silver rupees, to supplant the *khānī*s. But he was

74 Hasan, 1968, pp. 332, 334.
75 Habib, 1982, p. 361.
76 Magalhaes-Godinho, 1969, pp. 514–15, quoted from Haider, 1999, p. 332.
77 Tahir, 1964, p. 170.
78 Rupees minted at Thatta from 1593 regularly every year turn up in Uttar Pradesh coin finds. See Srivastava, 1980; and personal inspection; see Hasan, 1968, p. 332, for Thatta coins in museum collections.
79 Cf. Haider, 1999, p. 332.
80 Hasan, 1968, pp. 332, 334.
81 Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 564.
82 Ibid., p. 486.
83 Hasan, 1968, pp. 332, 334.

forced to reverse his order when it was found that, since that area's main trade was with Transoxania, the local people wanted, not rupees, but *khānī*s; he therefore ordered his own *khānī*s to be struck, each reckoned to be equal to a quarter of a rupee.[84] This had no sequel, however, since the two provinces were soon lost to the Uzbeks.

Mughal mints worked on the basis of 'free' coinage, that is, anyone could take gold, silver or copper to the mint and have it converted into coin of that metal on payment of seigniorage and minting charges. The costs amounted to about 5.6 per cent of the value of the rupees minted.[85] Though Akbar had fixed the exchange ratios of his coins (1 *muhr*=9 rupees; 1 rupee=40 *dām*s), these official rates could not be sustained for long, and the exchange values went on altering with the market prices of the currency metals.

In the Mughal system of 'free' coinage only the freshly issued coins, called *sikka*s or *tāza sikka*s, were of full value, while the coins issued in the previous years of the same reign (*chalanī*s) and the coins of the preceding reigns (*khazāna*s) were subject to certain discounts. The *sikka* enjoyed a premium of 1–2 per cent over a *chalanī*, which in turn had a premium of 1–3 per cent over the *khazāna* rupee. The *sikka* had a premium of around 5 per cent over silver bullion.[86]

The varying values of Mughal coins, by age and sometimes by mint, called for an army of expert money-changers, called *sarrāf*s (*shroff*s). Their certification of values of coins in sealed bags was indispensable in larger transactions, including revenue-collection. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, indeed, remarked in the late seventeenth century that'in India a village must be very small indeed, if it has not a money-changer, called *shroff*, who acts as banker to make remittances of money and issue letters of exchange'.[87]

The letters of exchange spoken of by Tavernier were bills of exchange known as *hundī*s. The *hundī*s used by merchants as well as the government were not only a means of transmitting money, but were also instruments for raising short-term credit. The *sarrāf*s issued and discounted *hundī*s drawn on places far and near, and since they were endorsable they easily changed hands by sale and purchase.[88] By the mid-eighteenth century *hundī*s had come to be used as substitutes for coins to a considerable extent.[89] The *sarrāf*s also accepted deposits at interest,[90] so that a rudimentary system of deposit-banking existed, with even credit- money being created by payments through bankers' books. In the early

[84] Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, pp. 562–3.
[85] Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 32; see for actual calculations Habib, 1961, p. 3.
[86] Habib, 1961, pp. 4–5.
[87] Tavernier, 1925, p. 24.
[88] Habib, 1960, pp. 8–14.
[89] Ali Muhammad Khan, 1927, pp. 410–11.
[90] Foster, 1922, p. 303.

nineteenth century Malcolm describes a considerable creation of book credit by the *sarrāf*s.[91]

The coin output of the Mughal mints has been used to estimate the amount of money in circulation.[92] Since there was 'free' coinage and the rupee became the principal currency, the amount of money in circulation should have depended essentially upon silver supplies. India had some copper mines, but no silver mines and the entire silver came from imports.[93] Hasan has shown a close correspondence between Hamilton's histogram of Spanish silver imports and the histogram of Mughal coined stock estimated on the basis of catalogued silver coins. The evidence of treasure-trove reports broadly supports her inferences in respect of the main trends, but her estimated increase in coined stock may need to be reduced from 200 per cent between 1592 and 1705, to 138 per cent during about the same period.[94]

The question of the impact of such an increase in money supply on price movements has provoked some debate. Habib has suggested, mainly on the basis of silver prices in gold and copper, that prices remained more or less stable until the 1610s, in spite of a large influx of silver. He argues that the increase in silver currency output was absorbed by the replacement of copper currency by silver.[95] But then a decline in silver value began. The increase in silver value of copper and gold by 1707 was calculated at 110 per cent and 33 per cent respectively of what it was in 1595.[96] Data from eastern Rajasthan indicate a sharp rise in the price of copper in terms of silver from 1725 to 1750. Agricultural prices appear to have fluctuated very sharply in the same region, but on the whole they register an increase, which is particularly marked from 1729 to 1737.[97]

After 1739 the Mughals rapidly lost most of the areas that can reasonably be held to belong to Central Asia. By 1761 the Mughal court had lost its position even in Delhi. But the Mughal rupee continued to be the model for coinages of the successor governments. Both Nādir Shāh of Persia, in 1739, in his Indian dominions, and Ahmad Shāh, the founder of the Durrānī dynasty of Afghanistan (1747–72), in Lahore, Multan, Kabul and other places, issued rupees of the Mughal standard.[98] Sikh rupees, known as *nanakshāhī*s, began to be issued from Punjab from 1764 onwards and continued until 1848,

[91] Malcolm, 1924, Vol. 3, p. 90.
[92] Hasan, 1969, pp. 85–116; Moosvi, 1987*b*, pp. 351–61; for a critique of the method, see Deyell, 1976, pp. 375–92.
[93] Cf. Habib, 1960, p. 4.
[94] Hasan, 1969, pp. 85–91; Moosvi, 1987*a*, pp. 47–94; for a criticism of these estimates, see Haider, 1999, pp. 323–4.
[95] Habib, 1987, pp. 140–7.
[96] Moosvi, 1987*a*, pp. 84–8.
[97] Gupta and Moosvi, 1975, pp. 190–2.
[98] Whitehead, 1934, pp. XXII–XXVI; XXXIII–XXXV. Ahmad Shāh's gold and copper coins from his Kabul and Indian mints also conformed strictly to the Mughal standard (cf. Ganda Singh, 1959, pp. 265–373).

notably under the famous Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799–1839). The East India Company rupees (the 'Calcutta *sicca*s') also circulated in the area; all of these too conformed to the Mughal standard.[99]

One major feature of the latter half of the eighteenth century was the virtual cessation of silver imports after the battle of Plassey (1757). Purchases of Indian goods by the East India Company now began to be financed from India's own internal revenues. The cessation of silver imports had a depressing effect on prices even outside the Company's territories, although unfortunately the eighteenth-century price history of the regions included in Central Asia has been little worked on.[100]

[99] Brown, 1922, pp. 106–8.
[100] Moosvi, 2000, pp. 350–4.

17

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Irfan Habib

Contents

Part One

SCIENCE

The space for reason

It is widely recognized that in the world of Islam the scholars (*ᶜulamā'*) at the beginning of our period could be divided into three broad segments, viz., the theologians (*fuqahā*; sing. *faqīh*), the mystics (*sūfī*s) and the practitioners of the rational sciences (*hukamā*; sing. *hakīm*). The continuing popularity of Ghazālī (d. 1111) was perhaps partly a reflection of the fact that his reconciliation of the first two trends, and hostility to the third, conformed

to the reality on the ground. Both the theologians and the Sufis, while tolerant of such sciences as remained confined to the recording of observations or calculation (e.g. geography, mathematics) or the practice of medicine, were hostile to any questioning of the theological view of the cosmos, to speculative philosophy, and, especially, to any pursuit of reason (^{c}*aql*) as an independent method.

Names to which important scientific achievements can be credited become fewer and fewer in the world of Islam after the twelfth century.[1] This may partly be attributed to the hostility of the religious elements, but also, perhaps, no less to the limits imposed on further progress by the detailed premises of the Hellenistic tradition, from which the thought of the rationalist school largely derived its basic principles. To shake the latter would have required a Scientific Revolution of the kind that early modern Europe witnessed, but the Islamic world never underwent. Nevertheless, it would be too harsh to view the period from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century as one of a 'decline' in scientific learning in absolute, rather than relative terms (i.e. with the European advances in mind). Much was indeed preserved both by way of continuous circulation of the texts of the past, and by translation and commentary; and there was also some elaboration and innovation.

Even the removal of philosophy and reason from a prominent position in intellectual life was by no means a settled matter. At the Mughal emperor Akbar's court (which had its seat at Lahore from 1586 to 1598), there developed a singular ideological trend which made use of Ibn al- ^{c}Arabī's theory of the illusoriness of visible differences to advocate the principle of *sulh-i kul* (Absolute Peace) and to prescribe in its name not only the tolerance of ^{c}*aql* but also its positive protection and promotion. Central in this was thought to be the role of the just sovereign, bathed in 'divine light' – a proposition with clear links to the *ishrāqī* (Illuminationist) school of mysticism (See Chapter 24). Abū'l Fazl (d. 1602) was the major spokesman of this official doctrine. Indeed, in the official history of Akbar's reign (1556–1605), the *Akbar-nāma*, Abū'l Fazl argued that the sovereign ought not to 'seek popular acclaim through opposing reason'. He is said to have been scornful of Ghazālī's condemnation of certain sciences. The officially promoted syllabus for education deliberately excluded theology and only listed sciences (agriculture, surveying, geometry, astronomy, architecture and mathematics, besides ethics, history, government and, regrettably, geomancy).[2]

[1] See *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, 2000, Vol. IV, Part Two, Chs. 6–10 and 12, for an account of the major achievements of Central Asia in the realm of science within the period 750–1500.

[2] Habib, 1996, pp. 165–9; 1999*a*, pp. 329–40, where the necessary textual references will be found.

The effects of this ideological position led to a new interest in *hikmat* (scientificlearning).[3] There were translations made of scientific works from both Arabic and Sanskrit into Persian, the famous Persian poet Fayzī translating the Sanskrit mathematical text, the *Lilavati*. Science still wrestled with superstition in the study of astronomical phenomena.[4] But it was perhaps in the realm of technology (see below) that Akbar and his circle made the most creditable contributions, with true inventions such as 'prefab' structures, the use of saltpetre to cool water, complex geared devices for water-lift, cart-mill, ship's camel, machine for gun-boring, etc., in some of which there was a distinct precedence over corresponding inventions in Europe.[5]

The intellectual position occupied by Akbar and Abū'l Fazl was undoubtedly based on a reconciliation between Sufi doctrines and the realm of reason, while excluding altogether the entire corpus of Muslim theology. Such a position has remained unique in the whole range of Islamic civilization.[6]

In Persia in the sixteenth century, an attempt was made to achieve a more comprehensive synthesis. Mullā Sadrā (d. 1640) at Isfahan created a system which incorporated all the three elements: theology, Sufism and philosophy.[7] Since Sadrā's ideas exercised considerable influence on his contemporaries and subsequent generations, the rational sciences could gain a place even in the theological seminaries of Persia. Sadrā and his more mystical contemporary, Mīr Abū'l Findiriskī (d. 1640–1), were themselves well-known teachers of the sciences (*hakīmmiyāt*);[8] and Findiriskī's pupil and friend, Kāmrān Shīrāzī (d. 1640–1), was an uncompromising rationalist and sceptic.[9] His beliefs may be deemed a radical deviation, but Mullā Sadrā's more orthodox disciple, Muhsin Fayz (d. 1680–1), also saw a close identification between ᶜ*ilm-i bātin* (mystic science) and *hikmat;*[10] and this despite

[3] This was noted in 1616 by Sir Thomas Roe at the court of Akbar's son, Jahāngīr: 'The molaes of Mahomet know somewhat in philosophy and mathematiques, are great astrologers, and can talke of Aristotle, Euclyde, Averroes and other authors' (Roe, 1926, p. 275).

[4] Moosvi, 1997, pp. 109–20.

[5] Habib, 1997, pp. 129–48. Alvi and Rahman, 1968, urge the claims of Fathullāh Shīrāzī, mathematician and technologist at Akbar's court, to the authorship of some of these inventions.

[6] The uniqueness of this ideological phenomenon is shown by the admission made by Cook, 2000, p. 468*n.*, in his massive survey of Islamic juridical and doctrinal literature, that he was 'not able to find a systematic discussion of the idea' of *sulh-i kul*, as elaborated in Mughal India.

[7] Cf. Nasr, 1986, pp. 678–87.

[8] The originally Jewish scholar Sarmad studied *hakīmmiyāt* under these two scholars (Anon., 1362/1943, Vol. 1, p. 215).

[9] Anon., 1362/1943, Vol. 1, pp. 337–41, for biographical notice and ideas. The author, who knew Kāmrān Shīrāzī personally, quotes the following statement of his: 'I believe in the Godhood of the Creator, in the Prophethood of Reason, in the Imamate of Self, in the Sky being the direction of prayer, and in the Salvation of the Philosophers. I have no use for faiths and creeds' (Anon., 1362/1943, Vol. 1, p. 338).

[10] Arjomand, 1984, p. 150.

the fact that he was a believer in the narrower interpretation (*akhbārī*) of Shi^c^ite theology. After the reign of Shāh ^c^Abbās II (1642–66), however, the more orthodox elements became dominant and the 'realm of reason' became more and more restricted in Persia.

So far as one can judge, Transoxania was not affected by either of the ideological trends we have described. On the contrary, the influence of theological orthodoxy and mystic establishments appears to have become dominant to an unprecedented degree.

While it is obvious that science can flourish better where the rational method is given greater scope, it would be a mistake to suppose that what is possible must necessarily follow. Despite the theoretical space secured for *^c^aql* by the proponents of *sulh-i kul* and the theorists of the Isfahan school, no particularly outstanding scientific achievements were made as a consequence. Here, as we have already suggested, the severe limits imposed on further progress by the axioms of the Graeco-Arab tradition of the past cannot entirely escape responsibility. We can, perhaps, best assure ourselves of this when we look at what happened in the domains of mathematics, astronomy and medicine, three major branches of science at the time.

Mathematics and astronomy

In mathematics, besides the usual textbooks and commentaries on previous books, few advances were made. The Persian translations of the Indian mathematician Bhaskara's (*fl.* 1150) works, the *Lilavati* and the *Bijaganita* (respectively by Fayzī in 1587 and ^c^Ataullāh Rushdī in 1634–5), introduced to the Persian-reading public two texts that represented the most mature stage of the Indian mathematical tradition: here, for example, were methods for integral solutions, held to be 'the finest thing achieved in the theory of numbers before Lagrange'.[11] In Persia itself the most reputed work, as measured by translations and commentaries, was a compendium of arithmetic in Arabic, the *Khulāsat al-hisāb*, by the theologian Bahāu'ddīn al-^c^Amilī (d. 1622).[12] It preserved much but seemingly marked no great advance.

In astronomy, the observatory established by the Timurid prince Ulugh Beg (1394–1449) at Samarkand, with the distinguished mathematician Jamshīd Ghiyāsu'ddīn al-Kāshī (d. 1429) among its staff, created one of the landmarks in observational recording; and Ulugh Beg's *Zīj-i Sultān-i Gūrkānī* [Astronomical Tables of the Gūrkān Sultān] henceforth became the standard work of reference. Ulugh Beg upheld the view that larger instruments would

[11] Keith, 1920, pp. 525–6.
[12] Described by Storey, 1958, pp. 11–14.

reduce the margin of error and so he built large masonry instruments devised to serve various observational needs. Some of these, like the meridian transit instrument, have survived.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, at Taqīu'ddīn's observatory in Istanbul, where both metallic and masonry instruments were also used, some of Ulugh Beg's tables were revised. But most Islamic astronomers went on working with astrolabes for their ordinary purposes, while making use of Ulugh Beg's *Zīj* for framing calendars and calculating the moments of astronomical phenomena. A very ambitious scheme was undertaken in the Indian Mughal empire with a view to establishing new astronomical tables on the basis of observations simultaneously made at five different places. With imperial support, Sawāi Jai Singh (d. 1744), a prince himself, established observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Mathura, Banaras (Varanasi) and Ujjain. His major instruments were on a massive scale, built of masonry, several being of his own devising. He sent a mission with a Christian priest to Europe and obtained instruments as well as the astronomical tables of P. de La Hire (second edition, 1702). He found the latter gave less accurate results than his own, though probably his own refraction table was derived from it. He published his *Zīj* in 1733–4.[13]

Jai Singh's *Zīj* is important because of the improvements he made in the observations, but its inherently conservative character cannot be overlooked. Its text drew heavily upon that of Ulugh Beg's *Zīj*, making certain additions here and there, such as mentioning the sandglass, not known in Ulugh Beg's time. His universe therefore remains entirely Ptolemaic. Even the observation of Venus' lunar phases, made by the telescope at his observatory, finds no mention in the *Zīj;* it was left to a Delhi lexicographer to record the discovery in 1739–40.[14]

Jai Singh's continued allegiance to the Ptolemaic theory and indifference to Copernicus also requires consideration. It may be remembered that even Tycho Brahe (d. 1601), who too worked with large instruments to get better results, had rejected the Copernican system. He held that the firmament (including the sun) revolves around the earth, while only the five planets (the earth not being held to be one) revolve around the sun.[15] Western sources were not, therefore, for a long time so clearly on the side of Copernicus as we may now think. But there might have been another reason for the lack of interest in how the universe really moved. This was astrology.

[13] Jai Singh, 1733–4, MS. For his observatories and their instruments the major survey is still Kaye, 1918.

[14] Tek Chand, 1916, Vol. 1, p. 332.

[15] These ideas of Brahe are summarized in a tract written by a Jesuit, Christofore Borro, and translated into Persian by Pietro della Valle in 1624 for an Iranian astronomer, Maulana Zainuddīn Larī, a copy of which is in the Vatican Library, Vat. Persiano 9. Brahe believed that the earth did not rotate around its axis, and accepted biblical notions on these matters as God-given truths.

When Bābur (1483–1530), swayed by astrological considerations, forced a hurried battle with the Uzbek ruler Shaybānī Khān (1500–10) near Samarkand in 1500–1 and thereby courted disaster, he learnt the lesson the hard way that astrological predictions were 'worth nothing'.[16] Such robust rejection of astrology was, however, rare in our period, and sovereigns and all those who mattered would often look for the astrologically auspicious moment and seek to avoid the inauspicious. It was thus deemed the business of astronomy to determine these moments by the most exact possible observation and calculation. For this task, the Ptolemaic concepts accorded best with how everything in the heavens looks to us from the earth, while the Copernican system was bound to introduce complications which were entirely irrelevant to the astrological purpose. In this sense, not only faith but also a pseudo-science were responsible for the Copernican concepts being ignored.

Medicine

In medicine, the corpus produced in Persian during our period, and still extant, is fairly vast.[17] The texts range from comprehensive compendiums to materia medica, prescriptions for ailments and tracts on particular drugs and diseases. Iranian and Indian contributions predominate, but there are also Transoxanian compilations. One such was Sultān ᶜAlī Khurāsānī's *Dastūru'l ᶜilāj*, 'a detailed manual of therapeutics', completed in 1530–3 under the patronage of the Uzbek rulers of Akhsi. The Janid (Astarkhanid) ruler of Bukhara, Subhān Qulī (1680–1702), wrote a medical work himself, the *Ihyā' al-tibb-i Subhānī*.[18]

The literature on medicine with reference to Safavid Persia has been well explored,[19] though there has been no corresponding work with similar critical apparatus on India. Since, however, Iranian medical practitioners came constantly to India and wrote books there along with their Indian colleagues, it may be assumed that the features of what is known as *tibb-i yūnānī* (Greek medicine) were practically identical in both countries. The Yunani system remained largely unaffected by the Indian Ayurvedic tradition, despite a very well-known Persian text on Ayurveda compiled from Sanskrit sources by Malik Bhuwa in 1512–13.[20]

While there seems to have been little development in anatomy or surgery, the physicians naturally kept track of new diseases and new drugs. Syphilis brought back from the

[16] Bābur, 1995, pp. 130–1; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 139.
[17] For a listing, which could not take account of the more recent finds and library catalogues, see Storey, 1971.
[18] Storey, 1971, pp. 233, 265.
[19] Elgood, 1970.
[20] Bhuwa, 1877.

Americas by Columbus' sailors in 1493, and the discovery of chinaroot, the drug by which it could supposedly be best treated, spawned a small body of literature in the sixteenth century. Written in 1537–8, Nūrullāh ᶜAlā's tract[21] has precedence over Andreas Vesalius' monograph on chinaroot, published at Basle in 1546.

What is surprising is the frequent inability of the physicians to record important popular practices. The practice of smallpox inoculation ('cutaneous scarification') was reported from Turkey in 1717 by Lady Mary Montagu, and from Bengal by R. Coult in 1731.[22] It is probable that it had spread from some area inbetween, perhaps from Transoxania,having been developed from the Chinese method of inoculation by inhalation whichbecame widespread in that country in the sixteenth century.[23] The first English report of thepractice of cutaneous scarification in Kabul and eastern Baluchistan is dated 1839,[24] but it was doubtless present there much earlier as well. It is strange, then, that what really constituted a 'medical epic' of our period, the first human effort at immunization proper, remained unrecorded in the entire range of the region's own medical literature.

Part Two

TECHNOLOGY

It goes without saying that we have a much larger amount of information about technology for our period than for any previous period of Central Asian history.[25] Limitations of space, however, require that we make a selection from the evidence available. In what follows we have kept two particular criteria for selection in view: technological features that were specific to Central Asia and the technological changes that took place here during our period. This means that many aspects, such as agricultural methods (apart from irrigation), means of transport and sericulture, important as these were for economic life, are not discussed. It is hoped, however, that despite its limitations our survey can still be of some use as a provisional effort.

21 Nūrullāh, 1537–8, MS.
22 For the latter, see Dharampal (ed.), 1971, pp. 141–2.
23 Needham, 1969, pp. 58–9; 1970, pp. 375–6.
24 J. W. Wonchester in: Thomas (ed.), 1979, Vol. 1, pp. 286–7.
25 See *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, 2000, Vol. IV, Part 2, Ch. 10, for the period preceding ours.

Irrigation

The major part of Central Asia belongs to the low rainfall zone, in which there are only a few areas in which agriculture can be pursued without artificial irrigation. Bābur, whose experience until late in life was confined to Transoxania and Afghanistan, would, therefore, especially remark on the fact that in India the crops mainly depended on rainfall alone, and so it was not necessary to 'dig canals or build dams (*band*s)'.[26] Since both Transoxania and Afghanistan had snow-fed rivers, canals could be dug the moment the rivers entered broad valleys or plains. Bābur missed in India those artificial 'running waters' (*āqārsū*s) which he remembered from his native land.[27] However, Kashmir, with a geographic situation similar to Ferghana's, had a network of canals cut from the natural streams and rivers from higher levels, and supported by earthen embankments.[28] In the plains, the canals drawn off from the Balkhab river in northern Afghanistan were probably among the best known.[29]

But the canal which could be reckoned a notable engineering feat for its time was constructed in India: Shāh Jahān's (1628–58) 'Royal Canal', running from the point where the Yamuna river enters the plains down to Delhi, 126 km in length, with the channel carried at certain points on massive aqueducts or cut through solid rock.[30] What was lacking in this canal, as in most other canals drawn from rivers of any size, was a stable connection with the parent river, since dams over large bodies of flowing water were seldom built. On smaller streams, though, dams could be built. Thus we read of the Uzbeks, in their war against Shāh Jahān's troops in 1646–7, destroying a dam above Taliqan (Taloqan, northern Afghanistan), thereby diverting the water of the canal running past that town.[31]

In the Iranian plateau and other parts of Central Asia not only is precipitation low, but there are few rivers from which long surface canals can be drawn. From pre-Islamic times this challenge has been met by the remarkable system of underground channels known as *qanāt* in Persia and *kārīz* or *kārez* in Afghanistan and Xinjiang: wells are dug at particular distances to tap underground springs; the wells are then connected by underground channels, sloping downwards, ultimately to emerge in the open on the lower ground, where the

[26] Bābur, 1995, p. 441; 1922, Vol. 2, p. 488.

[27] Bābur, 1995, p. 439; 1922, Vol. 2, p. 486. Bābur speaks of the 'numerous water-channels (*āqār-sū*s)' in the territory of Osh in Ferghana (Bābur, 1995, p. 5; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 4).

[28] Cf. Bernier, 1916, p. 396: Bernier visited Kashmir in 1664. There is a good account of the pre-Mughal and Mughal canals of Kashmir in Khuihamī, 1954, Vol. 1, pp. 138–52.

[29] Sultān Muhammad, *c*. 1660–1, MS, fol. 30a; Balkhī, 1984, Vol. 1 (1), p. 267. The latter work was completed in 1636.

[30] Cf. Singh, 1992, pp. 57–61.

[31] Lāhorī, 1866–72, Vol. 2, pp. 649–50.

water is used for irrigation.[32] Not only is the water thus collected from underground aquifers without need of any lifting mechanism, but much of the water while carried underground is protected from evaporation as well.

Historians of technology have given the name *sāqiya* to an elegant device whose origins go back to the eastern Mediterranean and the early centuries of the Christian era.[33] The device, consisting entirely of wood, rope and clay pots, combines the draw-bar for circular horizontal drive from animal power (ox, camel), pindrum-gearing for converting it into vertical drive, pots borne on a belt ('potgarland') for giving continuous water flow, and a braking lever. Its geography in our period was curious. Bābur, whose marches and wanderings took him over Ferghana, Samarkand, other parts of Transoxania and almost all areas of Afghanistan (including Herat), failed to see it anywhere there and found it a great novelty when he first saw it in Punjab in 1519.[34] In Persia, too, the device was not generally employed – instead, oxen pulling up leather buckets with rope thrown over pulleys was the most common system.[35] Bābur returns to the *sāqiya* in his famous account of India, giving us a description of both the potgarland and the pindrum-gearing employed in it. He also defines the area of its use as Lahore, Dipalpur and Sirhind (that is, mainly Punjab).[36] It was, in fact, also in use in Sind and western Rajasthan,[37] so that the Indus plains formed the area where it was most widely employed.

Water and wind power

While the use of water as a source of power was absent in India's traditional technology, it is quite a common element in that of Central Asia generally, especially in the form of the water-mill (*āsyā*). As described by two notable dictionaries of our period, and by most

[32] A fourteenth-century lexicographer, Qawwās, 1974, p. 25, describes the *kārīz* aptly as 'a stream, with its head concealed which they excavate in a line of wells'. For Chardin's enthusiastic description based on his travels in Iran down to 1677, see Chardin, 1927, p. 252. The *qanāt/kārīz* system has been frequently described by more recent observers: see, e.g., Elphinstone, 1839, Vol. 1, pp. 396–98; Wulff, 1966, pp. 249–54. For *kāriz* in the Turfan depression in Xinjiang, see Stein, 1981, Vol. 2, pp. 568–9, 586: Stein believes that the *kārīz* only began to be excavated in the Turfan area in the eighteenth century.

[33] Schioler, 1973, is the best single study of the history of the mechanism so far. See also D. R. Hill in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, 2000, Vol. IV, Part Two, pp. 268–9, but there is an obvious fault in Fig. 7 on p. 268: the channel taking out water can never come through the wheel, which would then have to be spokeless!

[34] Bābur, 1995, p. 360; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 388. This was at Bhera on the Jhelum river.

[35] Cf. Wulff, 1966, pp. 256–60. He says, however, that the device is used in Khuzistan (southwestern Iran) (p. 259). Yet in India, in English usage, the mechanism is called 'Persian wheel'! For the use of the pulley-device, see Chardin, 1927, pp. 252–3.

[36] Bābur, 1995, pp. 439–40; 1922, Vol. 2, p. 486.

[37] Habib, 1999*b*, p. 28 and note.

modern observers, the ordinary water-mill in Persia and other parts of Central Asia was of the ungeared type with a horizontal waterwheel (i.e. with a vertical shaft, the so-called ‘Norse mill’). The lexicographers of our period tell us of a *tanūra*, or masonry tower, constructed with its top open to receive stream-water, and a hole at the bottom to lead the water into a trough (*gāv*), with sufficient velocity to strike the scooped blades (*parra*s) of the mill wheel. So struck, the wheel rotated to work the mill placed above it on the same shaft.[38] This is how the water-mills of Afghanistan (and those of ‘Persia and Toorkistan’) are reported to have worked in the early nineteenth century.[39] The same kind of mill was in use in the Tibetan cultural area and in the Himalayas.[40]

While the Vitruvian type of mill, with vertical water-wheel and horizontal shaft, is not apparently described by the sources of our period, there was no technological reason why this mill should not have existed, since pindrumgearing necessary for converting vertical into horizontal motion was otherwise known. In fact, it has been found in modern Iran wherever larger streams have offered ‘more water at a lower head’.[41]

Given the multiple purposes for which water power was used in Chinese technology, Chinese influence may be responsible for certain water-driven devices in the proximity of the Xinjiang region. The hydraulic trip-hammer, traced in China to the third and fourth centuries A.D. and illustrated from 1300 onwards,[42] is undoubtedly the ultimate source of the *pekoh*, the water-driven rice mill in the Hazara district of northern Pakistan: here ‘by an ingenious contrivance a large wooden hammer is lifted [by force of water] and let fall in a quick succession of strokes on the grain that lies in a trough below’.[43]

Sistan, shared between Iran and Afghanistan, has a notable place in the history of windmills, going back to the tenth century, when we have accounts of it in Istakhrī and Ibn Hawqal.[44] In our period both poets and lexicographers were familiar with the *bād-ās* or *āsyā-i bād* (windmill).[45] The mills, as attested by their remains and modern descriptions of

[38] Inju, 1876, p. 112; Tek Chand, 1916, Vol. 1, pp. 30–1, 261. Inju completed his dictionary in 1608–9 and Tek Chand in 1739–40. Cf. Wulff, 1966, p. 280.

[39] Elphinstone, 1839, Vol. 1, p. 401.

[40] See Buchanan, 1819, p. 221, for the water-mills of Nepal that he saw in 1802–3. Francisco de Azevedo saw water-mills in use in Leh (Ladakh) in 1631 (Wessels, 1924, p. 108; cf. Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1837, pp. 239–40).

[41] Wulff, 1966, pp. 280–3.

[42] Needham, 1954–, Vol. 4 (2), pp. 390–2.

[43] Watson, 1908, p. 60, with a photograph of the device.

[44] See the masterly summary of the early history of Sistan wind-mills in Needham, 1954–, Vol. 4 (2), pp. 555–8. For a more detailed treatment see Wulff, 1966, pp. 284–9.

[45] See especially Tek Chand, 1916, Vol. 1, pp. 30–1, quoting (in 1739–40) the seventeenth-century poets Mullā Hātif and Mīrzā Sa’ib for *āsyā-i bād*. These poets ignore the warning made in 1608–9 by Inju, 1876, pp. 67–8, that *bād-ās* is the correct form!

those in operation, were horizontal, the wind being led to the sails of the mill by shield-walls.[46] The mills were used to grind grain as well as lift water;[47] in the latter case a geared device must have been added. In all descriptions from the nineteenth century, the mill-stones are shown as placed below the wind-driven sails, which seems the more convenient arrangement. One has to rely heavily on Dimashqī (d. 1326) to suppose that earlier the quern was placed on the shaft above the sails, compelling thereby a roofing of the windmill.[48] This would be an inconvenient and clumsy method. Probably the analogy of the 'Norse' water-mill, where the quern is placed above the mill wheel, influenced the description by Dimashqī or his informant. But if Dimashqī was accurate in his report, we must infer that a crucial improvement took place in the device within our period, greatly simplifying it and making it more cost-effective.

Craft technology

We have already observed the presence of pindrum-gears (a form of rightangle gearing) in water-lifting wheels and water-mills. The device was central to a large number of technological innovations authored or patronized by the Indian Mughal emperor, Akbar. These included not only methods of lifting water to considerable heights, but also a cart-mill and a common drive for wheels boring the barrels of a number of muskets at the same time.[49] Though important in the history of technological ideas, these probably had no sequel in the realm of actual production technology.

An interesting marriage of two gearing devices of different origins appears to have occurred in the rural technology of Punjab, where pindrumgearing was combined with worm-geared rollers (of Indian origin).[50] The latter had given India upright rollersfor crushing sugar cane; in Punjab more efficient horizontal rollers were set to work byinstalling pindrum-gears to convert the horizontal drive from animal power into vertical motion.[51] In eastern Baluchistan, the same result was obtained by having similar wormgeared rollers worked by (presumably vertical) water-driven wheels.[52]

[46] Wailes, 1967–8, pp. 138–9, for modern reports; also the reports of Elphinstone, 1839, Vol. 1, pp. 400–1; Bellew, 1874, pp. 234–5; Tate, 1910, pp. 250–3.

[47] Captain Christies' journal, 1810, in: Pottinger, 1986, p. 409.

[48] Cf. Needham, 1954–, Vol. 4 (2), pp. 557–8; Wulff, 1966, pp. 284, 289.

[49] Habib, 1997, pp. 136–41.

[50] Cf. Habib, 1985, pp. 213–14. See, however, Daniels and Daniels, 1988, where the Indian origin of worm-gearing is doubted on rather unconvincing grounds.

[51] This was seen at work north-west of Lahore in 1831 (Burnes, 1834, Vol. 1, p. 44).

[52] Observed in 1810: Pottinger, 1986, pp. 25–6.

It is curious, however, that worm-gearing should have ended in the vicinity of the Indian subcontinent. It is entirely missing in Iranian traditional technology, as described by Wulff. Even the cotton-gin, which in India is depicted in an Ajanta fresco of the sixth century,[53] had a very complex counterpart in Persia, where rollers moved only through the pressure exerted on the free roller by the rotating roller being wedged closely to it.[54] In sugar-cane milling, where it would be difficult to have the rollers rotate only by pressure, the mill had to have both the recumbent rollers rotate with pindrum-gears in the most complicated manner, as is shown by the Egyptian sugar-cane mill figured at the end of the eighteenth century.[55]

As Lynn White pointed out long ago, two important principles of belt-drive and flywheel are embedded in the simple-looking spinning-wheel.[56] It is now certain that its origins lay in China in the early centuries of the Christian era, but its worldwide diffusion occurred only in the half-millennium preceding 1500.[57] Under the name *charkha*, its presence in Central Asia by the twelfth century is attested by its mention, as 'the old woman's instrument', by Anwarī (*fl.* 1138–9) and Nizāmī (d. *c.* 1200), and later by Sa^cdī (*fl.* 1257); and in India the first textual reference (fairly explicit) is of 1350.[58] One would have felt, then, that the use of the belt-drive as a means of speeding up motion should have become general in Central Asian technology during our period. But this is surprisingly not the case. In the Iranian gem-cutter's craft the classical bowstring drill continued to be used, whereas a belt-driven drill would have been far more effective.[59]

It is quite possible that this inability to make good use of the belt-drive, despite the presence of the spinning-wheel in practically every poor home, was due to the late-coming of the crank in Central Asian technology. The crank, we may remind ourselves, is a rimless spoke set on the same shaft as the wheel, the spoke turning in a right-angled direction at its outer end so as to provide a handle. The crank is especially suited to the belt-drive since if it is set to the large wheel, it can greatly quicken the flywheel's motion. Yet early paintings of the spinning-wheel from the region tend to show it without a crank, or even a peg fixed on

[53] On this see Alam, 1986, pp. 130–1.
[54] Wulff, 1966, pp. 179–80.
[55] Anon., 1817, Vol. 2, Pl. VII: the drawing was made by French artists during the French occupation of Egypt, 1798–1801.
[56] White, 1960, p. 517.
[57] Needham, 1954–, Vol. 4 (2), pp. 102–7, 266–8.
[58] Habib, 1985, pp. 203–4.
[59] Wulff, 1966, p. 39. Cf. Chardin, 1927, for the bow used by Iranian lapidaries in the seventeenth century. The use of the belt-drive for cutting diamonds in the Deccan and at Surat in India in the latter half of the seventeenth century (Tavernier, 1925, Vol. 2, pp. 44–5; Fryer, 1909, Vol. 1, p. 285) probably owed something to European influence.

the main wheel.[60] Wulff, however, found that in the traditional rural carpentry of Persia of the nineteenth century, the crank was a prominent feature of the spinning-wheel.[61] In India too it begins to appear as an appendage of the spinning-wheel in the seventeenth century.[62] It is, therefore, a permissible inference that our period saw the adoption of the crank in at least some areas of craft technology, although its full potential remained unrealized.

While China and Europe could both be sources of the crank at this late period, the screw as a means of joining pieces of metal was of definitely European ancestry. But its use in European metalcraft itself was a late one, probably no older than about 1500.[63] The earliest reference to the metallic screw in India comes from Thevenot, who reported in 1666 that the'Indians of Dehly cannot make a Screw as our locksmiths do.'[64] That is, they could not cut grooves into the metal, but merely soldered iron, copper or silver wire on both [male and female] parts. It is likely that Persian craftsmen had a similar screw, since, according to Jean Chardin, Persian gunsmiths rejected the screws on the ground that they would not withstand the pressure of gunpowder exploding within the barrel.[65] This would naturally have been the case if the screws had soldered wire and not grooved threads.

Printing, which China had adopted from an earlier age and Europe since the fifteenth century, evoked practically no response in Central Asia. Chardin claims that in 1676 he was engaged by the Persian court to help establish a printing press, but 'all was broke off'.[66] Yet printing of another sort, namely, cloth printing, was well established in Persia in the sixteenth century. The influence here was that of India. Thevenot (1665) noted that the printed textiles were called 'Indian cloths' because most of them came from India; yet'many are also made in Persia, and the flowers and other paints are stamped upon them with a mould besmeared with colours'.[67] The term *chīt*, or chintz (from the Hindi*chhīnt*),

60 See the earliest drawing of the spinning-wheel that I can trace in India, in Shadiābādī, 1468– 9; MS, fol. 94b, a Persian dictionary from Central India, illustrated in the early sixteenth century; the spinning-wheel in an Isfahan painting of 1578 (Blochet, 1929, Pl. cxxxvii); and three Turkic women using a spinning-wheel shown in a painting from Emperor Jahāngīr's album (Kuhnel and Goetz, 1926, Pl. 1).

61 Cf. Wulff, 1966, pp. 186–8, with two photographs on p. 187.

62 See seventeenth-century Mughal paintings in Stchoukine, 1929, Pl. XLIV, and Martin, 1912, Pl. 207(a); and an eighteenth-century Kangra painting in Hajek, 1960, Pls. 48–9.

63 Cf. Singer et al., 1954–8, Vol. 2, p. 242*n*; Vol. 3, p. 629; Needham, 1954–, Vol. 4 (2), p. 121.

64 Thevenot, 1949, p. 65. The Indian screw, he adds, was turned left-to-right, not right-to-left, to open: this, however, was an inconsequential difference, though it may help us to trace the particular tradition of screw-making on which the Delhi locksmiths drew.

65 Chardin, 1927, p. 271.

66 Ibid., p. 249.

67 Quoted in Baker, 1921, p. 37.

for printed cloth was used by poets of the time like Mullā Tughrā and Tāhir Wahid; the latter wrote specifically of the *chīt*-makers of Isfahan.[68]

The evidence by no means suggests, then, that ours was a period of stagnation in the craft skills in Central Asia. The diffusion and adoption of some new devices can clearly be traced or inferred. But there is no doubt that, compared with Europe's development of technology prior to its Industrial Revolution, the pace of change in Central Asia was demonstrably slow. Chardin's judgement made about Iranians could, perhaps, apply to all the peoples of Central Asia: 'they are not desirous of new Inventions and Discoveries, – choosing rather to buy Goods from Strangers, than to learn the Art of making them'. He gives the examples of watches, which were bought but not made; of printing, which we have already touched upon; and of guns, to which we now turn.[69]

Artillery

Owing to a lacuna much lamented by historians, Bābur's memoirs lack any narrative of the period 1508–19. It is obvious that a notable advance in the adoption of artillery was made during these very 11 years, as one can judge by comparing Bābur's narration of his own military operations in Transoxania and Afghanistan before 1508 and in Afghanistan and India after 1519. It is true that he mentions the use of a cannon (*qazān*) by the Timurid ruler Sultān Husayn Mīrzā of Herat, while besieging Hisar in 1495–6.[70] Indeed, it is possible that gunpowder devices, including Chinese mortar (*huochong*), had reached Central Asia through the Mongols as early as the thirteenth century.[71] Yet the potential remained unexploited; even Sultān Husayn's use of cannon may have had Ottoman inspiration. In any case, neither Bābur nor his opponents made use of either cannon or muskets in any battle up to 1508, when the first part of his memoirs closes. When in 1500–1 Bābur was defending Samarkand against Shaybānī Khān, his own weapon was a *nāwak* (crossbow).[72]

The battle of Chaldiran (1514), at which the Ottoman sultan Selim I (1512–20) overthrew the Safavid Shāh Ismā^c^īl I (1501–24), undoubtedly established the efficacy of artillery:

[68] Quotations in Tek Chand, 1916, Vol. 1, p. 150; Vol. 2, p. 260. The term is still in use (Wulff, 1966, p. 225).

[69] Chardin, 1927, p. 249. He says again, on pp. 276–7, that the art of watch-making was unknown among the Persians.

[70] Bābur, 1995, p. 51; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 59 (the reference to catapults in this translation of both the passages where the word *qazān* occurs seems unjustified). The term *qazān* occurs later in Bābur's memoirs indisputably for cannon (e.g. Bābur, 1995, p. 531; 1922, Vol. 2, p. 588, where we are told that a *qazān* exploded while firing a stone, a piece of it killing eight people).

[71] Khan, 1996, pp. 27–39.

[72] Bābur, 1995, p. 135; 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 142–3.

guns (presumably both cannon and muskets) placed behind carts, chained to each other, had shattered the Safavid charge.[73] Twelve years later we find Bābur, now himself possessed of muskets and cannon, consciously copying the Ottoman tactics at his own battle of Panipat (1526), which won him northern India.[74]

There seems little doubt that these cannon-pieces and muskets were both made according to Ottoman prototypes and techniques. The Ottomans cast their bronze gun-barrels whole, as they did at the siege of Constantinople in 1453.[75] An anonymous Italian merchant describes the casting of a bronze cannon, 'in the Turkish manner – all in one piece', in northern Iran, between 1511 and 1514.[76] This was how Bābur's gun master Ustād ᶜAlī Qulī also cast cannon.[77] But muskets (*tufaks*) had to be differently made from wrought iron. There was apparently an earlier *ᶜajamī* (Persian) tradition, producing a musket with a small barrel, with a lock ('a contrivance locked on to the stock').[78] But the occurrence of the term *farangī* (foreign) in relation to muskets in Bābur's memoirs suggests that European influence at that early date cannot be excluded.[79] His muskets, therefore, could have been true matchlocks.

One matter which needs investigation is the late intrusion of artillery into Transoxania. Haydar Dughlāt (1499–1511), despite his detailed narratives of warfare in Transoxania and Xinjiang until 1536, makes no mention of artillery until he comes to describe military operations in India.[80] As late as 1558 the English merchant Anthony Jenkinson found 'four handguns' a sufficient protection against large bands of men who were only archers, when he and his companions journeyed from Urgench to Bukhara.[81]

As against this, however, artillery received considerable attention in both Safavid Persia and Mughal India. In *c.* 1571 d'Alessandri held that Persian arms, including muskets ('harquebuses'), were 'superior and better tempered than those of any other nation'.[82] Abū'l Fazl in his *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (1595) gives a detailed account of Akbar's innovations in musketry and gunnery, and these enable us to understand how far manufacture of these weapons had

[73] Sarwar, 1939, pp. 78–82.

[74] Bābur, 1995, pp. 423–4; 1922, Vol. 2, pp. 468–9. Bābur himself says here that these preparations were made *Rūm-dastūrī*, 'in the Ottoman fashion'.

[75] A. R. Hall in: Singer et al., 1954–8, Vol. 3, p. 363.

[76] Grey (ed.), 1873, p. 153.

[77] Bābur's description of a successful casting in 1526, despite some miscalculation: Bābur, 1995, pp. 487–8; 1922, Vol. 2, pp. 536–7.

[78] See the account of the anonymous Italian merchant already quoted, Grey (ed.), 1873, p. 153.

[79] Bābur, 1995, pp. 342, 428; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 369; Vol. 2, p. 473.

[80] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 474.

[81] Jenkinson, 1906, p. 19.

[82] Grey (ed.), 1873, p. 227.

proceeded at Akbar's court. Matchlock was the general form of musket, but Akbar had invented one where the musket fired without a match, with just a movement of the cock – thus indicating a wheel-lock, perhaps, or an early anticipation of the flintlock. His musket barrels were made by twisting iron strips continuously heated to fold round and round; the strip then had its inside bored and smoothed by a wheel-drill. As has been noted, Akbar was credited with having invented an ox-powered machine, which, through pindrum-gearing, drove wheel-drills that could bore 16 muskets at one time. In cannon-pieces, Akbar's main achievement seems to have been to try to solve the problem of transport by making gun parts separately, which could be reassembled later. This was possibly inspired by the system of *kārīz*-pipes, for there is no proof that screws were employed.[83]

These efforts show a high sense of the importance of artillery. But during the next (seventeenth) century, the level of manufacture failed to keep pace with that of Europe. For one thing, the basic form of the matchlock, as illustrated in the Persian (and Mughal) miniatures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, remained unchanged: 'a rather straight stock, and narrow butt, the match-lock being attached to the neck of the butt'.[84] Writing on the basis of his observations until 1677, Chardin gave credit to the Persian workmen for making their barrels strong, and boring and scouring them 'with a Wheel, as we do'. But, though they shot 'further and straight', the muskets were heavy; and, without screws and lacking (spiral-)springs, their locks were inferior.[85] And the Persians had only matchlocks, not using flint at all.[86]

Flintlocks had appeared on the Indian coasts in the hands of Europeans by the early 1620s.[87] Yet Asian armies persisted with the matchlock well into the nineteenth century. This was true even of so modernized an army as that of Ranjit Singh (d. 1839), the ruler of Punjab.[88] While the matchlocks were not without some advantage,[89] it is clear that it was not this advantage but the difficulty in the use of simple devices like screws and spiral springs that made the shift to flintlock so difficult.

In cannon, the large-scale iron-casting, with use of blast furnaces, made all the difference, especially during the seventeenth century when cast-iron European guns established their advantage mainly in respect of cheapness. The superior drilling techniques and

[83] For the text see Blochmann (ed.), 1867–77, pp. 124–6; for analysis, Habib, 1997, pp. 139–44.
[84] H. Stocklein in: Pope and Ackerman, 1964, Vol. 6, p. 2584; Chardin, 1927, Vol. 2, p. 271.
[85] Chardin, 1927, Vol. 2, p. 271.
[86] Ibid., p. 164.
[87] Valle, 1892, Vol. 2, pp. 371–2.
[88] As reported in 1836 by Hugel, 1972, p. 301.
[89] It was noticed in 1840 in Sind (Eastwick, 1973, p. 145) that the matchlock had a longer range than the 'musket' of the East India Company's sepoys, which was probably no longer a flintlock but had percussion-caps in its discharges.

achievement of greater precision and standardization also counted. When Hormuz fell to the Persians in 1622, the Portuguese guns that they found there won the victors' unstinted admiration: each was 'an achievement of the expert masters and unique gun-makers of Europe'.[90] Such recognition of the superiority of European craftsmanship in gun-making was all the more significant, since of all the powers in Central Asia, it was Persia that continued to have the best artillery. Nādir Shāh's spectacular successes against the Mughals in India and the Uzbeks in Transoxania in his short reign (1736–47) would demonstrate this truth in the eighteenth century. But Persia itself, as we have seen, was now a long way behind Europe in all essential areas of development.

[90] Iskandar Munshī, 1896–7, Vol. 2, p. 691.

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ARCHITECTURE*

G. A. Pugachenkova, A. H. Dani, Liu Zhengyin and E. Alexandre

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* See Map 1, pp. 921–2.

Part One

ARCHITECTURE IN TRANSOXANIA AND KHURASAN

(*G. A. Pugachenkova*)

The region comprising Turkistan, Khwarazm and Khurasan has preserved a rich architectural heritage dating from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century. Having absorbed the considerable achievements of the Timurid era, architecture flourished at the beginning of the period but went into a decline in the eighteenth century, only to bloom once more in modern times. Common trends and local differences were exhibited throughout the region, making it possible to offer a connected description of the architecture and decorative treatment of buildings within these large territories.

As in earlier days, the construction of monumental buildings was seen as a matter of prestige, emphasizing the power of the ruling dynasty, representatives of leading families and senior clergy. Such buildings still belonged to the same categories: secular architecture, such as palaces and residences; civic architecture, such as trading edifices, baths, *ribāt*s (caravanserais), bridges and *sardāba*s (reservoirs); and religious architecture, such as mosques, *madrasa*s (colleges for higher instruction in the religious and other sciences), *khānaqāh*s (hospices; dervish convents) and memorial complexes usually at the burial places of members of the Muslim clergy.

Urban planning

Urban planning activity was limited in most towns to the renovation of forti-fied walls (for instance, there was substantial fortification work in Bukhara in the sixteenth century and in Khiva in the late eighteenth century) and the construction of main thoroughfares and

public and religious centres. However, there were no major innovations in the towns, and new building work continued in accordance with the earlier traditions.

The external appearance of towns was largely determined by their fortifications, which even from a distance looked forbidding. The walls were flanked at regular distances by semicircular towers. The entrances to a town were marked by solid *darwāza*s (gates), the number of which corresponded to the number of significant trading and strategic routes leading to the town. The gate was usually of monumental construction with a high vault, flanked by two mighty towers and with a lookout gallery above. Its massive doors were locked at night and in troubled times; most town gateways had a drawbridge thrown across a ditch. Behind the doors lay an entrance hall where guards were stationed and which gave directly on to the built-up main street. The walls surrounding the towns were punctuated by towers placed between the impressive gateways. Behind the walls, portals, domes, monumental buildings and minarets rose skywards.

Along the main streets there were rows of shops and stalls specializing in different kinds of goods and often skilled craft workers had their workshops there. The most important covered markets were known as *tāq*s, *tīm*s, *bāzār*s (shopping arcades or passages) and *chārsū*s (lit. 'four directions', i.e. crossroads, and thus, buildings at the intersection of two streets), many of which are still in use today. (See the section on market buildings below.)

In big cities there was an administrative and government hub, usually inherited from previous eras but containing new buildings. Such citadels include the Qal ᶜa in Samarkand, the Ikhtiyāru'ddīn fortress in Herat and the Ark[1] of Bukhara. They contained the government palace, chancellery, treasury, arsenal and jail for high-ranking prisoners. However, the rulers and members of the ruling dynasty lived their private lives in their own personal palaces and out-of-town residences.

An important part in the formation of towns was played by public centres of activity, widening out at intervals along the main thoroughfares or else situated in specially designated parts of the town or on its outskirts. Such centres comprised a *maydān* (open square) surrounded by large buildings used for civil or religious purposes.

Most of the space inside towns was taken up by built-up residential quarters (*mahall*s). Their historically formed contours were irregular, encompassing private properties, separated by blind fences, narrow alleyways and impasses. Residential and service buildings in such areas were built around a small interior courtyard, sometimes with two or three fruit trees and vines, and varied according to the size of the plot and the owner's rank.

[1] The reader is reminded that this is not the English 'ark', but the Persian *ark*, meaning a small citadel, or a citadel within a larger one.

Architectural design and methods

Although the public buildings and architectural aesthetics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries followed on from those of the Timurid era, the period was marked by the further development of architectural design. Building materials remained the same as before – clay for ordinary buildings (*pisé*, or sun-dried brick and mortar), and baked bricks with *gach* (gypsum) mortar for monumental architecture. Both categories of buildings had beamed and arched and domed ceilings – the latter exhibited several interesting innovations. Particularly remarkable was the development of complex domes and systems of vaults and arches filling the space beneath. Tiling (glazed brick, majolica and decorative carved mosaics), carved gypsum, and wood and occasionally stone fretwork were used for architectural decor, as they had been earlier; the interiors also contained carved gypsum as well as ornamental painting. The ornamentation featured multiform geometric, epigraphic and stylized vegetal motifs.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century there was a trend towards lowercost building methods. Thus walls were often not solid but made of 'camouflage brickwork': two rows of baked brick filled in with rubble taken from building sites together with a filler-binder mortar. Large painted (dark blue, sky blue, black and white) and glazed revetment slabs were used for decorating purposes instead of labour-intensive polychrome mosaics. Interiors of the period were mostly ornamented with a bichrome incrustation of *chaspak* (carved gypsum). However, in seventeenth-century Samarkand and Bukhara there was a return to refined polychrome decor, comprising decorative carved mosaics and, in the interiors, bas-reliefs in ochre clay, covered with polychrome paint and abundant gold.

The architects had a thoroughly worked-out system of standard designs which could, however, be varied in a number of ways. The Institute of Eastern Studies of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences holds four sixteenth-century blueprints by an architect from Bukhara on sheets of the famous Samarkand paper. They show plans for *khānaqāh*s, caravanserais, a *ribāt* and a *sardāba*. Each plan is drawn on a fine grid of squares, which function as architectural modules, determining the contours of the site and the dimensions of the walls and apertures. The practicability of such plans is borne out by the almost total correspondence between the plan for the caravanserai and the ruins of the caravanserai at the Qaraul Bāzār in Uzbekistan. Indeed, the other three blueprints are also similar to monuments built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2]

To this day traditional craft workers have preserved the designs for *gereh* (geometric calligraphic decoration; 'knot' decorations) and stalactite work handed down over many

[2] See Necipoglu, 1995, pp. 8–14.

generations. The designs for the latter transform the system of construction into a horizontal projection for subsequent translation into the three-dimensional.

Studies of the actual monuments and further graphic analysis have established the presence of clear proportions, expressed in plans, dimensions and façades. Developed in the Middle Ages, when the mathematical sciences were flourishing, the methods of geometric harmonization were widely used over the following centuries.

In monumental architecture the architects followed the basic schemas for layout, area and volume developed in the immediate past. There was no standard, however: in each case they created a variation on the schema. Typical forms of monumental buildings included those built around a central courtyard (Friday mosques, *madrasa*s, caravanserais and some palaces); those with a portal, a dome and a single central hall (mausoleums); and multi-domed buildings with a central hall and rooms in the corners and surrounding space (*khānaqāh*s, some palaces, public markets and baths). We will now review these basic types, referring to the most characteristic examples that have survived to the present day.

Religious architecture

THE FRIDAY MOSQUE (*MASJID –I JUM ᶜA*)

The congregational or Friday mosque was located in the town, the most prestigious examples being built in capital cities. Such mosques were often built on earlier foundations that had fallen into disrepair and required reconstruction or at times of general expansion. The Friday mosque possessed a spacious courtyard with a surrounding gallery, and a *maqsūra* (screened-off enclosure) on the main axis, which worshippers faced. A typical example is the Kalan mosque in Bukhara (Fig. 1). Khwarazm with its hard winters had another type, represented by the mosque in Khiva, which consists of an enclosed multi-columned hall and a small, light courtyard.

THE *NAMĀZGĀH* (ORATORY MOSQUE)

Such mosques were situated in an area outside town where prayers connected with two important Muslim festivals, the ᶜĪds, were conducted in public. The worshippers gathered in a vast open space in front of the building where the *minbar* (imam's pulpit) stood. The Bukhara *namāzgāh* is of this type, built as early as the twelfth century in the form of a long *mihrāb* (prayer niche) wall; it was reconstructed in the sixteenth century, when an open arched and domed gallery with a central portal was erected in front of it.

The *namāzgāh* in Karshi (Qarshi) (1590–1), which is known as the Kök-Gumbaz (Gok-Gombad) because of its pale blue dome (*kök* meaning blue), has a portal and a dome,

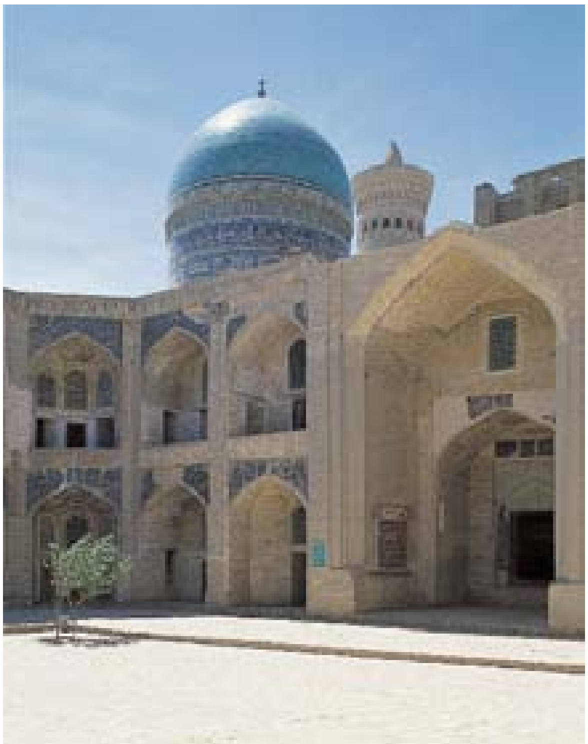


Fig. 1. Bukhara. Kalan mosque. (Photo: © UNESCO/A. Garde.)

from either side of which extends a four-domed gallery on pillars (Fig. 2). A variation on this schema is the *namāzgāh* in Samarkand built in the first half of the seventeenth century. It resembles a *maqsūra* with a portal and a domed roof, and has galleries on massive pillars along both sides. Monumental form and rich decor are characteristics of Friday and *namāzgāh* mosques.

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD MOSQUE

The neighbourhood mosque was small in size and usually consisted of a covered hall with a *mihrāb* and a columned exterior gallery. This latter area also had a *mihrāb* set in the wall and it was there that prayers were conducted in the warm season of the year. Built from generous donations by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, such mosques were often richly decorated. One example of this type is the Baland (Boland) mosque in Bukhara, which was built at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and features nineteenth- century accretions. It has a unique suspended ceiling, covered with geometric ornamentation and rich wall paintings, and a mosaic *mihrāb* (Fig. 3).

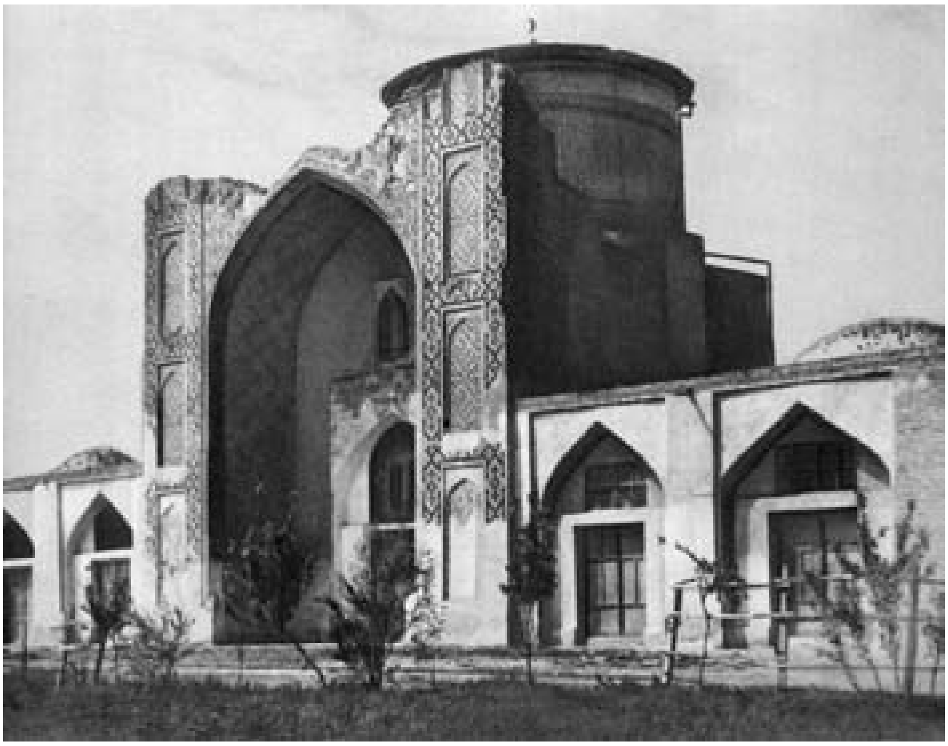


Fig. 2. Karshi. Kök-Gumbaz mosque-*namāzgāh*. (Photo: Courtesy of G. A. Pugachenkova, after Pugachenkova, 1983, p. 97.)

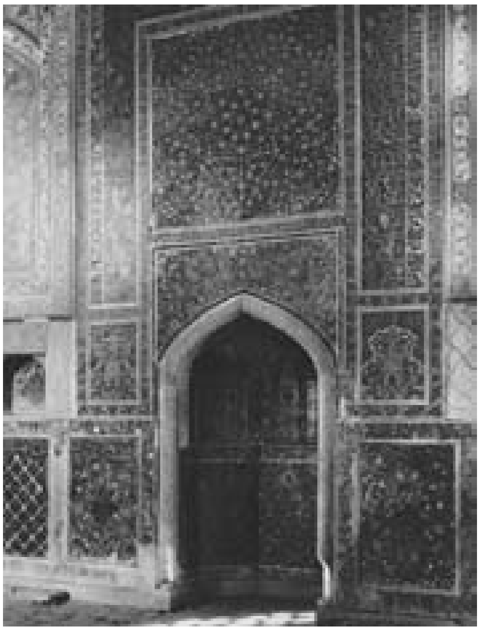


Fig. 3. Bukhara. Baland mosque. *Mihrāb*. (Photo: Courtesy of G. A. Pugachenkova, after Pugachenkova, 1983, p. 45.)

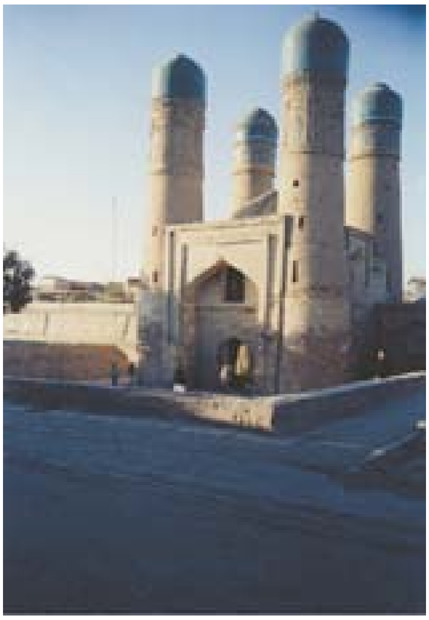


Fig. 4. Bukhara. Chār-Minār. (Photo: Courtesy of I. Iskender-Mochiri.)

THE *MADRASA*

The layout of the *madrasa*, which had been developed in the preceding period, was determined by its function as a closed higher-education institution where the *ᶜulamā'* (Islamic scholars) were trained. As a rule, the *madrasa* had a courtyard with two or four *aywān*s (arched portals) on the axes which were used for classes in the warm season, a tier of cells on one or two floors and *dars-khāna*s (lecture rooms, auditoria) in two or four corners; there was also a mosque for the daily *namāz* (prayer). The main façade had a high portal and there were two or four minaret-style towers at the corners of the building, which were not however true minarets, but simply architectural forms (Fig. 4).

This plan is to be found in a number of variations in *madrasa*s built during the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. From the second half of the sixteenth century, however, the general layout grew more complex as special units were added on the axes and in corners. The *madrasa*s had varied, often very ornate, tiled decoration. Among the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *madrasa*s that have been preserved until the present day are those of Mādar-i Khān, ᶜAbdullāh Khān, Kukeldāsh, Nādir Dīvān-Begī and ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān in Bukhara; Shir-Dor (Shir-Dar) and Tilla-kari in Samarkand (Fig. 5); Kukeldāsh and Barāq Khān in Tashkent; Saᶜīd Atāliq in Denau (Deh-i nau); and Mīr Rajab Dothāin Kanibadam (Kānibādām). The *madrasa*s built at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries include those of Nārbūta Bī in Kokand (Khoqand), and Qutlugh Murād Ināq, Khojamberdybii (Khwāja Mohammad-Verdi Beg), Khoja Moharram, Musā Tura and



Fig. 5. Samarkand. Tilla-kari *madrasa* on the Registan square. (Photo: © UNESCO/T. Molenaar.)

Allāh-Qulī Khān in Khiva (Fig. 6), all of them built on the traditional plan, though varying in details and decor.

THE *KHĀNAQĀH*

In the Middle Ages *khānaqāh*s were primarily guest-houses for travelling Sufis, situated close to the residence of their *pīr* (spiritual master). However, under the Timurids, when they were places for the meetings and rites of the adherents of one or another Sufi order, attended by representatives of the ruling elite alongside the travellers, a specific architectural plan for *khānaqāh*s evolved: it has a *zikr-khāna* – a room for exposition and Sufi rites – in the centre, and a few additional cells in corners and along the sides. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the construction of *khānaqāh*s was particularly intensive in the Bukhara region. Among the above-mentioned architectural blueprints of this time was one for a *khānaqāh* where the central hall was surrounded by whole groups of additional rooms or cells.

There were variations on the *khānaqāh* plan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – examples include Zaynu'ddīn, Fayzābād, Bahāu'ddīn and Nādir Dīvān-Begī (Fig. 7) in Bukhara, Mullā Mīr near Ramitan, Qāsim Shaykh in Karmana and Imām Bahrā near Khatirchi. They characteristically include a central dome, often raised on a very high drum, various kinds of scutellate and reticular pendentives underneath the dome, and



Fig. 6. Khiva. Allāh-Qulī Khān *madrasa*. (Photo: © UNESCO/A. Garde.)

decoration for the most part inside the *zikr-khāna*: polychromatic wall paintings and dichromatic carved gypsum inlay.

MEMORIAL BUILDINGS

Fewer mausoleums were built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than in the preceding periods. Holy tombs of saints or simply of the higher clergy were placed in public burial grounds, where they were distinguished by a symbolic headstone (*sagan*) often raised slightly on a plinth (*dakhma*), and sometimes by a stele inscribed with a eulogy to the deceased. One of the few burial vaults of this time was the Qafāl Shāshī mausoleum in Tashkent, built by the architect Ghulām Husayn in 1541–2. This was a portal-dome building standing on a high platform. The sixteenth-century mausoleums of Muslihu'ddīn in Khujand and Makhdūm-i A^{c}zam in Isfara are variations on the plan. They had a *ziyārat-khāna* (room for funeral rites) and a *gūr-khāna* (shrine, tomb) and sometimes additional cells, and the overall plan included a portal and raised dome above the *gūr-khāna*. The mausoleum of Hājj ^{c}Akkāsh in Balkh was built with a mighty portal and a vast octagonal *gūr-khāna*. The ruins of the mausoleum of Imām-i Bajgokha are also preserved in

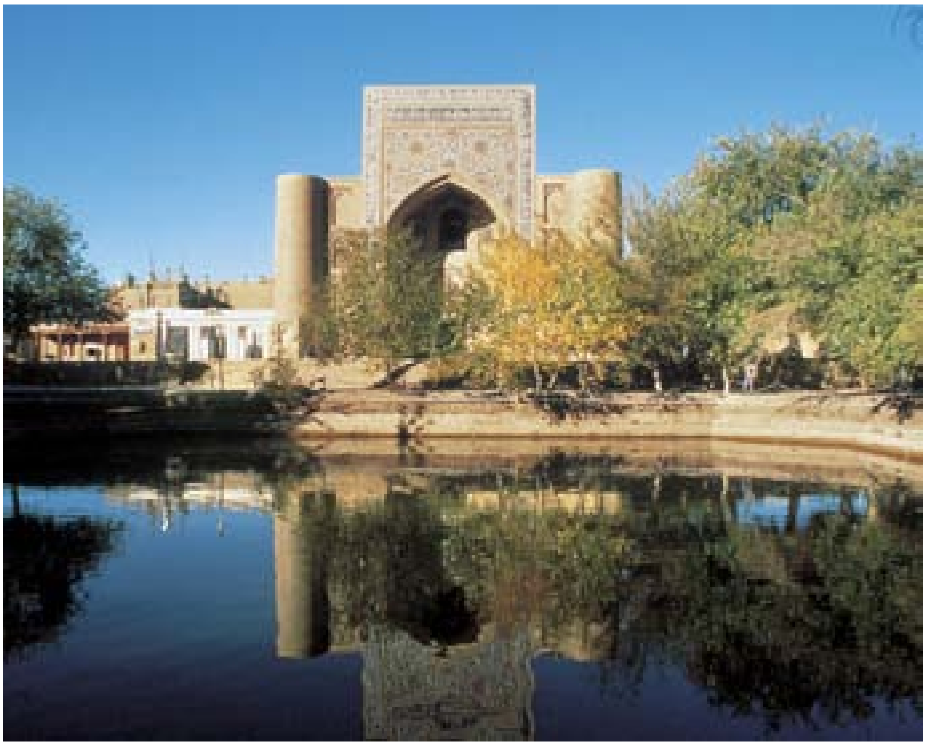


Fig. 7. Bukhara. Lab-i Hauz and the *Khānaqāh* of Nādir Dīvān-Begī. (Photo: © UNESCO/E. Eichenberger.)

Balkh: it is octagonally laid out with a projecting section which includes a deep arched *aywān* and a *ziyārat-khāna*.

More often, however, monumental buildings were constructed near holy tombs. For instance, a monumental *khānaqāh* was constructed in Bukhara in the sixteenth century near the grave of the head of the Naqshbandi order, Bahāu'ddīn; and at Chār-Bakr, the family necropolis of the powerful Juybārī *shaykhs* (Fig. 8), there was an architectural ensemble of three adjoining buildings, viz., mosque, *khānaqāh* and *madrasa*.

Unlike Transoxania, architectural activity in Khurasan entered a decline during our period, the latter territory being the object of dispute in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries between Persian shahs and Uzbek khans. Herat, the splendid Timurid capital, lost its significance and its skilled craft workers deserted it. Nevertheless, there was still some construction in Khurasan. For example, not far from Balkh a centre of pilgrimage grew up at Mazār-i Sharif (Fig. 9) on the site of the supposed burial place of ᶜAlī, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. As early as the end of the fifteenth century, the Timurid Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā (1469–1506) ordered a ceremonial mausoleum built above it, with a *ziyārat-khāna* and a *gūr-khāna*, whose dome and interior were completely covered with the richest architectural decor. Gradually, over a period of centuries the shrine acquired

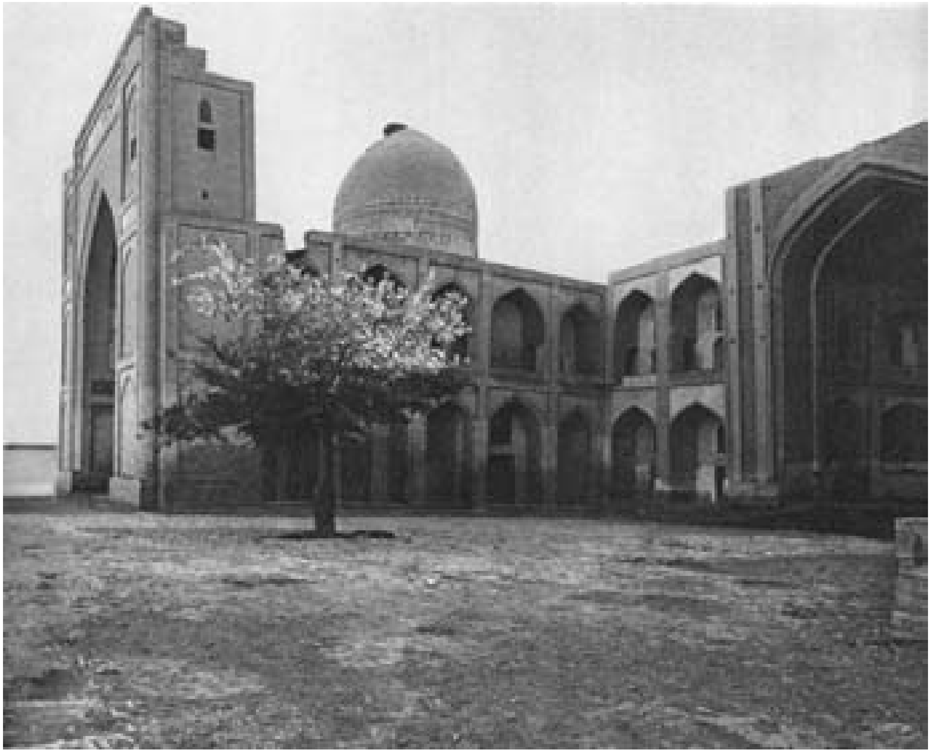


Fig. 8. Bukhara. Chār-Bakr *khanāqāh* and interior courtyard. (Photo: Courtesy of G. A. Pugachenkova, after Pugachenkova, 1983, p. 56.)

additional constructions, overlaid with tiled decor, which clustered in a rather disorderly way around the main place of worship, almost concealing it from view.

Memorial construction was carried out on a modest scale in the sixteenth century in northern Khurasan (now southern Turkmenistan) at the burial places of Sufi saints. Examples include a pilgrim's mosque near the tomb of Yūsuf Hamadānī in Merv with a three-stepped façade, whose central arch served as its frame (Fig. 10); Mazār Kizil-Imām (1513) near Durun (Darūn) where, judging by the layout, there was clearly a *khānaqāh* next to the tomb; and the mausoleums of Kumbet-Yaila and Aq-Imām in the Gok-tepe region. These provincial buildings were not decorated.

From the sixteenth century on, mausoleums for rulers were no longer built, as members of the ruling houses were interred in *madrasa*s, the burial vault taking the place of one of the *dars-khāna*s. Thus in Samarkand the Shaybanids were buried in the Abū Sa^{c}īd mausoleum on the Registan, and in Bukhara, ^{c}Ubaydullāh Khān (d. 1539) was buried in the Mīr-i ^{c}Arab *madrasa* and ^{c}Abdul ^{c}Azīz Khān (1645–80) in the *madrasa* bearing his name. In Tashkent in the early sixteenth century two mausoleums were built for the ruler Suyunj Khān and his relatives, but they were soon integrated into the body of the Barāq Khān *madrasa* which was built there.



Fig. 9. Mazār-i Sharif mosque. (Photo: © Andrea Bruno, UNESCO Consultant, Turin, Italy.)



Fig. 10. Merv. Mosque of Yūsuf Hamadānī. (Photo: Courtesy of G. A. Pugachenkova, after Pugachenkova, 1983, p. 149.)

Civic architecture

MARKET BUILDINGS (*CHĀRSŪ, TĪM, TĀQ*)

The *bāzār* (market) is still today the pulsating heart of the Eastern town. Alongside countless small shops, the town required more prestigious buildings, which were established at the main junctions. Among them were the *chārsū*, a building covered by a central dome, standing at a crossroads and surrounded by many shops and workshops covered by small domes; the *tīm*, which was a kind of trading passage; and the *tāq*, a kind of *chārsū* but on a smaller scale, usually built at the intersection of major thoroughfares (Fig. 11).

Among the market buildings of this type that were built in the sixteenth century and are still standing, four function to this day in Bukhara. One of them is from an earlier date but was completely rebuilt in 1569–70. It is called the Tāq-i Zargarān (Goldsmiths' Dome) and stands at the intersection of two streets. Its central space is octagonal and it is covered by a huge dome set on 32 intersecting arches, at the base of which are windows illuminating the interior. Around that space are workshops and shops topped by rows of small domes.

To the south of the Tāq-i Zargarān there is a section of a trading street that was once lined with rows of stalls, caravanserais and shops. They include a sizeable building, the Tīm [c]Abdullāh Khān (second half of the sixteenth century) – a place for merchants trading in silk cloth. Laid out on a square plan, it comprises a central octagonal core with a large



Fig. 11. Bukhara. Market. (Photo: © UNESCO/A. Garde.)

dome and surrounding gallery, along which there are shops. The central dome here, as in the Tāq-i Zargarān, is surrounded by rows of small domes.

The next site is the Tāq-i Tilpāq-Furūshān (Hat-sellers' Dome). The building is situated at the intersection of five streets, forming a complex urban junction. The streets meet at different angles but the architects managed to translate the external contours of the building and its entrances into an exact hexagon, where mighty pillars support a dome with window openings, on a dodecagonal base. Around the central core there is a gallery providing access to shops and storerooms.

Down one of the cross-streets is the Tāq-i Sarrāfān (Money-changers' Dome), which is square with four passages and groups of premises in four sections. The central dome rests on four intersecting arches, the structure of which is entirely visible to the naked eye. Alongside stood a bathhouse and a small mosque. These buildings even now grace three areas of Bukhara. Bazaar buildings of the above types existed in other towns too, but only a few have been preserved, for instance the seventeenth-century *chārsū* in Shahr-i Sabz.

CARAVANSERAIS

In towns, but especially on the trade routes, caravanserais played an important role. Some had survived from earlier times, but quite a few were of recent construction. A small number have survived until the present day, albeit in ruins, such as the caravanserai near the Qarāul Bāzār on the road from Bukhara to Karshi, the ᶜAbdullāh Khān caravanserai in the Shirābād region on the road from Karshi to Termez and the caravanserai near Sankhās in Khurasan. They all repeat a traditional plan, which had evolved over centuries – a rectangular building with a large courtyard, galleries for beasts of burden and baggage, lodgings for travellers and a mosque. The outer walls were high and thick; there was just one well-guarded entrance and corner towers also formed part of the defences.

*SARDĀBA*S (WATER RESERVOIRS)

*Sardāba*s were built in dry, semi-arid regions. They were located in low-lying places, fed by melted snow and rainwater, and took the form of large, brick cisterns sunk into the ground, with large domes which protected the water from wind drift. New reservoirs were built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to complement those remaining from earlier times. Our sources record the zeal of the Shaybanid ᶜAbdullāh Khān (1557–98), who built from scratch or restored hundreds of caravanserais and *sardāba*s in his lands.



Fig. 12. Jarqurghān. Iskandar bridge. (Photo: Courtesy of G. A. Pugachenkova, after Pugachenkova, 1983, p. 95.)

BRIDGES

Bridges across rivers and mountain gorges were also built at this time. The bridge at Karshi and the bridge to the north of Jarqurghān, commonly known as the Iskandar bridge (Fig. 12), belong to this period. Among the engineering works there is an outstanding bridge/channel-divider near Samarkand, erected under the Uzbek ruler Shaybānī Khān (1500–10) at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Two of its mighty slanting arches and its central pillar divided the current of the Zarafshan river into two streams, directing the water to irrigate the land north and south of its former course.

BATHHOUSES

Another type of civic structure was the public bath. Examples of sixteenthand seventeenth-century baths are preserved in Samarkand, Shahr-i Sabz, Bukhara and Tashkent, and a few of them are still in use today. They are heated by a system of under-floor channels, which spreads the heat uniformly throughout the premises. Some versions include rooms for disrobing, hot and cold rooms, a massage room and a water closet, and all are covered by the domes that give them such a characteristic external appearance.

Architectural ensembles

One noteworthy development during the period was the creation of groups of buildings, or ensembles. New buildings were designed to blend in with existing structures. In that respect, there is undoubtedly some continuity with the urban planning of the Timurid era. We look below at some of the most significant sites.

THE PĀY-I KALĀN

The Pāy-i Kalān (Pedestal of the Great) is the name of the central group of buildings in Bukhara that were erected in the sixteenth century around the Kalān minaret, which dates back to 1127. In the twelfth century a new Friday mosque was built in this area in place of the old one, which was situated by the walls of the citadel, the Ark. However, it fell into ruin under the Mongols and consequently new walls and galleries were built on parts of this site in the fifteenth century, a development that is reflected in the mosaic tiles of the *mihrāb*, which also preserve the name of the skilled craftsman, Bāyazīd Purānī.

But even these works failed to satisfy the needs of the capital of the Shaybanids, under whom a grandiose new building was raised. The tiles of its main façade have preserved the date 920/1514. The Kalān mosque has the traditional composition of a Friday mosque. The entrance portal leads into a vast courtyard, with four arched *aywān*s on its axes and a surrounding gallery on 208 pillars. Arches springing from these pillars and the walls support 288 cupolas raised on scutellate pendentives. The monumental scale of the *maqsūra* is emphasized by the double-shell dome, the outer shell of which, tiled with blue bricks, is positioned on a high cylindrical drum, creating one of Bukhara's major landmarks. The architectural appearance of the mosque is distinguished by a combination of common building bricks with patterned brickwork of coloured, glazed brick and by the fine carved mosaics in the tympanums of the portals and arches (Fig. 13).

In the 1520s the influential *shaykh* Mīr ᶜArab undertook the construction of a *madrasa*, opposite and on the axis of the mosque, which was completed in 1535–6 (Fig. 14). Its composition is wholly traditional: a courtyard with four *aywān*s, surrounded by two floors of cells, and a *dehliz* (vestibule) located centrally behind the façade with a large hall on either side. One of the halls was used as a *dars-khāna* (lecture room, auditorium), the other as a *gūr-khāna* (mortuary chamber). This is where Mīr ᶜArab himself was buried, as was the ruler of Bukhara, ᶜUbaydullāh Khān, whose burial place, in the middle of the chamber, is marked by a large wooden gravestone. This room has a remarkable ceiling system: there are 4 mighty intersecting arches, whose spandrels are filled with stalactite work, as is the area of transition rising to the 16-sided drum; higher still is a lantern beneath the double dome.

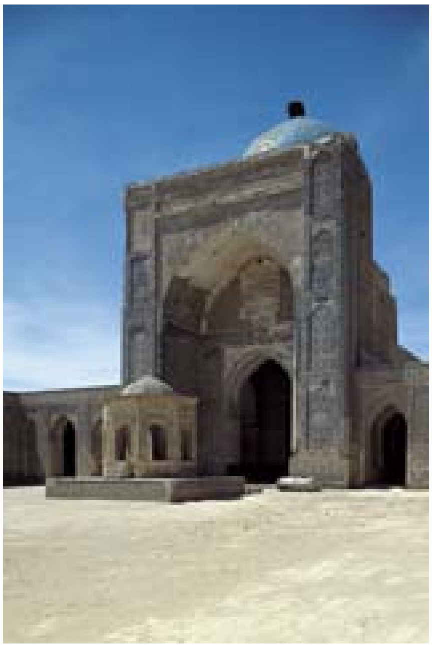


Fig. 13. Bukhara. Pāy-i Kalān mosque. (Photo: © UNESCO/A. Garde.)



Fig. 14. Bukhara. Pāy-i Kalān. Mir-i ᶜArab *madrasa*. (Photo: © UNESCO/A. Garde.)

A portal marks the centre of the main façade of the *madrasa*; heavy turrets (*guldastas*) stand on the corners, and between them are two tiers of arched lodges behind which rise the domes of the *gūr-khāna* and the *dars-khāna* supported on drums (Fig. 15).

The architectural decor of the *madrasa* matches the splendour of other works from the late Timurid period. The entrance portal, the courtyard *aywān*s, the tympanums of

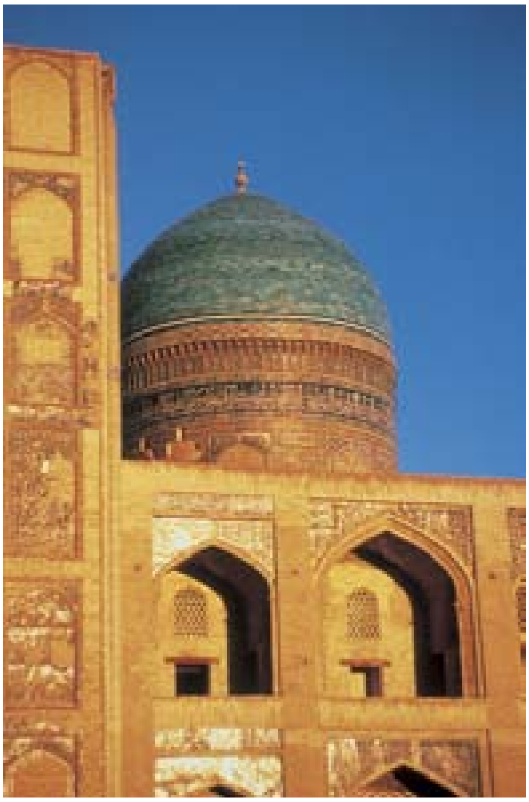


Fig. 15. Bukhara. Pāy-i Kalān. Mir-i ᶜArab *madrasa* (detail). (Photo: © UNESCO/E. Eichenberger.)

the loggias, the panelling and the *panjara* (window lattice) of the *gūr-khāna* are covered in carved mosaics combining fine vegetal ornamentation with inscriptions in the sophisticated *suls* (or *thuluth*), a variety of Arabic script.

The minaret is the vertical dominant of the Pāy-i Kalān ensemble. It stands at a corner of the mosque, but precisely because it stands out from the side of the square it confirms its spatial importance as the main centre of Shaybanid Bukhara, a function that it has preserved down to the present day.

THE KOSH *MADRASA*

The simplest variety of group construction consists of two major buildings on either side of a thoroughfare on a single axis. Significant examples can be seen in Bukhara, for instance the Kosh (Qush) *madrasa*, built under ᶜAbdullāh Khān (Fig. 16). In 1556–7 his mother had the Mādar-i Khān *madrasa* built in her name, and in 1588–90 ᶜAbdullāh Khān built a *madrasa* in his own name. The first is not very big and has a slanting façade in relation to the surrounding area with a modest tiled decor. The *madrasa* of ᶜAbdullāh Khān himself is twice as large in area, with a complex layout and rich decoration.



Fig. 16. Bukhara. Kosh *madrasa*. (Photo: Courtesy of G. A. Pugachenkova, after Pugachenkova, 1983, p. 59.)

Another group is formed by the *madrasa* of Ulugh Beg of 1417 and the *madrasa* of ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān built opposite to it in 1652, physically larger but balanced in the overall composition of the main façade.

THE LAB-I HAUZ

One of the main public places of Bukhara, the Lab-i Hauz derives its name from the *hauz* (pool) at its centre. The overall area is shaped by three monumental buildings (Figs. 7 and 17). It began to take form with the construction of the vast Kukeldāsh *madrasa* of 1568–9, which has a traditional layout around a courtyard – a portal entrance, with the large halls of the mosque on either side and the *dars-khāna*. Two floors of cells are distinguished by loggias. In the interiors of the entrance hall, the mosque and the *dars-khāna*, there is a stunning diversity of reticular pendentives and star-like domed ceilings, lined with bricks or carved out of gypsum. In the *dars-khāna* there is a lantern under the dome which seems to hover over the entire interior. The tiled decor on the external and courtyard façades is traditional and restrained. The entrance doors of the *madrasa* provide an example of the refined wood carving of Bukhara's skilled craft workers.

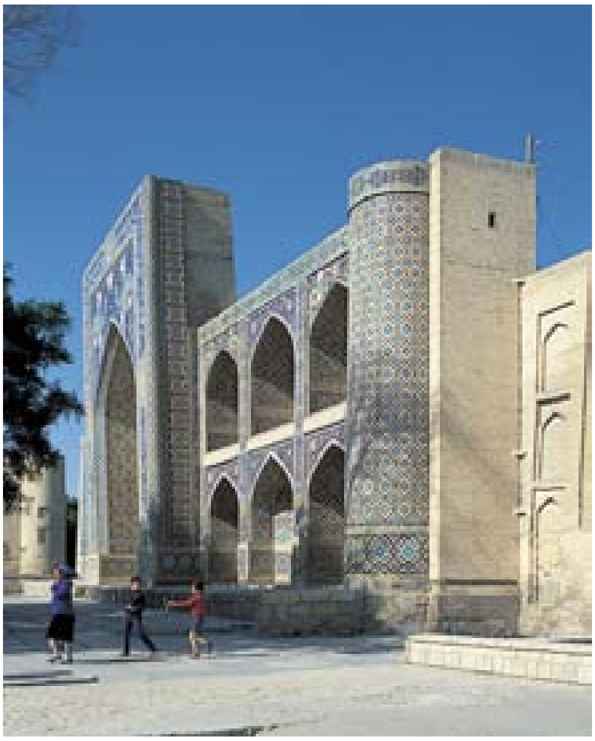


Fig. 17. Bukhara. Nādir Dīvān-Begī *madrasa*. (Photo: © UNESCO/A. Garde.)

In the 1620s the prominent grandee Nādir Dīvān-Begī paid for the construction of a *khānaqāh* and a caravanserai opposite to it, which Imām Qulī Khān (1611–41), the Janid (Astarkhanid) ruler of Bukhara, turned into a *madrasa*. Glazed brick and majolica were used in the decor which, in addition to traditional motifs, uses remarkable images of converging phoenixes (Fig. 18). The *khānaqāh* is a compact rectangular building with a central cruciform hall, crowned with a dome, and corner rooms. The main façade has an arched portal and towers at the corners.

THE REGISTAN

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the central square of Samarkand, the Registan, underwent a thorough transformation (see Fig. 5 above). Radical changes were made here to the magnificent group of buildings which had been erected in the first half of the fifteenth century under Ulugh Beg (1394–1449). At that time, positioned around the square were the *madrasa* of Ulugh Beg on the western side; opposite it a *khānaqāh* (with an unusually large dome', in the words of Zahīru'ddīn Bābur, writing in the early sixteenth century; on the northern side, the Mīrzā caravanserai; and on the southern side, a restored pre-Mongol Friday mosque and the small, elegant *muqatta*^{c} (carved) mosque, covered with sophisticated wood carvings.



Fig. 18. Bukhara. Detail of the Nādir Dīvān-Begī *Khānaqāh*. (Photo: © UNESCO/E. Eichenberger.)

In the sixteenth century the Ulugh Beg *khānaqāh* was dismantled, probably after one of Samarkand's fairly frequent earthquakes. In the 1520s, on the south side of the square of the Timurid Abū Sa^{c}īd (d. 1469), was built a *madrasa* which included a tomb for members of the Shaybanid dynasty. The *madrasa* was dismantled in the eighteenth century for its bricks, and the tomb, commonly known as the Chihal Dukhtarān (the 'Forty Maidens' of the Central Asian epic), lay in ruins until the twentieth century. Its hall, which contained a great number of gravestones, was decorated with refined mosaic panels, above which were ornamental wall paintings. In the 1930s, however, the ruins of the Chihal Dukhtarān were demolished and the gravestones transferred to a high square *dakhma* at the corner of the square.

In the seventeenth century Yalangtūsh Bahādur (d. 1655–6), the ruler of the Samarkand appanage and head of the Uzbek Alchin clan, undertook major alterations to the architectural appearance of the Registan. The *madrasa* was the only one of Ulugh Beg's buildings to have survived to that time, and its façade appeared to have sunk 2 m into the ground owing to the accumulation of layers of deposit over two centuries on the square itself.

The new construction work took almost 30 years. Opposite the Ulugh Beg *madrasa*, and on the same axis, another *madrasa*, the Shir-Dor, was built, which closely copied the composition of its façade (Fig. 19). The layout is different though: here on one side of the portal and entrance hall is a *dars-khāna* and on the other side is the tomb attributed to the Imām Muhammad b. Ja^{c}far Sādiq. Both these rooms have ribbed domes on high drums. The *madrasa*'s decor is lavish and varied, with an abundance of glazed brick and



Fig. 19. Samarkand. Shir-Dor *madrasa*. (Photo: Courtesy of E. Broncard.)

bright carved mosaics. Particularly noteworthy are the tympanums of the entrance portal where, on a finely coloured background, the following composition is repeated: an enormous striped tiger pursuing a small, running doe, and behind the tiger a large radiant sun with a human face. This is the source of the name by which the *madrasa* is known, the Shir-Dor (the *madrasa* 'of the tiger', lit. *sher-dār*, 'the one which has tigers'). The ornamentation of the *madrasa* is exceptionally varied: there are geometric *gereh*s inscribed with formulaic tributes to Allāh and many-lined inscriptions in the Kufic and *suls* scripts, and plant motifs (shoots, leaves, fine flowers and buds), the flowers in a fancy vase being especially well drawn. The names of three of its creators are preserved in inscriptions – the *mi*ᶜ*mār* (architect), ᶜAbdu'l Jaᶜfar, and two *ustād*s (master craftsmen), Muhammad ᶜAbbās and Hasan.

In 1641 Yalangtūsh Bahādur undertook the construction of one more important building, on the site of the old Mīrzā caravanserai. It combined a *madrasa* with a Friday mosque, since by that time Timur's congregational mosque (Bībī Khānum) and the pre-Mongol Friday mosque were in a state of collapse. After Yalangtūsh's death in 1655–6 his wife continued the building work for a further four years, but the outer dome of the mosque was not finished and only in our time has it been entirely reconstructed.

The layout of the building in part repeats the plan of the old caravanserai: a square courtyard surrounded on three sides by a single floor of cells, but by two floors ofcells along the main façade with the portal and corner turrets. On the western side of thecourtyard is the

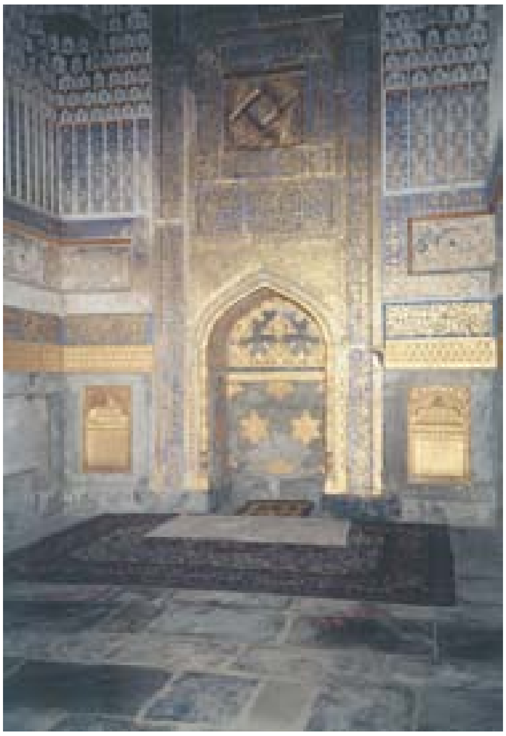


Fig. 20. Samarkand. Tilla-kari: the *mihrāb*. (Photo: Courtesy of I. Iskender-Mochiri.)

mosque's vast *maqsūra*, on either side of which is a many-domed gallery. The tiled decor on the main and courtyard façades is traditional. The interior of the *maqsūra* has rich, ornamental wall paintings with a lavish use of gold – hence the name Tilla-kari ('Covered with Gold') (Fig. 20).

THE CHĀR-BAKR COMPLEX

Outside the walls of Bukhara, near the village of Sumitan, lies the memorial complex of Chār-Bakr. It has taken shape over the centuries around the tomb of the saint Abū Bakr Sa^{c}ad and has served as a burial place for members of the Khwājagān order. It acquired particular importance in the sixteenth century owing to the authority of the head of that order, Shaykh Khwāja Islām Juybārī, who supported the rule of ^{c}Abdullāh Khān. The necropolis grew up in the form of fenced-in family burials on raised *dakhma*s, crowded with the gravestones of the newly buried. As a mark of gratitude and respect for the *shaykh*s, ^{c}Abdullāh Khān rewarded Khwāja Islām with a large part of Juybār in the southwest part of Bukhara, from where a well-equipped avenue (*khiyābān*) lined with trees was laid leading to the necropolis. In the centre of the necropolis itself, a group of three monumental buildings was constructed in 1560–3. Here the three types of Islamic religious building – mosque, *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* – were conceived as an ensemble. They rose on a common

platform, the mosque and *khānaqāh* projecting and the *madrasa* closing the construction at the rear.

There was a most unusual ceiling system in these buildings – a further development of the techniques which had been devised in the Timurid era. In the vast rectangular space of the mosque the builders raised 2 mighty transverse arches, reducing the space between them to a square, with lengthwise arches, and on the intersection placed a high drum crowned with a dome. A different scheme was employed in the *khānaqāh*: the starting-point here was the construction of 4 intersecting strengthened arches, between which was a system of reticular pendentives, the whole creating a 16-sided base for a lantern with 4 doorways, through which the light entered, and 4 blind arches; higher up a complex system of reticular pendentives was put in place under the bowl of the dome.

MASHHAD

The splendid architectural group around the shrine of Imām Rizā, one of the two main Shi[c]ite shrines of Iran, which had taken shape in Mashhad in the fifteenth century, was completed under the Safavids (Fig. 21). It contains the Gauhar Shād mosque, two *madrasa*s (Parīzād and Do-Dar) and a caravanserai. Between 1601 and 1606 a vast courtyard was enclosed with three high *aywān*s, with a pool and a fountain in the centre. The dome of the burial vault was gilded and under Shāh [c]Abbās I (1587–1629) two mausoleums were built – for the vizier Khātam Khān and the governor of Fars, [c]Allāhverdī Khān. Later, the *madrasa* of Mīrzā Ja[c]far was built (around 1650), with an adjacent caravanserai and a bazaar.[3]

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

From around the end of the eighteenth century, there was a marked revival in building activity in Transoxania and the adjoining lands. In the Bukhara khanate particular attention was paid to reconstructing the centre of government – the Ark of Bukhara (Fig. 22). Behind its walls there appeared a new palace, a treasury and a *zindān* (prison); every conceivable kind of service was established and above an entrance gate a *naqqāra-khāna* (drum-house) was erected, from which a drum heralded the arrival of the emir. A fine square was laid out in front of the Ark, on the opposite side of which a large mosque had been built in 1712. A colonnaded *aywān* was added to the mosque in the nineteenth century and the Bālā Hauz pool was built adjacent to it.

[3] Hillenbrand, 1986, pp. 789–92.



Fig. 21. Mashhad. Friday mosque. (Photo: Courtesy of H. R. Zohoorian.)



Fig. 22. Bukhara. The Ark. (Photo: © UNESCO/E. Bailby.)

KOKAND

In the Kokand khanate, which had been established by the beginning of the nineteenth century, substantial work was carried out to develop the capital, Kokand. In 1794 a vast *madrasa* was built, the Norbut Bī (of Nārbūta Beg); the architect was Muhammad Sālih of Bukhara. In 1815 a Friday mosque was built – an elongated building in the form of a large, many-domed *aywān* with a central winter room. The ceilings and stalactitic capitals were lavishly decorated with a stylized plant motif. A cylindrical minaret was raised alongside. In the 1820s and 1830s dynastic mausoleums were built – the Dakhma-i Shāhān for male members of the ruling dynasty, and the Mādar-i Khān for women. Resembling the tombs of the Timurids, they were domed structures with entrance portals, faced with glazed brick. The portal domed tomb of Khāwjam-Qabrī (Khwāja Amīr Qabrī), designed by the skilled craftsman Muhammad Ibrāhīm, was built in Namangān at the end of the eighteenth century. Its decor employed the ancient technique of carved terracotta (in places unpolished, elsewhere covered in a blue glaze), with the introduction of geometric, plant and epigraphic motifs.

BALKH

There was also a revival in monumental architecture in the northern part of Khurasan. In 1762–3, for example, a mosque called the Khānaqāh-i Kalān was built in the large settlement of Dehdadi in Balkh province. It comprised an elongated winter section and before it a summer one, opening on to the courtyard through an arcade on thick pillars. The design of the interior was lavish – its ceiling was encrusted with fantastical lattices of pendentives and stalactite work; walls and, in places, vaults were covered by ornamental carving in painted gypsum; the ornamental painting has preserved the name of the master artisan, Ustād Muhammad. Another village mosque halfway between Balkh and Mazār-i Sharif near the Turtqul (Dortqol) fortifications, built of sun-dried brick, also has summer and winter sections, the latter with ornamental wall paintings executed by a craftsman from Bukhara.

KHIVA

Construction in Khiva, the capital of the khanate, was particularly active during the nineteenth century. Its central core, the Ichān-Qala, which had fallen into ruins, was surrounded by mighty new walls and the Kunya (Kuhna) Ark (Old Citadel) was restored; the outer town, the Dishān-Qala, was also surrounded by walls and the old Friday mosque was restored. In the city and beyond its limits, monumental structures were raised and other

large-scale construction work was carried out. The architecture of the main buildings – mosques, minarets, *madrasa*s and memorials – followed traditional schemas of layout and volume. They displayed a rich tiled decor, especially in the Khivan and, more broadly, the Khwarazmian styles. The craft workers came near to perfection in the manufacture of decorative majolica tiles, which were dark blue, white and light blue with slightly raised plant and flower designs. The names of some of these artisans have come down to us: they include Asadullāh, Nūr Muhammad, Muhammad Nakā (Naqqāsh) and a particularly wellrespected craft worker, praised for his extraordinary skill, ᶜAbdullāh Jin, whose works could have only been accomplished by a genie!

The greatest achievement of the Khivan architects was their creation of architectural complexes and groups where new buildings blended in with existing ones. The rectangular Ichān-Qala was bisected by two main thoroughfares perpendicular to each other; and it was along those axes, beginning at the city gates, that government, religious, public and important trading buildings were erected.

Dozens of outstanding monuments have been preserved in Khiva: space does not allow us to list them all. Let us just note two of the main ensembles, which took shape mainly between the end of the eighteenth century and the 1830s. The first and one of the most impressive complexes in Khiva lies in the centre of the Ichān-Qala at the mausoleum of the professional wrestler and poet Pahlavān Mahmūd, who was canonized as a patron saint of the Kongrat (Qonqrāt) dynasty. Its main focus is the sepulchre of the khans, next to Pahlavān Mahmūd's *gūr-khāna*; in front there is a small courtyard, which was built between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The mausoleum was built by Mullā-Beg (Mawlā-Bek). Its dome hovers over Khiva and the main group of buildings is distinguished by a rich tiled decor, created by the above-mentioned ᶜAbdullāh Jin (Fig. 23).

An important group of buildings grew up between the end of the eighteenth century and the first third of the nineteenth near the Palvān Darwāza gate. Next to the gate on both sides of the street, lanes of covered shops (*tīm*s) and a restored bathhouse appeared; further on are three *madrasa*s, all typical of the traditional Central Asian style, the Allāh Qulī Khān *madrasa* standing out by virtue of its rich décor (Fig. 24).

Within the Kuhna Ark itself stands the governor's palace, the Kurnesh-khāna; faced with majolica tiles, it is the work of two craftsmen, ᶜIbādullāh and ᶜAbdullāh. The palace has richly carved wooden columns and doors. Another palace of a more intimate nature, the Tāsh-Qaul, stands at the centre of the Ichān-Qala: it also has extremely lavish architectural decor.



Fig. 23. Khiva. Dome of the complex of Pahlavān Mahmūd. (Photo: © UNESCO/A. Garde.)



Fig. 24. Khiva. Detail of the portal of the Allāh Qulī Khān *madrasa*. (Photo: © UNESCO/A. Garde.)

From a distance one's attention is drawn to Khiva's minarets, which, to a large extent, define the silhouette of the town (Fig. 25). They include the minaret of the eighteenth-century Friday mosque, the Sayyid Sheliker Beg minaret and the Palvān-kari minaret of the first third of the nineteenth century, but others were built later (Fig. 26). Khiva's minarets



Fig. 25. Khiva. Ichān-Qala and the minaret of Islām Khoja. (Photo: © UNESCO/Liu-Wen-Min.)



Fig. 26. Khiva. Muhammad Amīn Khān *madrasa* and the Kalta minaret. (Photo: Courtesy of D. Gaüzère, University of Bordeaux III, France.)

have a distinctive round form which tapers sharply upwards to an arched lantern, crowned with a stalactite cornice and above it a small pinnacle. The column is decorated by ornamental bands of carved or glazed brick.

No less noteworthy than the monumental buildings are the residences of Khiva, which have been restored according to the old schema between the eighteenth century and the present day. In each case a small courtyard is surrounded by a two-storey construction with a projecting roof on carved wooden columns and an entrance door whose leaves are covered with decorative carvings.

KHURASAN

A spate of building activity occurred in Khurasan during the reign of the Persian conqueror Nādir Shāh (1736–47), whose homeland lay within the region. Near Kandahar (Qandahār) he built a new city, 'complete with walls and citadel, bazaars, mosques, baths and rest-houses'; and in the Merv oasis he built yet another, named Khivqābād: a town with Delhi as its model and Indian craftsmen as the builders. Nādir Shāh lavished particular attention on the holy city of Mashhad, making substantial additions to the shrine of Imām Rizā (see Fig. 21 above), notably giving it its splendid Golden Gate. He built a mausoleum there too, where he was buried, but this was destroyed under the Qajars.[4]

Though Khurasan lost some of its importance under the Qajar dynasty (founded in 1795), it would be incorrect to say that there was no building activity. A nineteenth-century traveller found the routes marked, at approximately every 6–13 km, by masonry-roofed water cisterns, or *āb-ambār*s, which alone made travel in that arid region possible.[5]

[4] Lockhart, 1938, pp. 115, 194, 264, 277. On the grave of Nādir Shāh, see also Burnes, 1834, Vol. 2, pp. 83–4.

[5] Bellew, 1874, p. 298. Compare the *sardāba*s of Transoxania.

Part Two

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (NORTH-WESTERN REGIONS)

(*A. H. Dani*)

Early trends

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Tughlugh sultans of Delhi imported new architectural styles from Khwarazm, Khurasan and other parts of Central Asia.[6] As a result grand fortifications, multi-domed and multi-columned mosques and a new form of octagonal tomb were built in India[7] and Afghanistan.[8] For the next two centuries this octagonal tomb type dominated the field, as seen in the tombs of Sayyid Mubārak Shāh (1444), Sikandar Lodī (1517), cĪsā Khān (1547) and Ādham Khān (1561), all in Delhi. In the Sabz Burj in Delhi (1530–40),[9] a double dome was erected for the first time. Buildings with high domes resting on tall drums, such as the tomb of Sikandar Lodī Delhi, are other examples showing Timurid influences emanating from Transoxania and Khurasan. The Lodi dome is of a single shell,[10] however, and its height is not as great as that known from the Timurid buildings. On the other hand, Sikandar Lodī's tomb initiates a new style of garden tomb (*rauzah*) although in the present example the garden is no longer extant.

Later, the first Mughal emperor, Zahīru'ddīn Muhammad Bābur (1483– 1530), introduced to Agra a type of terraced garden of the *chār-bāgh* (enclosed, rectangular garden) style, so natural to the land of his birth, Ferghana.[11] *Chārbāgh* gardens were favoured by Amīr Timur in his new capital city at Samarkand and also in the city of his birth at Shahr-i Sabz. Bābur laid out several gardens in Kabul, such as the Bāgh-i Kalān, Bāgh-i Banafsha, Bāgh-i Padshāhi (Fig. 27) and Bāgh-i Chinār. At Agra Bābur laid out the Bāgh-i Gul-Afshān ('the Flower-scattering Garden'), also known as the Aram (Iram) Bāgh, and now remembered as the Ram Bāgh in popular tradition. It is situated on the left (eastern)

6 See *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, 2000, Vol. IV, Part Two, Ch. 18, Part Two.
7 Dani et al., 1991, p. 33.
8 Cf. shrine of Memo Sharifan at Ghazni (Koch, 1991, p. 37).
9 Koch, 1991, pp. 36–7.
10 Brown, 1942, p. 28, in his description wrongly says that this tomb has a double dome.
11 Nath, 1982, Vol. 1, pp. 87–94.



Fig. 27. Kabul. Bāgh-i Bābur. (Photo: © Andrea Bruno, UNESCO Consultant, Turin.)

bank of the River Jamuna, and has a system of water channels through which water flows from one terrace to another, enlivening the raised platforms at intervals. From this beginning, the Mughal garden developed stage by stage until it attained particular glory in the natural splendour of Kashmir. It culminated in the creation of the Shalimar garden, first in Srinagar and later in Lahore (Fig. 28), Wah and Peshawar in the time of Shāh Jahān.[12]

THE GARDEN TOMB (*RAUZAH*)

Throughout the Mughal period, the garden tomb became the archetypal mausoleum in South Asia, as can be seen in examples from the time of Bābur to Shāh Jahān. Only the simple grave of the austere Mughal emperor Aurangzeb stands alone at Khuldabad near Aurangabad (Maharashtra, India). Generally the main grave (as in the case of Bābur at Kabul) or tomb (as in the examples of Humāyūn, Akbar and Jahāngīr) stands in the middle of a *chār-bāgh*-style garden. Only in the case of the Taj Mahal at Agra (see below) does the tomb complex, including a mosque and its *jawāb* (complementary building), stand on the bank of the Jamuna at the far end of the garden, which was redesigned by Sir John Marshall at the beginning of the twentieth century. In these examples the garden acts as a surrounding frame to the main central building. It is traditionally believed that this type of

[12] Kausar et al., 1990, Ch. 2. The garden at Peshawar was destroyed in the time of the Sikhs: see Dani, 1969.



Fig. 28. Lahore. Shalimar garden. (Photo: Courtesy of A. H. Dani.)

rauzah is typical of Central Asia, where a garden is supposed to be a pleasure resort during one's lifetime and a permanent abode after one's death.

Monuments in Thatta

The development of tomb architecture itself is very instructive for an understanding of Central Asian influence and its integration into the local style. While the octagonal types of tombs continued to be erected in Delhi, we find another influence – introduced into Thatta by the Arghūn and Tarkhān rulers (1520–93) – coming from Khurasan. One sees it typically in the octagonal tomb of Sultān Ibrāhīm (d. 1550), with its tall pointed dome resting on a high drum, embellished with blue glazed tiles in the Timurid tradition. Each of the eight sides is pierced by half-alcoves, a method designed to reduce the mass of the brick structures. Similar workmanship is seen in the octagonal tomb of MīrzāJānī Beg, erected in 1601, although in this case the dome has collapsed. A slight variation is seen in the tomb of Dewān Shurfā Khān, dated 1638, where the plan is square but the four corners are marked by round towers. This new variety of buildings is entirely different from the earlier buildings at Thatta.[13]

[13] All these tombs are described by Dani, 1982, Ch. 5.

Indian features

In Delhi, Agra and other places in northern India, further additions were made to the simple square or octagonal domed forms. In the tombs of Sayyid Muhammad, Sayyid Mubārak Shāh and ᶜIsā Khān at Delhi, and that of Hasan Khān Sūr at Sasaram in Behar, we note the addition of *chhatri*s (kiosks) around the main dome – an elegant addition that reached its climax in the terraced tomb of Sher Shāh Sūr (1540–5) at Sasaram. This last-mentioned building is a charming creation in the centre of a tank, recalling the worthy tradition of Indian temple architecture. The tomb itself represents a happy integration of a Muslim domed building erected in gradually reducing terraces with its dome balanced by side kiosks, the whole placed in a typical Indian setting as if floating in a pond.[14]

Early Mughal architecture

To these Indian features the Mughals introduced the new Timurid taste and style of architectural creation. The setting was changed from the Indian pond to the terraced garden of Ferghana. The colour and surface ornamentation became varied. To the blue tones of Samarkand and Bukhara were added red sandstone and white marble; and to the dexterity of geometric and floral designs the Indian love for filigree and highly intricate carving brought charm and new shades to the surface of the walls. The Gujarati delicacy in representing the slender branches of trees was imported by Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, where it filled the tympanum of arches and served as mysterious screens to the windows. The slender wavy brackets held the beams supported on elephant backs.

Above all the tall drum and high bulbous dome were deliberately devised to accommodate and perfect the new technological device of a double shell – and this again was not left bare as in Central Asia, but was further balanced by subsidiary *chhatri*s, a device that removed the impression of the drum's height. The terraced platforms at the end added grandeur, and the sheer mass of structural masonry was lightened by the introduction of niches, alcoves and half-domes. The interior was enlivened by high floral relief on the walls, several different designs and patterns on the floor of the graves, created by delicate hands and inset with multiple tessels of precious stones, leading finally to the wonderful *pietra dura* work, all glittering and shining under the low dome of the ceiling, with just the right light percolating through the various types of window screens.

[14] Nath, 1978, Chs. 7, 8 and 9.



Fig. 29. Delhi. Tomb of Humāyūn. (Photo: Courtesy of O. Broncard.)

THE MAUSOLEUM OF HUMĀYŪN

The first extant example of the new type of tomb building is the mausoleum of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn (1530–56) built by his chief queen, Hājī Begam (Bega Begam), and originally standing on the bank of the River Jamuna, which has now shifted (Fig. 29). It occupies the middle of a *chār-bāgh*-style garden – the whole layout introduced to Delhi for the first time by the architect Mirak Mīrzā Ghiyās with the help of workers who lived in a neighbouring caravanserai called the Arab serai. The main tomb is of marble and red sandstone with inset designs on the façade; it rests on two reducing plinths, the second containing a series of rooms which were used later for subsidiary graves.

The building's chief innovation is its interior plan, which revolutionized the older octagonal type with surrounding verandas by introducing a central octagonal hall, set within a ring of corner rooms and interconnecting passages, so arranged as to produce a grand façade with a tall central arched portal and lowarched side alcoves with screens, each corner room topped by a low dome balancing the main high dome over the central grave chamber. The height of the drum is concealed by the tall portal, and the multiple arches and alcoves add variety to the façade. Although no towers are seen on the terraces, a series of pinnacles break the angles and straight lines, producing a soft effect on the horizon.

The entire design is unique, though the provision of extra rooms and passages is also seen in the mausoleum of Khwāja Ahmad Yasawī[15] at Turkestan (Yasi) in Kazakhstan as

[15] Pugachenkova, 1981*a*, p. 102.

well as in the Gūr-i Amīr[16] at Samarkand. These rooms, which have screened doors and windows and were meant for the recital of the Qur'an, provided extra light to the interior. The building represents the first attempt in Delhi to create a structure that is essentially Central Asian in concept, but combines the architectural tradition as it evolved through the Sultanate period and the new features inherited from the Timurids.

THE TAJ MAHAL

Humāyūn's tomb is *sui generis* – it cannot be said to have achieved perfection as the proportion between the height of the dome and the breadth of the building lacks grandeur. This shortcoming was resolved in the tomb of ᶜAbdu'l Rahīm Khān-i Khānān (d. 1626–7) at Delhi,[17] which attains greater height in its bulbous double dome and thus stands midway between Humāyūn's tomb and the magnificent Taj Mahal. It is in the Taj Mahal that Mughal architecture reaches its greatest heights – in grandeur, proportion, balance, symmetry and ornamentation (Fig. 30)



Fig. 30. Agra. Taj Mahal. (Photo: Courtesy of A. H. Dani.)

[16] Ibid., p. 112; Nath, 1978, pp. 263–5, mistakenly traces the origin of the plan to the Hemakuta temple, where the concept is entirely different.
[17] Sharma, 1974, pp. 120–1; Koch, 1991, pp. 78–80; and also Nath, 1972, pp. 46–7.

The Taj Mahal is a perfect symmetrical building that stands on its northsouth axis running straight through the centre of the outer and inner gateways of the outer court, right across the alignment of the fountains in the fore garden and leading exactly to the ornamented head of the grave of Mumtāz Mahal (d. 1631), the queen of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān (1628–58). The symmetry is carried to perfection even by placing a building to the east of the main structure to balance the mosque on the west. The rising platform is marked by round minarets at the four corners, tapering at each stage and topped by an attractive *chhatri* on pillars. The main structure is square, with the corners evenly chamfered and topped by *guldasta*s (turrets) with a high arched portal in the middle, under which open the arched doors and screened windows; each leads to the interior, where the perfectly arranged passages, connecting with corner rooms for Qur'an-reciters, all converge on to the main grave chamber, now enclosed by a marble screen. The external white marble façade seems to bloom in the moonlight, its breadth in perfect proportion to the gradual rise, stage by stage, of its height on a tall drum, smoothly concealed by the portals, and its vertical softened by the curve of the kiosk domes that merge into the gradual curve of the main bulbous dome, topped by a golden finial. The Taj Mahal is the apotheosis of architectural perfection, presenting a majestic silhouette of its varied horizons in whatever light one looks at it. The whole building, with its massive masonry, is made to appear lighter and lighter by the insertion of niches, alcoves and half-domes.[18]

Other types of mausoleum

From the Taj Mahal we pass to a world of a different architectural tradition in the mausoleums of the emperors Akbar (1556–1605) and his son Jahāngīr (1605–27), and the latter's queen Nūr Jahān (d. 1645), the first at Agra and the last two at Lahore. All of them occupy the centre of a well-laid-out *chār-bāgh*-style garden, although in the case of Nūr Jahān's tomb, the original garden is not extant. The archetype is provided by Akbar's tomb at Sikandara near Agra, which is entered through a highly embellished gateway. The main structure, which rests on a high plinth, rises in several terraces, gradually becoming smaller as they go up; the corners are marked by domed kiosks and the face is varied by arched openings, until we reach the top where in a small square hall the sarcophagus of the monarch lies open to the sky. This is a type-model of a design met earlier in Akbar's Panch Mahal at Fatehpur Sikri (see below). It is the mixture of marble and red sandstone that gives the building its particular charm; the main arched portal in the centre of each side defines the height of the building. The central archway opens into a vestibule richly

[18] Nath, 1972; Begley and Desai, 1989, pp. 46–123.



Fig. 31. Shahdara. Mausoleum of Jahāngīr. (Photo: Courtesy of A. H. Dani.)

ornamented with raised stucco-work and coloured in blue and gold. An inclined passage leads down to a high-vaulted chamber which contains the actual tomb of the monarch. Neither Jahāngīr's tomb at Shahdara,[19] near Lahore (Fig. 31), nor the tomb of his queen Nūr Jahān have terraces; they have a flat top without a dome. The decoration in the tomb of Jahāngīr is highly intricate, with mosaics, paintings and also precious stones inset in flowers. The original decoration of Nūr Jahān's tomb has been destroyed.

There are other tombs built in Delhi, Lahore and Agra on a similar plan. One remarkable addition at Agra is the highly ornamented tomb of Iᶜtimād al-Daula (1626), the father of Nūr Jahān, which is crowned with an Indian type of domed canopy in the centre with kiosk-topped octagonal minarets at the four corners (Fig. 32). It introduced for the first time in India the *pietra dura* technique of decoration, which some scholars have traced to Florence and others to Iran.[20] Another tomb is that of Aurangzeb's wife, Rabiᶜā Daurānī (1660–1),[21] at Aurangabad, which is a poor copy of the Taj Mahal. The mausoleum of Safdar Jang (1753),[22] built in Delhi, despite being a not inconsiderable piece of architecture, still shows an unmistakable decline in the level of art and design.

[19] Koch, 1991, p. 97.
[20] A European origin is argued by Koch, 2001, pp. 81–104.
[21] Koch, 1991, p. 127.
[22] Brown, 1942, Pl. XCI.

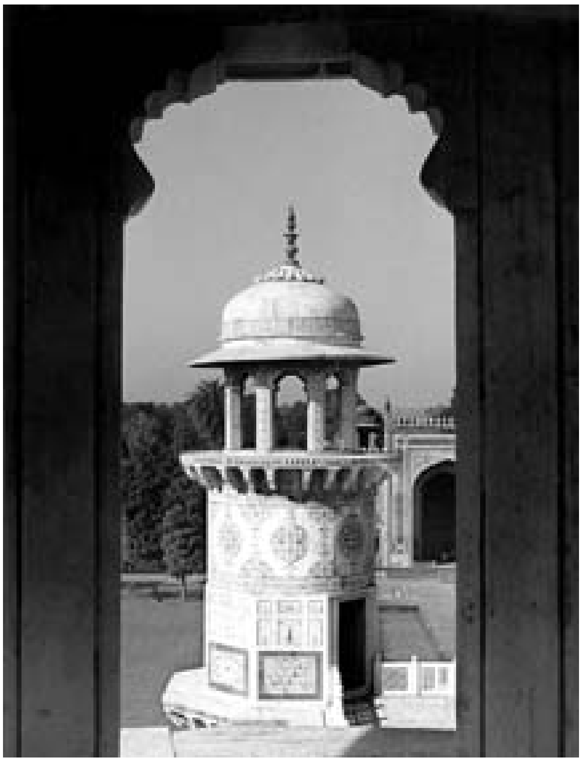


Fig. 32. Agra. Minaret of the tomb of I^c^timād al-Daula. (Photo: © UNESCO/Cart.)

Secular buildings

The major secular works of the Mughal emperors were forts, bridges, palaces, residences and bazaars.[23] All these buildings introduce new architectural types, such as the Dīwān-i ^c^Ām, the Dīwān-i Khās, public baths, private apartments, harems, residences and shopping places whose counterparts are found in Central Asia and Iran. Each major city, along with its inner fort, was surrounded by a great wall; entrance was by means of a monumental gateway, protected by huge pylon-like bastions.

The first fort was built by Akbar at Agra between 1565 and 1573 under the superintendence of Muhammad Qāsim Khān.[24] It has four gateways. The Delhi Gate on the west opens with a bent entrance to two passages, one leading through the Mīnā Bāzār to the Dīwān-i ^c^Ām, with a pillared hall right in front of the royal seat. The other passage leads to the residential zone, containing the Akbarī Mahal, Jahāngīrī Mahal, Shāh Jahānī Mahal, Khās Mahal, Diwān-i Khās and Shish Mahal – all facing the Jamuna. Other buildings include the Moti Masjid and the Nagina Masjid.

23 Koch, 1991, p. 75.
24 Husain, 1956.



Fig. 33. Fatehpur Sikri. Tomb of Shaykh Salīm Chishtī. (Photo: Courtesy of I. Iskender-Mochiri.)

The city of Fatehpur Sikri had no fort, but an encircling wall. It was built by Akbar in honour of the saint Shaykh Salīm Chishtī (Fig. 33), with whose blessing Akbar's son, Salīm (later to be known as Emperor Jahāngīr) was born in 1569. Although the whole complex took nearly 15 years to complete, the buildings present a variety of individual types drawn from the architectural traditions of India. Besides the Dīwān-i ᶜĀm, the Dīwān-i Khās (Fig. 34), with its highly ornate central pillar, and the Jamiᶜ Masjid (Friday mosque), we have the so-called Jodha Bai's palace (or correctly Haram Sarā), with its own particular characteristics, the Sunahra Makan, the unique Panch Mahal with its five reducing tiers, and the Buland Darwāza (Fig. 35), built to mark Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in 1572–3.[25] This last, a tall entrance gate to the JamiᶜMasjid, with its recessed interior, has a style of its own, but it reminds us of the monumental gate of Amīr Timur built at Shahr-i Sabz as the entrance to his Ak Saray palace.

The third Mughal fortress palace at Lahore, which originally stood on the bank of the River Ravi, occupies an older, pre-Muslim site. The present structures, which are contained within high fortified walls, include all the features of a Mughal palace and show the variety of styles patronized in the time of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb and the Sikhs. The most enchanting is the gorgeously decorated Shish Mahal, with a Bengali type

[25] Brand and Lowry, 1987, Chs. 2 and 8.



Fig. 34. Fatehpur Sikri. Dīwān-i Khās. (Photo: Courtesy of I. Iskender-Mochiri.)



Fig. 35. Fatehpur Sikri. Main gateway of the mosque (Buland Darwāza) from inside. (Photo: Courtesy of I. Iskender-Mochiri.)

of pavilion, known as the Naulakha pavilion (Fig. 36). The chief feature of the fort is the unique wall decoration with tile mosaics on the outer face of the palace wall. The whole technique and the theme of the decorations are derived from Central Asia and Iran.[26]

[26] Vogel, 1920, Ch. 3.



Fig. 36. Lahore. Naulakha pavilion. (Photo: Courtesy of A. H. Dani.)

In contrast to Lahore, we have in Delhi a well-planned city adjacent to the Red Fort, known as Shāhjahānābād, which Shāh Jahān created as his capital next to Agra. This is a unique example of an individual emperor's resort to city-planning on a large scale during the Mughal period. The city, which was polygonal in plan, had houses in blocks, wide roads, mosques and bazaars, among which the Chandni Chowk, with a raised aqueduct in the centre, was one of the most enchanting markets in the East.[27] To its north-east stands the Red Fort, which was constructed in 1639. It is possible to discern the influence of Shāh Jahān in the highly decorated parts of the Mahal area, particularly the Dīwān-i Khās, the Khās Mahal and the Turkish-style bath, where the floral designs inset with precious stones are visually stunning. The entrance passage through the Mīnā Bāzār to the Dīwān-i ᶜĀm, with its Bengali bent-roof type of royal seat and with a variety of paintings high up on the wall, displays the new taste that had developed by this time. The Bengali bent roof was chosen by Shāh Jahān himself. This type is also seen at Agra Fort in the two pavilions of his daughters and at Lahore Fort in the Naulakha pavilion.

Besides these fortress palaces we have also caravanserais, *baoli*s (stepped wells) and individual standing forts such as the Attock Fort, which are examples of buildings for common use and also for security. Following in the footsteps of the Sūr monarchs, the Mughals also constructed imperial highways. One of these crossed the River Indus, and

[27] Sharma, 1974, p. 142.

passing through the Khyber Pass, ran to Kabul. A number of caravanserais, *kos minār*s (towers marking distance) and *baoli*s lie along this road, as along other Mughal highways.

The new mosque style

Another important change during the Mughal period is the introduction of a new mosque style, seen in the surviving mosques of Bābur at Panipat, though those of his reign at Ayodhya (destroyed in 1992) and Sambhal are in local styles. In the words of Ebba Koch, the Panipat mosque shows 'an important innovative feature in the form of Timurid arch-netted transition zones in pseudo-structural plaster relief work applied for the pendentives'.[28] However in the Kachpura, Agra, mosque of Humāyūn (1530–1) the plan follows the design as seen in the Namāzgāh mosque at Karshi in the southern region of Uzbekistan. The typical three- or five-domed mosques are also seen in the time of Akbar and Jahāngīr. From the time of Jahāngīr, the high *peshtāq* (portal) in the middle of the prayer-hall façade became a common feature.

However, the three-domed Friday mosque at Agra, Delhi, Lahore (Figs. 37 and 38) and Peshawar became the archetype from the time of Shāh Jahān onwards. They introduced a type with a central open courtyard, approached by monumental gateways from three directions and the main prayer hall with corner towers in the middle of the western side. Of all these religious buildings the most ornate is the mosque of Wazīr Khān (1634–5), built in Lahore. It is in the planning and the bulbous dome that the mosques come nearest to the design of Central Asian mosques, but in the tall minarets and the ornamentation the taste of the Mughal emperors leans more towards Isfahan and Europe.

The Mughal synthesis of styles

Architecture from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century as developed by the Mughals presents a variety of buildings that owe much in their style, design and decoration to Timurid architecture in Central Asia and Khurasan. At the same time the Mughals also tended to draw on the older provincial styles of India. These provincial architectural forms, as seen at Fatehpur Sikri and in other buildings within Agra and Lahore forts, speak of the new taste of the emperors and how they endeavoured to integrate various traditions into a unique architectural style of their own. It is precisely this integration that has given us outstanding monuments like the Taj Mahal.

[28] Koch, 1991, pp. 32–6.

RAJPUT ARCHITECTURE

An interesting aspect of the interaction between the Mughal style of architecture and traditional Indian trends can be seen in the contemporary monuments erected by the Rajput princes (incorporated into the Mughal nobility) in Rajasthan and the northern part of modern Madhya Pradesh. They have a character of their own, which is popularly referred to as the Rajput style of architecture.[29] To this tradition belongs a group of temples at Vrindaban near Mathura.[30] Outstanding among these is the Kachhwaha Rajput noble Mān Singh's temple of Govinda Deva (begun in 1590), which presents a giant sandstone version of the Khurasanian vault type. For earlier Rajput work, we may look at the palace within the fort of Gwalior, completed before the coming of the Mughals and appreciated by Bābur. Known as the Mān Mandir, after its builder, Raja Mān Singh of Gwalior, it shows the bright colours and spirited decorative forms so typical of Hindu taste.

On the other hand, the palaces built between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries by Rajput princes in other former state capitals in Rajasthan exhibit the new elaborate style of the time. The transition from one to the other can be appreciated by comparing the buildings at the old Kachhwaha capital of Amber and the new capital, Jaipur (established in 1728), which marks the climax of Rajput palatial architecture. Above all it is Akbar's Kachhwaha commander, the above-mentioned Mān Singh, who has left his name in several places of the Mughal empire by erecting different types of buildings, such as the *haveli*



Fig. 37. Lahore. Badshahi mosque, built by Aurangzeb, 1674. (Photo: © UNESCO/S. Haque, 1959.)

[29] For details, see Brown, 1942, Ch. 22; Koch, 1991, pp. 68–9.
[30] Koch, 1991, p. 69.

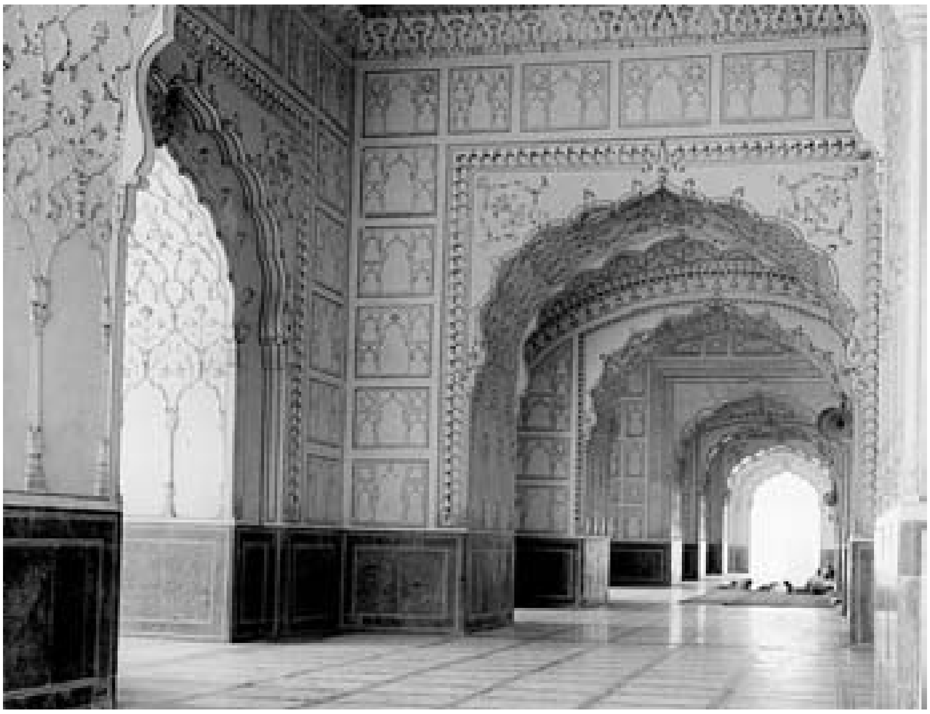


Fig. 38. Lahore. Interior of the Badshahi mosque. (Photo: © UNESCO/S. Haque, 1959.)

(residential building) within Rohtas Fort in Jhelam district (Pakistan) and two *shikhara*-(pinnacle- or spire-)type temples still standing at Attock on the Indus. These show that the Mughals' was not only a period of great architectural splendour but also of religious tolerance and amity among the different communities.[31]

SIKH ARCHITECTURE

In another part of the subcontinent, particularly in Punjab, where the Sikhs enjoyed political dominance during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a late form of Mughal style is seen, but there is a degree of decadence in design and over-elaboration in decorative motifs.[32] There is an emphasis on fluted domes, generally covered with brass or copper gilt, and kiosks that ornament the parapets, angles and prominences or projections. A type of multicusped broad arch or simple curvilinear arch is used in the secular buildings.

[31] Incidentally, Mān Singh (d. 1614) was in his final years Akbar's highest-ranking noble, the first to be raised to the rank of '7,000'. The essential facts of his life will be found in Blochmann, 1927, pp. 361–3. He is not, of course, to be confused with his earlier namesake, Mān Singh of Gwalior.

[32] Brown, 1942, Ch. 21.



Fig. 39. Amritsar. Golden Temple. (Photo: © UNESCO/Ph. Leclaire.)

The most important Sikh monument is the Golden Temple (the Darbār Sāheb or Har Mandir) at Amritsar (Fig. 39). It is placed in the middle of a pool, to which an approach is provided through a causeway. The main building is a square, with a fluted dome in gilt metal and kiosks at each corner, and consists of a large hall in the interior, richly decorated with floral designs. Another important building is the mausoleum of Ranjit Singh himself at Lahore (Fig. 40), again presenting a brilliant display of decorative motifs. The Huzūrī Bāgh, with a marble pavilion in the middle, was built as a private garden replacing an older Mughal serai.

In the old Mughal city of Peshawar, the Sikhs rebuilt the Bālā Hisār Fort with mud walls (later given brick-facing by the British); the Shalimar garden to its north was turned into a Sikh army encampment, and the city wall was rebuilt with new gates; the Qissa-Khwāni Bāzār was relaid along a straight street with houses and serais rebuilt in the Sikh style; and the Chowk Yādgār Bāzār was remodelled on an octagonal plan. All these changes were undertaken when Hari Singh Nalwa and the French General Avitabile were Ranjit Singh's governors here. The general himself lived in the old caravanserai, called the Gor Khuttree, in the middle of which was now built a temple of Gorakhnath – a tall spired structure with a covered passage leading to the Nandi shrine.[33]

[33] Dani, 1969, pp. 172–3.



Fig. 40. Lahore. Ranjit Singh's tomb as seen from Shish Mahal. (Photo: Courtesy of A. H. Dani.)

THE LATE MUGHAL PERIOD

In Awadh (Oudh) (in the present Indian state of Uttar Pradesh), we encounter the last phase of the Mughal style, that of the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century: it presents several new features, first displaying much Iranian influence and then becoming increasingly integrated with elements from European sources. Here the builders discarded the use of stone and marble and reverted to a brick and rubble foundation faced with stucco. Nawāb Āsafu'l Daula (1775–95) was largely responsible for giving a new skyline to the city of Lucknow by undertaking large building enterprises, the best-known being the Great Imambara with its mosque, courts and gateways, an Imambara of imposing conception, notable for its grandiose proportions. The second trend came from European sources with the appointment of a French soldier and adventurer, Major-General Claude Martin, in the service of the nawabs of Awadh. It is from his country house that:

> there developed in Lucknow a style of architecture of a pronounced hybrid character in which triangular pediments, Corinthian capitals and Roman round arches were combined with fluted domes, ogee arcades, and arabesque foliations, a medley of western and eastern forms.

The residential *manzil*s (houses) and many *bāgh*s (gardens) erected in the time of the succeeding nawabs illustrate the growing hybridization of architecture at Lucknow before the British annexed the principality in 1856.

Part Three

THE EASTERN REGION OF CENTRAL ASIA

(*Liu Zhengyin*)

The eastern region of Central Asia, with the exception of Mongolia, can be roughly divided into two parts with the Tian Shan mountain range as their boundary: Tian Shan Nanlu and Tian Shan Beilu (i.e. the regions to the south and north of the Tian Shan range). This nomenclature is derived from Chinese literature. Tian Shan Nanlu relies predominantly on oasis cultivation and suffers from frequent drought and low levels of precipitation, whereas in Tian Shan Beilu, a cool and damp region, the inhabitants lead a nomadic existence. The divergence in architectural culture found in these two regions is largely determined by differences in ethnic composition and economic patterns.

Tian Shan Nanlu

This region consists of the Tarim basin and the Turfan and Hami areas. As a region based upon the cultivation of oases, it has been populated by the Uighurs and other Muslim nationalities up to the present day. Thus it was also called Huijiang or Huibu ('territory populated by Muslims') in the Qingdynasty literature. The particular architectural characteristics of this region, whether religious or secular, are of the Islamic tradition.

Towards the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth, Islamic teachings filtered into the region and prospered rapidly thereafter. At the time of the Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century, areas such as Kashghar, Yarkand (Yārqand) and Khotan in the Tarim basin had already largely adopted Islamic culture, which had made its influence felt in every facet of society. Architecture inherited from the earlier styles in the region influenced the emergent Islamic architecture of mosques, places of religious instruction and other religious buildings. Mosques and places of religious instruction at that time were

mainly built of wood – except for gateways, windows and *mihrāb*s (prayer niches), which were built of brick and in the style of tapered, pointed arches. *Mazār* (tomb, or mausoleum) architecture was comparatively simple, the roofs adorned with multicoloured banners or upright pendants; the lavish and grandiose style typical of the later *mazār* had yet to take shape.

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, Islamic architecture in this region underwent a transformation. Architectural design and use of materials underwent rapid and sustained development, with bricks and glazed tiles becoming the usual building materials, and buildings becoming much larger in size and scope and more sophisticated in decoration. In places such as Yarkand, Kashghar, Aksu and Khotan urban architecture matured considerably, with lofty towers and buildings and domestic neighbourhoods crowding together.

According to an account by the celebrated historian of Moghulistan, Mīrzā Muhammad Haydar Dughlāt, a citadel was constructed at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Yarkand, most of which reached a height of 30 *sharᶜi* (legal) *gaz*s (1 *gaz* = 76.2 cm). The citadel had 6 gates, which were designed for great strength. The gates were located within the citadel walls, about 100 *gaz*s away from each other, and on either side of each gate stood two towers. Anyone who wished to enter the citadel had to do so through one of these gates, passing through the passage between the two towers. An enemy who attempted to attack the citadel would be met with a flurry of arrows and stones coming from all directions. Magnificent buildings were constructed within the fort inside the citadel; surrounding the citadel on all sides were some ten gardens, each having 'lofty edifices containing about a hundred rooms each'. The ceilings of these rooms were plastered with a coat of mortar and the walls were decorated with dados of glazed tiles and frescos. The rooms were furnished with shelves and recesses in the walls.[34]

From the sixteenth century, following the cumulative influence of Sufism, the phenomenon of 'saint-reverence' increased among believers and the sect of Naqshbandi *khwāja*s (*khoja*s) assumed particular importance. This not only led to great strides in mosque building but also to the construction of impressive mausoleums. There was also significant progress in the plastic arts, building techniques and the use of carved patterns as a form of decoration, as well as in the workmanship and technology needed to produce coloured decorative patterns, coloured glazed bricks and tiles, wooden carvings and plaster patterns (with use of gypsum).

[34] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, pp. 296–7.



Fig. 41. Kashghar. Idgāh mosque. (Photo: Courtesy of Liu Zhengyin.)

THE IDGĀH MOSQUE

The outstanding example of Islamic architecture of this period is the Idgāh mosque in Kashghar (Fig. 41). The initial construction of the mosque dates back to the early fifteenth century, when it was only small in size. In the early sixteenth century, the mosque was enlarged; it was subsequently renovated and gradually extended, finally reaching its present shape and size in the midnineteenth century. The mosque consists of a gate tower, a prayer hall, a hall for religious and doctrinal instruction and other auxiliary structures. The gate tower is located in the south-eastern corner of the complex. It is square in shape, with vertically level walls, and is built throughout of yellow bricks decorated with plaster. In the middle of the front wall is a huge arched gateway with a large, square gate at its centre. To highlight the beautiful shape of the arched gateway, the upper part is gently tapered and decorated with flower patterns on a blue background. Surrounding the arched gateway are five shallow recesses with tapered arches lining the left, right and upper sides of the front wall.

On either side of the gate tower are two brick towers or minarets (called '*bāng* towers', *bāng* meaning the *muezzin*'s call to prayer). These *bāng* towers are in the shape of round columns half embedded in the wall. The towers are over 18 m high with small, domed enclosures atop each one. Each tower lessens in diameter towards its peak, and the bricks used are arranged to form multifarious flower patterns. The two towers are not symmetrical,

the one on the left of the gate being relatively thicker and closer to the gate, while the one on the right is thinner and farther away. There are also shallow recesses with tapered arches set in the wall. Entering through the great gateway, one comes into a polygonal entrance hall covered with a white dome and a small tower on top.

Arched gateways on either side of the entrance hall lead to a very large inner courtyard. In this tree-lined courtyard there are two ponds and a brick path stretching from the entrance hall directly across the courtyard to the prayer hall on the western side of the enclosure. On either side of the path is a brick tower, which makes the yard look both neat and symmetrical. The prayer hall is a wooden construction with a flat roof. The building is 160 m long and 16 m wide and includes both an outer and inner hall. Each aspect of the hall boasts porticoes supported by columns; and the entire hall is supported by these tall, narrow, octagonal columns. The top of each column is simple but lower down it is adorned with arched recesses and set upon a concave plinth; the base of the column is of a straightforward, square design. The columns are delineated with oils, green in the outer hall and blue in the inner.

The outer hall in its front aspect is completely open to the outside and its whitewashed ceiling is supported by 140 carved wooden columns, which stand in a net-like pattern. The caisson ceiling is decorated with patterns of flowers and trees and geometric designs. The inner hall lies at the centre of the outer one, with three sides surrounded by the outer chamber. The walls of the inner hall stand high and have a *mihrāb* placed in the centre of the rear wall (the west wall); there is also an arched gateway in the very middle of the front wall. Around the edges of the gateway are decorative geometric plaster patterns. On the southern and northern sides of the courtyard are the hall for religious instruction and auxiliary structures such as bedrooms and bathrooms.

THE ĀFĀQ KHOJA *MAZĀR*

The Āfāq Khoja *mazār*, located in the north-eastern suburbs of the city of Kashghar, is a complex of magnificent buildings. It is also called the Hazrat Mazār (meaning the 'saint's tomb'). According to tradition, Xiangfei ('Fragrant Imperial Concubine' in Chinese), the Uighur concubine of the Qingdynasty Emperor Qianlong (1735–96), was buried here. The tomb was begun in the mid-seventeenth century as a tomb for Khoja Muhammad Yūsuf, the father of Āfāq Khoja, and was relatively small at first. It was extended when Āfāq Khoja was buried there at the end of the seventeenth century. He was the leader of the Aq-taghlyq faction and enjoyed a very high social status and reputation in Tian Shan Nanlu. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the original *mazār* reached its present size after continuous expansion and renovation. The present complex of *mazār* buildings includes

the mausoleum, four prayer halls, a hall for religious instruction, two gate towers, lodgings for imams, water closets and other auxiliary rooms.

The mausoleum is the central structure of the complex and is situated on the eastern side of the *mazār* enclosure, surrounded by brick walls. The base of the mausoleum is roughly square in shape, the four surrounding walls are each about 40 m long. A high wall with gates, square in shape, stands at the very centre of the front wall of the mausoleum, with a tapered and pointed arched gate opening outwards in the middle. On either side of the wall stands a decorated column with a domed top for a roof, half embedded in the wall, emphasizing its function as an entrance. At each of the four corners of the mausoleum building stand four huge brick *bāng* towers each in the shape of a rounded column, wide at the base and narrow at the top, and half embedded in the wall; a spiral stairway is built inside each tower, by which one can climb to the top; at the top of each tower stands a crescent moon. The centre of the mausoleum is covered by a huge brick dome, 17 m in diameter, which also has a small, simple tower with a crescent moon on the top. The mausoleum's grand dome is the largest in Tian Shan Nanlu. Under the grand dome is a spacious tomb chamber in which the arched tombs of the Āfāq Khoja family are arranged in rows. The whitewashed interior of the hall is permeated by a solemn atmosphere while the gradual gradient and height of the grand dome lend an aura of majesty.

The exterior of the mausoleum is 26 m high and is faced with light green glazed tiles from top to bottom; in some areas these are mixed with yellow and blue glazed tiles to create all manner of geometric and floral designs, together with prayers in Persian and Arabic. The gated wall and *bāng* towers are decorated with geometric designs, and the interior of the tapered arched passageway through the gated wall is especially noteworthy for its decoration of plaster patterns and multicoloured paintings. The cream-coloured plaster flowers delicately carved on the walls of the mausoleum contrast sharply with the large, whitewashed, tapered and shallow recesses set in the walls (Fig. 42).

In addition to the mausoleum, the prayer halls are also an important component of the complex of *mazār* buildings. Four prayer halls have survived to the present day: the green-roofed hall, the great hall, the lower hall and the upper hall. The upper hall was constructed after the mid-nineteenth century, whereas the other three were built in the nineteenth century or earlier. The green-roofed hall, one of the oldest structures in the complex of *mazār* buildings, is adjacent to the right side of the mausoleum. It includes an inner and outer hall. The outer hall, with three sides open to the outside, is covered by a flat roof supported by columns to form a veranda or portico. It has four rooms in length and three rooms in width, with its roof beams and wooden doors adorned with elaborate, decorative patterns and carvings. The columns are designed to bear a substantial load and



Fig. 42. Kashghar. Mausoleum of Āfāq Khoja. (Photo: Courtesy of Liu Zhengyin.)

are painted green. The floor of the inner hall is square in shape, while above rises a brick dome 11.6 m in diameter and roughly 16 m from the ground. In this inner hall, the space between the square walls and the base of the dome contains 4 storeys of recesses, with 4 at the bottom, 8 above, 16 on the third storey above that and 32 at the very top; these are surmounted by the great dome, which is both magnificent and exquisite in design.

The great prayer hall, built in the mid-nineteenth century, is located at the west end of the complex of *mazār* buildings, opposite the mausoleum. This prayer hall is made up of an open space at the front and an enclosed, brick hall at the rear. The open space boasts a structure of columns and beams with an open walkway to the front and two covered walkways to either side. The carvings on the columns are simple and elegant. The eye is drawn towards the decoration on the caisson ceiling, which is resplendent with patterns depicting mountains, flowers, trees and also calligraphy. The rear hall possesses an enclosed dome that is not decorated with patterns, but uses brick arches as the sole form of decoration, giving an impression of space and majesty.

The lower hall is built on low-lying ground and follows an older design which did not employ either decorative effects or carvings. It was constructed before the mid-nineteenth century. The other buildings such as the halls for religious instruction, the great gateway and the cells for the imams have styles of their own which complement one another in brilliance and make the whole complex a rationally distributed and coherent whole.



Fig. 43. Turfan. Amīn minaret. (Photo: © UNESCO/Sun Yifu.)

THE AMĪN MINARET

The Amīn minaret, also called the Tower of Sulaymān (in Chinese, 'Sugong Ta') and situated 2 km south-east of the city of Turfan, was built around 1777 to commemorate Amīn Khoja, the ruler of Turfan, by his son Hakīm Beg Sulaymān, at a cost of 7,000 *liang*s (32 *liang*s = 1 kg) of silver. The complete structure consists of the tower, the main prayer hall and the gate tower. The tower is situated at the south-eastern corner of the prayer hall. Beside the passageway under the tower stands a stone tablet upon which is recorded, in both the Uighur and Chinese scripts (now much eroded), the reasons for building the tower.

The tower, which stands 44 m high, is in the shape of a round column that gradually tapers skywards (Fig. 43). The base is 11 m in diameter and the rooftop a mere 2.8 m. A 72-step staircase spirals upwards from the base to the top and takes the whole weight of the tower, which is made entirely of brick without any stone or wooden additions. Built into the body of the tower are 14 open casements designed to let in air and light, each at a different height and facing in a different direction. On the flat tower roof stands a round brick pavilion with 4 open arched gateways, each leading to a platform from which one can survey the environs.

The way in which the yellowish-brown bricks are built into the body of the tower brings into sharp focus the 15 patterns with which it is decorated: rhomboids, triangles, ripples,

twilled trellises, six-petalled flowers, etc. As the tower tapers sharply upwards, the patterns on it contract gradually while remaining in proportion, each brick being shaped accordingly to fit the rounded nature of the body of the tower and aid its gradually narrowing entity without leaving any cracks or crevices, thus preserving the integrity of the patterns. The whole tower is designed to be simple yet elegant, using one colour throughout. The patterns vary enormously through the use of refined hues and tints, a style that is typical of Uighur Islamic architecture.

This tower adjoins a mosque, thus serving as a *bāng* tower as well. It differs from other mosques in the area in not possessing a courtyard, so the prayer hall is linked directly to the tower. The prayer hall, 9 rooms wide at the front and 11 rooms deep, is roughly square. It includes a central hall, a rear hall and several side rooms. The central hall, located at the epicentre of the prayer hall, has a very high ceiling. It is 5 rooms wide at the front and 9 rooms deep, with a skylight above to let in air and light. To the west of the central hall is the rear hall, which includes a recessed chamber and is topped by a large dome. On the left and right sides of the rear hall, as well as on the northern and southern sides of the whole construction, are domed side rooms with arched doorways leading to the central hall. At the entrance to the prayer hall stands a tall rectangular gate tower. In the middle of the front wall of this gate tower is a huge tapered and pointed gateway with a large, square gate at the centre. Passing through this large gate, one enters a sizeable entrance hall with a domed ceiling. From this, one proceeds into the great prayer hall. Through another passage on the left one reaches the entrance to the tower. The tower, the prayer hall and the gate tower complement each other and form a coherent whole.

ARCHITECTURE INFLUENCED BY THE HAN (CHINESE) STYLE IN HAMI

While the architecture of Tian Shan Nanlu was undergoing a process of Islamization during this period, it also came under the influence of the Han (Chinese) style of architecture prevalent in inland China. In particular, notable traces of the Han style of classical architecture can be found in buildings in the Hami area in the eastern part of Xinjiang. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that the Uighur prince in Hami who pledged allegiance to the Qing dynasty invited Han craftsmen to come and build palaces for him at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Later on, the Han style became more prominent when these palaces were expanded by subsequent generations of Uighur princes. According to sources of the time, there was hardly any difference between the Uighur palaces in Hami

and traditional Han garden architecture in inland China in the mid-nineteenth century.[35] Unfortunately, these Hami palaces are no longer extant.

The mausoleums of the Uighur royal family of Hami, situated to the west of the modern-day city of Hami, are a group of tombs where nine generations of princes and royal family members were interred. Of these, the Boshir tomb, which was constructed in the mid-nineteenth century, is the tallest and most magnificent. Boshir, the seventh Uighur chief of Hami, was promoted by the Qing dynasty to be a vassal lord of the prefecture with the title of 'prince' because of the great service he had rendered to the dynasty. He was killed in battle while helping the Qing to suppress an uprising of the people of Hami in 1867. To commemorate Boshir, the Qing ordered a special memorial temple to be built in Hami.

The Boshir tomb is 19.6 m long, 15 m wide and 17.8 m high, the base in the shape of a rectangle, and the vaulted ceiling arched. At each of the four corners is a round column with an arched top. The central door of the tomb chamber faces west. In the brick walls on either side of the triangular, arched gate are four symmetrical pairs of small, shallow recesses mirroring the triangular, arched gateway. In comparison with the tapered and pointed arches of buildings found in the western part of Tian Shan Nanlu, the lines of the triangular arches in the building are both straighter and sharper, apparently influenced by the traditional classical architecture of inland China. Inside the tomb chamber the caisson ceilings display multicoloured patterns, whereas the four external walls and the dome above them are adorned with every manner of decorative, glazed tile in a variety of patterns, the whole structure appearing both extravagant and solemn. Although the Boshir tomb has clearly been influenced by the architecture of inland China, with its fierce, straight lines as opposed to the more graceful curves found elsewhere, this complex is nevertheless largely typical of the Islamic architectural style prevalent in Xinjiang.

The greater influence of the architectural style of inland China on the construction of the tombs of subsequent generations of princes of Hami is further reflected in the transition to wooden pavilion-like structures. Originally, there were five tombs with wooden pavilion-like structures to the south of the Boshir tomb, but only two have survived intact to the present day, one of these being the tomb of the last prince of Hami. The inner chambers of the two tombs are built of mud-brick but the wooden towers on the outside make use of wooden columns and beams. The domes on top of the square tomb chambers are complemented by additional wooden pavilions. The use of tapered ceilings, domed to distribute the weight of the roof, derives from the Islamic tradition, but at the same time the

[35] Xiao Xiong, 1895, Vol. 2.

octagonal, sloping roofs of the wooden pavilions take as their guide the wood-based architecture of the Han style of inland China, a unique style in its own right.

This complex of Hami royal tombs also contains a large *idgāh* (congregational mosque). It was first constructed at the beginning of the eighteenth century and gradually reached its present size after countless later renovations and expansions. This complex of tombs, diverse in style yet at the same time forming a coherent whole, represents the most advanced level of mausoleum architecture in the Hami area from the time of the Qing. They are a good example of a successful synthesis between different cultures and styles of art.

It must be pointed out that the area still had non-Islamic buildings, including those in the traditional Han style. More particularly, after the Qing conquered the Western Territories in the mid-eighteenth century, new cities, also called Manchu cities, where Manchu troops and officials were stationed, were constructed throughout Tian Shan Nanlu and a large number of buildings, designed in the Han style, were built. But since these buildings do not represent the mainstream, no further account of them will be provided here.

Tian Shan Beilu

This region starts from the Altai mountains in the east and stretches as far as the River Talas in the west, Lake Balkhash in the north-west and the River Irtysh in the north. The region is rich in grassland and precipitation and is therefore an ideal area for nomads. After the seventeenth century, it gradually became the favoured area of the nomadic Oirat Mongols. Since the Oirat Mongols were followers of the Lamaist strain of Buddhism, Buddhist temples were constructed in some settlements. Apart from these structures, there were also quite a number of Islamic buildings in places such as Ili, where considerable populations of Muslims such as the Uighur and the Hui (Chinese Muslim) minority ethnic groupings still live today. What happened in Tian Shan Nanlu also happened here; namely, buildings constructed in accordance with architectural traditions from inland China were also built, more especially after the Qing conquests of the mid-eighteenth century. New cities and government buildings, such as those of the city of Huiyuan, were constructed, using the architectural traditions of inland China.

As early as the mid-fourteenth century, when Tughlugh Timur, leader of the Chaghatayid *ulūs*, who controlled the regions on both sides of the Tian Shan mountains, was converted to Islam along with his tribesmen, architecture in the Tian Shan region had already begun to show Islamic influences. When Tughlugh Timur died, he was buried in the present Huocheng county in the Ili region of Xinjiang. His mausoleum has been well preserved right up to the present day. It is a brick structure with a domed roof, 15.5 m high,

10.8 m wide and 15.8 m deep. At the very centre of the front wall of the mausoleum stands a large, tapered, arched gateway. The front wall and the inside walls of the gateway are all decorated with coloured, glazed bricks which are pieced together to form various decorative patterns. Around the perimeter of the gateway arch and on the walls on either side are inlaid inscriptions in Arabic. The walls on the remaining three sides as well as the dome are white. The mausoleum was partially renovated in the mid-nineteenth century, the only occasion upon which this was done, and so the original construction retains its basic appearance to the present day.

THE HUI GREAT MOSQUE IN YINING CITY

Following the sustained and sizeable immigration of the Hui Muslims from inland China into the area after the eighteenth century, many Hui mosques were built, particularly in places bordering the Tian Shan mountains, such as Urumqi and Ili. They were based on the traditional Han style of architecture from inland China. The Hui great mosque in the modern city of Yining is a typical example of such architecture. The original name of the mosque was the Ninggu mosque; it has also been called the Shaanxi or Shaan-Gan (Shaanxi and Gansu) great mosque. Construction was begun in 1760 and was funded by donations made by the Muslims of Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia and Qinghai provinces. It was repaired and extended in 1781 and renovated many times thereafter.

The mosque, originally 6,000 m2 in size, is an imitation of the Xi'an great mosque (located in Huajue lane, Xi'an) in terms of both structure and layout; it makes use of the traditional Chinese style of brick-and-wood palaces and is decorated with Arabic calligraphy, the two combining in a pleasing fashion. There was a front-yard gate (the first gate) and also a main gate, in front of which are a pair of screen walls shaped like the Chinese character '8' (*ba*). The central gate tower is a three-storey pavilion built in a style all its own. It serves as both a gate tower and a *bāng* tower. The first and second floors of the gate tower are square in construction with four distinct corners, while the third storey consists of a six-cornered hexagonal pavilion. The tower narrows floor by floor, with upturned eaves extending in every direction. With its glazed-tile roofs and multicoloured *dou-gong* system of brackets and crossbeams, its broad main gate and its multitude of edges and corners, the gate tower stands out as a significant structure within the whole complex.[36]

The mosque's tall and spacious prayer hall, a structure with a gable and hip roof (a traditional Chinese style of roof), consists of an outer hall, a middle hall and a rear hall

[36] *Dou-gong* indicates a system of brackets inserted between the top of a column and a crossbeam, each bracket being formed of a double-bow-shaped arm called a *gong* and supporting a block of wood called a *dou* on each side. The upper eaves are twice the thickness and projection of the lower eaves.

surrounded by three covered walkways. It is a spacious complex built in the form of interlinked chambers and can hold more than 1,000 worshippers. The recessed space in the rear chamber of the prayer hall is inlaid with Islamic aphorisms inscribed in golden Arabic lettering on a green background as well as circular flower patterns, both carved from brick. The hall's external walls are also decorated with bricks carved into multicoloured designs of flowers and trees and antithetical couplets in the Chinese script. To the northern and eastern sides of the prayer hall are the halls for religious instruction.

In the courtyard, the flowers and trees are luxuriant but evenly spaced and a stream meanders through the complex. Between the front-yard gate and the prayer hall there used to be ponds and jade belt bridges, which are now in ruins. Within the mosque the main gate, the prayer hall and the halls for religious instruction on either side are built in a pavilioned style, giving a well-integrated, rationally planned and most imposing aspect to the whole complex. The decoration of the mosque makes excellent use of resplendent colours: red columns against green tiles and golden lettering on blue backgrounds. The bright, lively colours together with the smooth and graceful lines of the mosque combine to produce a luxurious atmosphere and a heightened impression of beauty.

THE SHAANXI GREAT MOSQUE

The Shaanxi great mosque (located in Yonghe lane, Heping street, at Urumqi city in Xinjiang), the largest mosque in the Urumqi region, was probably constructed during the Qianlong and Jiaqing reigns of the Qing dynasty (1736– 1820) and was funded by donations raised by Muslims from Shaanxi. It was largely rebuilt in 1906. The prayer hall, which uses a brick-and-wood structure, is of the palatial architectural type of inland China (Fig. 44). It is not further described here because it was rebuilt comparatively recently.

THE UIGHUR BAIDULA MOSQUE IN YINING CITY

The classical style of Hui mosque architecture, with its elastic mouldings and beautiful decorations, has had an influence on the architecture of local Uighur mosques, with the result that such mosques include elements of traditional Chinese architecture. One example is the Uighur Baidula mosque located in the city of Yining (Xinjiang). The mosque was first begun in 1790 and was extended in 1865. Originally there were 34 rooms holding up to 1,500 people for religious services, and a religious school and an Islamic court were affiliated to it. The existing mosque is 1,274 m^2 in extent and consists of a gate tower and the prayer hall. The gate tower is no different from those found in the above-mentioned Hui great mosque, functioning both as a gate tower and for the *muezzin*'s call to prayer (*bāng*). It is a magnificent three-storey pagodalike structure with a base of great height and girth

but a body that is both narrow and exquisite, with painted beams and carved ridge-poles and soaring eaves on every side. The great hall is a beamed palatial building supported in its interior by 32 main columns; the external eaves and portico of the hall are carved with elaborate patterns of flowers.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE OIRAT MONGOLS

From the sixteenth century, as the Oirat Mongols gradually began to settle in the Tian Shan Beilu region, the Chaghatayid Moghuls, who had led a nomadic existence in this area, had to retreat to the districts south of the Tian Shan mountains. The Oirat Mongols lived in yurts, which could easily be taken apart and moved, and which thus suited their way of life as nomadic herdsmen. Moreover, they believed in shamanism which had no need of temples. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, following social and economic development, some permanent settlements did appear in the region. Meanwhile, the Oirat Mongols converted to the ‘Yellow Hat’ sect of Lamaism and began to erect Buddhist temples.

According to reports written by Russians who visited Tian Shan Beilu in the mid-seventeenth century, the Khobok Sari settlement of the Dzungar branch of the Oirat Mongols in the Khobok river valley was made up of three or more small townships, each township comprising one or two brick houses and usually one lamasery. Lamaseries were also built in the upper reaches of the Irtysh river valley in the locality inhabited by the Khoshots. The Buddhist temples were made of brick and were limewashed on the outside. Yet the



Fig. 44. Urumqi. Prayer hall of the Shaanxi great mosque. (Photo: Courtesy of Liu Zhengyin.)

places where the lamas lived were no more than earthen houses. At that time Ablai *taishi* (chief) of the Khoshots was building a small township and the craftsmen needed for the construction were all sent from the Chinese capital.[37] When the well-known Ablai temple (sponsored by Ablai Taishi), constructed in that period, held its inaugural ceremony of worship, the meeting was led by the eminent monk Zaya Pandita, with the participation of 1,000 lamas. The temple was one of the earliest ever constructed by the Oirat Mongols.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, with the further progress of the Oirat Mongols, a unified Dzungar khanate was established in Tian Shan Beilu. Under Galdan Cering (Galdan Tseren) (1727–45) two great Buddhist temples were built, one in Kulja (within the limits of Yining city in Xinjiang) on the northern banks of the Ili river and the other in Hainuk (the present site in the Chabuchar Xibe Autonomous County in Xinjiang) on the southern banks of the same river. The Kulja temple (also called the Golden TopTemple) and the Hainuk temple (also known as the Silver Top Temple) faced each other across the Ili river, providing an impressive sight. Unfortunately, neither of the two temples has survived.

According to contemporary accounts, the temples were three-storey structures, some 0.5 km in circumference, and covered with glazed tiles. The lofty temples sliced into the very heavens and golden streamers blazed in the rays of the sun. Enveloped by a vast spread of roofs held aloft by beams and ridge-poles, the temples looked both solemn and dignified. Lamas from all corners of the land came to stay in these two temples. Buddhist melodies from shell trumpets could be heard at dawn and from drums at dusk.[38]

The Kulja temple was later destroyed in war. In order to replicate it, the Qing emperor Qianlong had the Anyuan temple (which remains in good condition to this day) built in the Imperial Summer Palace Complex at Chengde. The Anyuan temple occupies a square plot of land about 0.5 km in circumference, with a gate on each of the four sides. The main structure, the Pudu hall, is a three-storey building with a double-eaved, gable-hip roof covered with black glazed tiles. The integral architectural appearance of this lofty temple conveys an impression of grandeur and majesty and it is therefore not difficult to imagine what the Kulja temple must have looked like.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE HAN (CHINESE) STYLE

After the Qing dynasty had established its authority in the area, the emperors began to build new towns to serve as military bases. On both banks of the Ili river, nine townships (among which were Ningyuan – Yining in Xinjiang, and Huiyuan, to the west of modern Yining

[37] Baddeley, 1919, Vol. 2, pp. 125–39.
[38] Fuheng et al., 1782, Vol. 39.

city) were built in quick succession. The buildings in these townships followed the Han style of architecture. The city of Huiyuan, the most important of the nine townships in the Ili area, was initially built during 1763 and subsequently expanded in 1793. Huiyuan was also the preferred location for the stationing of the Ili general (*yili jiangjun* in Chinese), the highest-ranking military government official who ruled the region on both sides of the Tian Shan mountains. As a result, the city became the administrative, military and economic centre of the whole Tian Shan region at that time.

When tsarist Russia invaded and subsequently occupied the Ili area in 1871, the city of Huiyuan was destroyed. In 1882, after the Qing forces had recaptured Ili, they began to build a new city to the north of the original site. All that remains of Huiyuan city today are its bell and drum tower and part of the official residence of the Ili general. The Huiyuan bell and drum tower is a tall, three-storey building, each storey approximately square in shape. It is 23.77 m high and three rooms deep and is surrounded by covered walkways. The tower and the perimeter walkways are roofed with multicoloured glazed tiles and decorated with carved lattice windows and painted beams and ridgepoles. The ground floor rests on a high brick platform, with a gate on each of the four sides facing east, west, south and north respectively. The official residence of the Ili general is heavily damaged and all that remains today of the original construction are the main hall, the east- and west-wing vestibules, the treasury and a pavilion.

Part Four

MONGOL ARCHITECTURE

(*E. Alexandre*)

The history of Mongol architecture does not begin in the sixteenth century, even though that period marked the beginning and development of sedentary architecture. Before giving a chronological account of developments, mention must be made of the role played with respect to architectonic constructions shaped by Mongolia's geological conditions and its continental climate.[39] The need to enable buildings to withstand frequent earthquakes[40]

[39] Tkatchev et al., 1988.

[40] There have been 300 earthquakes in Mongolia since 1905, many of them violent.

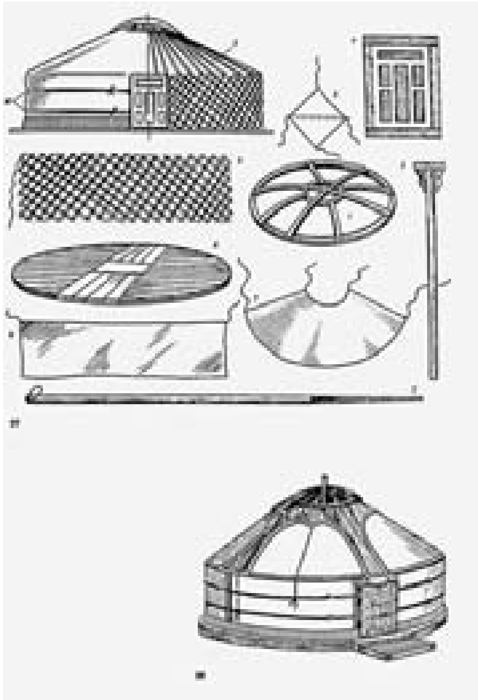


Fig. 45. Elements for setting up a yurt. (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre, after Maidar, 1972.)

may have been one of the determining factors in the development of Mongol architecture. Other factors must also be taken into account: 'hard soil', found practically everywhere in Mongolia, can be used for the foundations, even for monumental buildings; and finally, the freezing of the soil, down to depths of 2–3 m, has certainly influenced the traditional form of the national architecture, the yurt (*ger*), or nomads' dwelling, which rests on the soil, with no foundations, and has for centuries proven to be highly earthquake-resistant.

The history of Mongol architecture must attach due importance to the yurt, examples of which are found depicted as long ago as in Neolithic rock carvings. Its evolution over the centuries gave rise to a fundamental architectonic form that was to be the basis of sedentary architecture (Fig. 45): surrounding the circular space of the tent, a latticed wall made of thin intertwined willow lamellas supports a kind of roof, the *tôno*, which rests on the ends of long poles, the whole structure forming a shell covered by layers of felt (Fig. 46). This portable, residential yurt became a place of worship when Buddhism first appeared in Mongolia in the thirteenth century. It developed into a fixed temple which could be transported on ox-drawn carts during nomadic migrations. It was already a real building made of thick intertwined wooden strips held together by mortise and tenon joints. Its plan evolved over a long period of time: at first circular, it then became polygonal and finally square.



Fig. 46. Construction of a yurt. (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre.)

The yurt developed into a sedentary building with an area of approximately 20 m^2 and a height of 2–3 m. The structure then became bigger: the walls were pushed outwards, and between the 4 central support poles, other rows of 'pole-columns' were added to support a real roof: the *tôno* became a dome-shaped roof (Fig. 47). The poles were strengthened: originally covered with felt, they were later cladded with clay. In the final stage, in the seventeenth century, the yurt became a square wooden building, with a roof, as can be seen at the Da Khüriye monastery (see below) (Fig. 48): this is the building on which the national sedentary architecture was based before it came under various foreign influences (Tibetan and Chinese).

In the sixteenth century, a genuine sedentary architecture came into being and developed widely; however, it was almost exclusively religious. The history of Mongol architecture was thus linked to the political, religious and economic aspects of the country's history. Although there was no lack of palatial, and later on, urban architecture, it was religious architecture that predominated, fulfilling what were at one and the same time symbolic, social and political functions.

After a great era of conquests, the power of Chinggis Khan's descendants declined considerably (see Volume IV, Part One, Chapter 13). This was the result both of fratricidal power struggles and of the deep economic crisis of the country as the Mongols, expelled from the countries they had conquered, returned to their homeland after two centuries of war. Mongolia itself was parcelled out among rival states: Khalkha (eastern



Fig. 47. Wooden yurt with a dome-shaped roof. (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre, after Shepetilnikov, 1960.)



Fig. 48. Da Khüriye monastery, with a square plan. (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre, after Tsultem, 1988.)

Mongolia), Oirat (western Mongolia) and southern Mongolia. Few architectural vestiges remain from this period, from the ruins of Karakorum, the famous thirteenth-century capital, and the fourteenth-century city of Kondui. At the end of the fifteenth century, Dayan Khan (1470–1504) managed to restore some unity to the country (see Chapter 6).

The sixteenth century was a period of renaissance which was to change the face of Mongolia: it saw the widespread adoption of Lamaism, a Tibetan form of later Buddhism. In 1578 one of Dayan Khan's grandsons, Altan Khan (1507–82), prince of the southern Tümeds, wished to increase his legitimacy in the eyes of the Mongol aristocracy. He

therefore invited the head of the Tibetan Ge-lug-pa (Yellow Hat) order to Mongolia and was converted to Buddhism at his hands. The entire population subsequently converted, and monastery buildings proliferated throughout the country; naturally, the Tibetan architectural style was introduced along with Lamaist Buddhism.

The sixteenth century, which thus saw the beginning of sedentary architecture, soon witnessed the widespread development of religious architecture. Altan Khan was to become the builder of the first monasteries in southern Mongolia and the first city of that era, Bai Xing, the future Köke-qota (Hühehot), in today's Inner Mongolia.

Shortly afterwards, in 1586 Abdai (Abtai) Khan (1554–88), the Khalkha khan, had the first great monastery, the Erdeni Dzuu, built in Mongolia in Khalkha territory. From then on the Lamaist Church played a predominant role, both spiritual and temporal. When the Manchu (Qing) emperor of China subjugated Mongolia in 1691, the Chinese style became dominant in Mongol monastic architecture.

Religious monuments

Before embarking on a brief description of the various religious monuments, it should be pointed out that there were initially three types of monasteries, whose names have become confused over time:[41] *khüriye*s, circular in plan, and reminiscent of the ancient nomadic past, where the monks' dwellings used for worship, teaching and religious services were crowded together around the main temple; *süme*s, temples consecrated to a particular divinity, where nomadic monks gathered at specific times to worship that divinity; and *keyid*s, the dwellings of hermit monks.

The monastic complexes were usually situated on high land, with the main temple on the summit. There were two types of plan: (a) based on the Tibetan model, with the main temple in the centre and the other buildings arranged asymmetrically within the sacred area; and (b) based on the Chinese model, in a north–south alignment, with buildings separated by successive yards. Since within a given monastic complex, buildings were erected in different periods, one of the characteristics of Mongol monasteries is the coexistence of temples in different styles: the Chinese, the Tibetan and the 'mixed' Sino-Mongol, Mongol-Tibetan or Sino-Tibetan style that are described below.

THE ERDENI DZUU MONASTERY

Erdeni Dzuu, the first monastery founded in Mongolia by Abdai Khan in 1586, marked a decisive stage in the establishment of Lamaism. The sacred area was surrounded by a brick

[41] Pozdneyev, 1978, p. 26.



Fig. 49. Erdeni Dzuu. Brick wall with s*uburgan*s (stupas). (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre.)

wall 400 m long on each side, lined by 108 *suburgan*s (stupas) (Fig. 49). Over the next three centuries it was filled with numerous buildings in various styles, all cheek by jowl.

The first three temples (Fig. 50), erected in 1586 by Abdai Khan on a stone terrace in the Chinese style with turned-up roofs, are nonetheless evidence that Mongol architects had not forgotten their ancient tradition: they stand side by side, aligned on an east–west axis. Three buildings at the Kondui palace (fourteenth century) were already aligned in this way: in China only a north–south alignment is known to have been employed in temple-building.

In 1658 a huge wooden yurt (no longer extant), 20 m in diameter, was also constructed by Abdai Khan.

In 1675 the Dalai Lama's small temple was erected in the 'mixed' Sino- Mongol architectural style (Fig. 51). Here on top of the square building, evocative of the Mongol style, a flat roof is crowned by a pavilion with a turned-up roof, in the Chinese style.

In 1780 a new building was added – the Labrang temple (Fig. 52), which was both a place of worship and the Khutughtu's residence. It was the only monument with all the characteristics of the Tibetan style: massive, with stone walls painted white, three storeys high, a batter architecture with a flat terraced roof, a tripartite façade and high narrow windows.

In 1799 the 10-m-high Golden Stupa (Fig. 53), a direct heir of the Tibetan *chörten* (stupa), was erected.



Fig. 50. Erdeni Dzuu. Brick wall with s*uburgan*s (stupas). (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre.)



Fig. 51. Erdeni Dzuu. The Dalai Lama’s temple, 1675. (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre.)

Lastly, the design of the two *suburgan*s opposite the three temples, the tombs of Abdai Khan and his son, may originate from certain buildings of the Tang era in China.



Fig. 52. Erdeni Dzuu. Labrang temple, 1780. (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre.)



Fig. 53. Erdeni Dzuu. Golden Stupa, 1799. (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre.)

THE DA KHÜRIYE MONASTERY

Mongol tradition dates the construction of this monastery to 1648. It was erected by Abdai Khan's grandson, who was to become the first Jebtsündamba-Khutughtu, the first

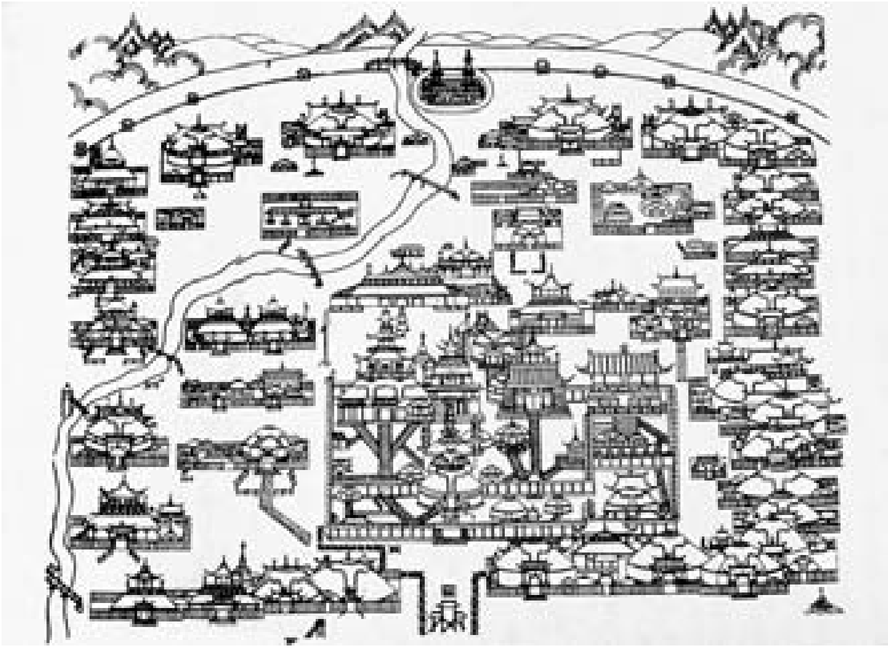


Fig. 54. Da Khüriye monastery. Plan, 1799. (Photo: Courtesy of V. Tkatchev, after Tkatchev, 1988, p. 72.)

reincarnate head of the Lamaist Church, later known as Zanabazar (Dzanabadzar).[42] The plan (Fig. 54), which he chose himself, is essentially that used by the ancient nomads: buildings surrounding a main temple. Zanabazar is also said to have established in 1665 the plan of the *chogchin*, the monks' main assembly temple, 42 m square. Its gently sloping hipped roof was supported by four columns. This mobile monastery (later called Ikh-Khüriye) was moved 20 times between 1719 and 1779 before finding a permanent home on the banks of the Tuul river. Having an extraordinary destiny, this monastery was to become over the centuries a 'city' called Urga, and then the capital of Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar) in the twentieth century (see below).

THE AMURBAYASGALANT MONASTERY

Financed by the Manchu (Qing) emperor of China, Kang Xi (1661–1722), this monastery was reportedly intended to house the mummy of Zanabazar, the instigator of Mongolia's submission to the Manchus in 1691. Work was completed in 1763. The overall plan of this Chinese-style monastery is ellipsoidal, divided into four sections. The buildings are aligned on a north–south axis, following the Chinese tradition (Fig. 55). According to Corneille Jest, who took part in the monastery's restoration:

[42] He was then 13 years old; he was to become an architect, a famous sculptor and a painter.



Fig. 55. Amurbayasgalant monastery. Temple of Chogchin, 1763. General view. (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre.)

the monument is generally considered to be in the Chinese style, and this is true with regard to its technical solutions, its secondary buildings and the appearance of the façade of its *chogchin*. However, the plan of this building, its elevation and certain construction details reflect rather an attempt at synthesis on the part of the Mongol architects, who combined certain elements of national architecture derived from the yurt model with Chinese and Tibetan elements.[43]

THE MAIDAR TEMPLE

The Maidar temple in Urga, built in 1838 in the Tibetan style, was a typical example of 'mixed Mongol-Tibetan architecture' (Fig. 56). Its massive body was of wooden beams, white-painted to look like stone offering a batter architecture, but its flat roof was surmounted by a yurt-shaped painted wooden superstructure. This temple, which was a witness to the synthesis with traditional Mongol forms, has now disappeared.[44]

[43] Jest and Chayet, 1991, Vol. 46, pp. 72–9.
[44] It was destroyed in 1938 during the great political troubles and religious persecution.



Fig. 56. Urga. Maidar temple. (Photo: Courtesy of N. Tsultem.)

Urban development

Although much less developed than religious architecture, urban buildings were known as early as the times of the Uighurs (seventh-eighth centuries), as can still be seen today in the ruins of Karabalghasun. (See Volume IV, Part One).

During the days of the Mongol empire, the capital Karakorum[45] (midthirteenth century) survived down the centuries as a great city. According to Tkatchev:

> this was the period of initial experimentation with stationary architecture and urban development, which constituted a synthesis of the skills the nomads had acquired in this field and determined the general direction of architectural development among the Mongols.[46]

The religious architecture of the sixteenth century saw the birth and development of the most important city of Mongolia. The itinerant Da Khüriye monastery, established in 1648, found its permanent home in 1779, after its final migration, at the current site of Ulaanbaatar;[47] the monastic settlement grew into a real 'city' with sedentary architecture, and was named Urga (from *örgöö*, 'palace' in Mongolian). When the Lamaist Church allied with the Manchus, Urga became the country's administrative and religious centre. The city was divided into three sections: the Da Khüriye, where the Khutughtu resided; the commercial area of the city; and, a little way off, the Gandan, a refuge monastery for monks,

[45] Liu Yingshen, 2000, pp. 582–3.
[46] Tkatchev, 1988.
[47] Alexandre, 1994, pp. 205–14.

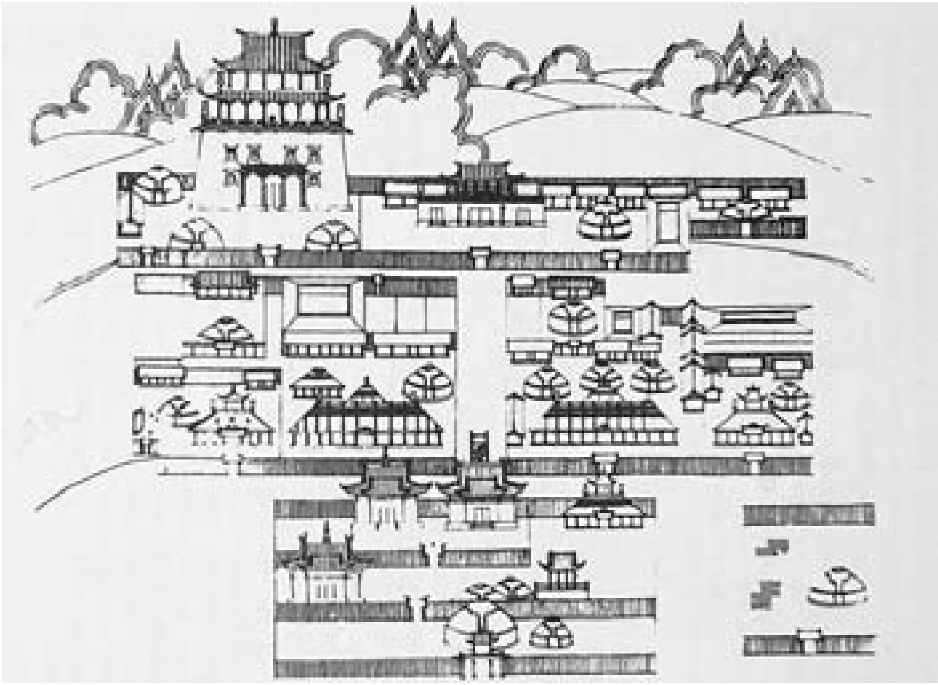


Fig. 57. Plan of the Gandan (religious and administrative centre). (Photo: Courtesy of E. Alexandre, after Tkatchev, 1988)

today's Gandangtechinling monastery (Fig. 57), where temples continued to be erected up to the end of the nineteenth century. Within the city, the homes of the *ambans* (Chinese administrators), shops and craft workshops were built.

Over the centuries Urga thus became an intellectual, political and commercial centre before becoming the capital of present-day Mongolia. The large number of monasteries, most of which no longer exist but of which we have accounts and photographs, attest to an architectural revival in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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ARTS OF THE BOOK, PAINTING AND CALLIGRAPHY

O. Akimushkin, A. Okada and Liu Zhengyin

Contents

Part One

IRAN AND NORTH-WESTERN CENTRAL ASIA

(*O. Akimushkin*)

Iran

The Safavids (1501–1736)

Iran entered the sixteenth century with a new dynasty, the Safavids (see Chapter 10). In the summer of 1501, Shāh Ismā^{c}īl I (1501–24), having defeated the Āq Qoyūnlū ruler Sultān Alvand, entered Tabriz and proclaimed himself *shāhanshāh* of Persia and declared that the state religion was to be Twelver Shi^{c}ism (*isnā-^{c}asharīyya*). That act distinguished the newly declared state of Iran, exerting a decisive influence on all aspects of the country's life, including the arts.

A prominent aspect of the arts patronized by the new regime was the production of manuscripts, whether lavishly and artistically designed or modest in their execution. In the sixteenth century the art of the illuminated manuscript was brought to perfection: splendid manuscripts were penned by renowned calligraphers, illustrated with masterpieces of the miniaturist's art, decorated with refinement and clad in elegant bindings. These manuscripts, which have never been surpassed, remain for posterity as *chefs-d'oeuvre* of the art of the Persian manuscript. They were executed by teams of outstanding craftsmen, assembled in the court and private libraries of Tabriz, Qazvin, Herat and Mashhad. A falling-off in the quality of manuscript production occurred at the end of the 1570s, although the overall number of manuscripts continued to rise until the second decade of the eighteenth century, at which time, according to the statistics of Monzavī, growth ceased and was replaced by a swift and precipitous decline towards the end of the century.[1]

[1] Monzavī, 1350/1971, pp. 283–92.

During the sixteenth century, as in earlier times, Persian painting remained essentially an affair of the court: the royal patron continued to play a vital role in its support. At the same time, it should be noted that connoisseurs and admirers of illustrated manuscripts were to be found in wider circles of society, and in less elitist milieux, something that had not been the case during the Timurid period (1370–1507), when the execution of illuminated manuscripts depended entirely on the support of members of the ruling dynasty. Thus, the basis of support in society for the artisans engaged in the execution of manuscripts broadened considerably. According to the sources,[2] the number of private workshops (in the capital) and private libraries increased from the 1550s onwards, and high-quality illustrated manuscripts were no longer ordered only by the ruler or a narrow circle of princes, but also by the aristocracy in the capital and higher functionaries, provincial governors and local dignitaries. What is most striking, however, is that the circle of patrons grew to include wealthy Persian traders and merchants as well.

It is worth noting that the great variety of styles, techniques and schools of Persian painting that we observe in the Safavid period were no longer wholly determined by the artisans working at court or in the capital cities Tabriz (up to 1548–9), Qazvin (1550–98) and Isfahan (*c*. 1598–*c*. 1722), but were also influenced by the schools and techniques of painting that developed in Mashhad, Herat and Shiraz, and the commercial schools of Shiraz, Astarabad (Astarābād, present-day Gorgan) and Khurasan (in Bākharz and Mālān).

There is no doubt that the emergence of the new currents in painting was substantially influenced by the large-scale migration of artisans (artists, calligraphers, decorators, binders) whose combined efforts within the very same workshops produced a synthesis of styles and lent momentum to these trends. There were both voluntary and forced migrations, the latter brought about by factors including instability, war and dynastic changes.

From the second half of the sixteenth century, the tradition of commissioning large and costly manuscripts with miniature paintings entered a period of decline (their execution was completely halted in the second decade of the eighteenth century, but revived to some extent in the first quarter of the nineteenth, under the Qajar dynasty: see below). This did not mean that production ceased entirely, but it did decline. At the same time as this change occurred, interest in graphic representational drawings and miniatures on single sheets grew, and such works began to circulate freely on the market in the following (seventeenth and eighteenth) centuries. As a result, this genre acquired a degree of popularity which is difficult to explain solely in terms of the fact that the works were many times cheaper

[2] See, for instance, Budāq Qazvīnī's notes on the family workshops in Shiraz in the middle of the sixteenth century; also Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1334–6/1955–7, pp. 174–7 (for Qazvin and Isfahan at the end of the sixteenth century).

than manuscripts lavishly illustrated with miniatures. To all appearances, a transformation occurred in people's view of the role, significance and position of the artist in society: an artist's work acquired social significance and resonance.

It is clear that a decisive factor in this transformation of public opinion was the change in views on aesthetics and the theory of artistic reproduction, i.e. painting (miniatures, frescos, figurative graphics and coloured drawings). Whereas the art of calligraphy was regarded, for religious reasons, as the only superior form of graphic expression prior to the sixteenth century, this view began to give way to the theory of equivalence of the two *qalam*s: the vegetal, the *ney-qalam* (the reed pen of the calligrapher), and the animal, the *qalammū* (the brush of the artist).

The first person to propound this theory was a native of Shiraz, the poet, historian and man of letters, Zayn al- ᶜĀbidīn ᶜAlī, known as ᶜAbdī Beg Shīrāzī (1515–80), in his poem *Ā'īna-i Iskandarī* [Alexander's Looking-glass] of *c*. 950/1543–4.[3] His concept was developed further in 1544 by Dūst Muhammad Herawī in his famous *Muqaddama* [Introduction] to the *Muraqqa*ᶜ [Album] of Bahrām Mīrzā (d. 1546),[4] in which it is noted that ᶜAlī (the first Imām)' was the first to draw back the curtain before painting and illustration'. Thirteen years later in 1557, his younger contemporary, Qutb al-Dīn Muhammad Yazdī Qissa-khwān, wrote of this view in his introduction to the *Muraqqa*ᶜ that he composed for Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76), as if it were already a generally accepted notion.[5] At the end of the century ᶜAlī was depicted in the celebrated treatise (1595) of Qāzī Ahmad Qumī as the patron and virtuoso practitioner of two arts: the written art, calligraphy, and the ornamental and graphic art, painting.[6]

Naturally, the change in society's aesthetic and ideological view of the artist's work ran parallel to changes in the artist's own awareness of the prestige and significance of his work. This reciprocal process first revealed itself in the increasingly frequent practice among artists of signing and dating their works, in the manner of calligraphers. In previous centuries this had been an extremely rare occurrence. At the same time, the growing interest shown by society in the person and individuality of the artist was reflected in contemporary written sources whose authors devoted essays to artists' works, recording not only the specific traits of their skill and their character, but also the novelty and originality of their works. References of the latter sort may be interpreted as evidence of a desire to revise the aesthetic canons of classical Persian painting.

3 ᶜAbdī Beg Shīrāzī, 1977, p. 103; Adle, 1982, p. 217 and notes 76 and 82; 1993, pp. 222, 294.

4 Herawī, MS, fols. 14a–b; for more details on this album, see Adle, 1990, pp. 219–56.

5 Qutb al-Dīn, MS, pp. 393–408, pp. 394, 397–8; see also Adle, 1993, pp. 222–3; Akimushkin, 1995, pp. 6–7.

6 Qāzī Ahmad, 1352/1973, pp. 3–5, 129.

Artistic life under the Safavids also gave rise to a type of book which, from the middle of the sixteenth century, very quickly acquired great popularity and prestige. This was the *muraqqa*^{c}, or compilation of albums containing miniatures or delicately coloured drawings on separate sheets, which were often mounted together with examples of the work of renowned calligraphers (either on the verso or alternate accordion folds). If such albums were at first produced exclusively for the upper reaches of society, towards the end of the sixteenth century their readership extended to groups occupying lower rungs on the ladder. The unimpeded, widespread circulation of miniatures on separate sheets made it possible to compile albums with different time-frames (for example, the works of old masters, contemporaries, single schools, single movements).

Such is the variety of schools, styles, techniques and trends in the painting of the Safavid era that the art form may be analysed in terms of its territorial and chronological dimensions, for each expression of this variety was associated with a specific atelier, a certain town and a particular period.

TABRIZ (1502 TO 1548–9)

Shāh Ismā^{c}il I's *kitāb-khāna*

To judge by the works that have come down to us, Shāh Ismā^{c}īl I preserved the *kitāb-khāna* (court library) of the Āq Qoyūnlū, which had a staff of 38 in 1476,[7] and attached it to his own court after taking Tabriz in 1501, inasmuch as the style of the 'Turkmen' court miniature did not undergo any appreciable changes until the 1520s. This stage was precisely recorded by the miniatures of Nizāmī's *Khamsa* [Quintet of Poetical Works] (Istanbul, Topkapi Saray Museum, H. 762). This manuscript was copied for Ya^{c}qūb Āq Qoyūnlū (d. 1490) in 1481; it contains 19 miniatures (initially there were 22, 3 of which are now in the Keir Collection in London, including 1 which is dated 910/1504–5). Ten miniatures were executed at Tabriz in Ya^{c}qūb's time and are perfect examples of the Turkmen court miniatures at the end of the fifteenth century, whereas 9 were produced in the reign of Ismā^{c}īl I. These miniatures exhibit virtually the same style, having been executed by artists of the *kitāb-khāna* with characteristic elegance, a decorative quality and imaginary landscapes. The only difference is that the figures in the 9 later paintings are wearing the typical elongated Safavid turban, the *tāj-i heydarī*. It is thought that the young artist Sultān Muhammad produced a number of miniatures for this manuscript. His is the large miniature 'Sleeping Rustam' (London, British Museum, MS. 1948.12-11-023) from a dismembered (or unfinished) copy of the *Shāh-nāma* [Book of Kings] by Firdausi (d. *c*. 1020). This outstanding

[7] Davānī, MS no. C 692, fols. 616–75a; Minorsky, 1939, p. 162.

miniature, which is entirely within the painting tradition of the'Turkmen' style, is executed with a broad palette and is also notable for its inanimate landscape, which plays a role equivalent to that of the main protagonists.

Although the manuscript of the *Dāstān-i Jamāl o Jalāl* by Āsafī was copied in Herat in 908/1502–3 (it is now in Uppsala University Library, O. Nova. 2), most of the 34 miniatures that adorn it were produced in the reign of Ismā^cīl I in Tabriz. They are clearly 'Turkmen' in style and execution, but 2 of them are dated 909/1503–4 and 910/1504–5, and many of the figures in these pictures are wearing the typical *tāj-i heydarī*. Only a few of the miniatures are executed in traditions resembling those of the Herat style at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Another manuscript which is undoubtedly associated with the *kitāb-khāna* of Ismā^cīl I in Tabriz is the *Dīwān-i khatā'ī* (a collection of poems by Ismā^cīl I). This manuscript (Washington, D.C., Sackler Gallery, S. 86.0060), which has aged considerably and has many lacunae, contains only 3 small miniatures, presenting idealized court scenes. They are more conventional (or less refined) in their composition than the miniatures of the 1481 *Khamsa*. This manuscript may clearly be associated with a direct order from Ismā^cīl. On the strength of the available evidence, it would seem that a further manuscript of Nizāmī's *Khamsa* (Istanbul, Topkapi Saray Museum, A 3559) was copied on the instructions of Ismā^cīl by Shāh Mahmūd Neshāpurī, who subsequently became a calligrapher of renown. This manuscript is illustrated with 74 miniatures, executed at a later date under Tahmāsp I, according to the canons of the early Safavid Tabriz style.

We do not know how many artists worked in the *kitāb-khāna* at Ismā^cīl's court but we do know that, in addition to local artists, it included masters who had come from Herat even before Ismā^cīl took the city in 1510. The young Sultān Muhammad was successfully employed in the *kitāb-khāna*, adhering mainly to the late fifteenth-century Tabriz style in his work. There were also calligraphers such as Shāh Mahmūd Neshāpūrī and his teacher ^cAbdī Neshāpūrī. It would appear that Ismā^cīl I devoted particular attention to the court atelier towards the end of his life, obviously realizing the importance of large and lavish books as instruments of dynastic propaganda.

In 1522 Ismā^cīl appointed as the head of the *kitāb-khāna* the remarkable artist from Herat, Kamālu'ddīn Bihzād (*c*. 1455–1536), whose arrival in Tabriz in the suite of the young Tahmāsp clearly coincided with this appointment. Prior to his arrival the work of the *kitāb-khāna* had been directed, since 1517, by Shamsu'ddīn Muhammad al-Khazzānī. There is no doubt that Tahmāsp's suite included a sizeable contingent of manuscript-masters from Herat. Among these artists were not only the pupils and followers of Bihzād but also masters from another atelier, which had functioned in Herat alongside the court

atelier. The painting of these artists was not so lively, light or realistic, being duller, stiffer and more academic, recalling the style of the period before Bihzād. None the less, these masters and their works played a vital part in the establishment of the school of Turkish (Ottoman) court painting between 1510 and 1540.

Some of the Herat masters joined the staff of the *kitāb-khāna*, now headed by Bihzād, whose role henceforth was essentially that of mentor. Bihzād himself worked much less than before. Clearly, he was occupied with his pupils, retouching and putting the finishing touches to paintings (see below the diptych 'Gūy va Chaugān' [Ball and Stick] and also the miniature of 1523, now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).

Shāh Tahmāsp I's *kitāb-khāna*

On his accession to the throne in 1524, Shāh Tahmāsp I inherited the *kitāb-khāna*, which continued to function at his court for almost all of the next quarter of a century. Naturally, its work was guided in the first instance by the aesthetic views of its patron, who wielded both brush and reed and was a connoisseur of the art of the manuscript. Moreover, Tahmāsp's tastes were influenced by the views and experience of Bihzād, whom he regarded with unconditional reverence. Thus two main schools of painting were now to be found in the court atelier of Tabriz: the Turkmen court school and the Herat school of Bihzād. The process by which they were to be fused into the new, early Safavid style proceeded through several grandiose and ambitious projects on which the members of the two schools collaborated.

The first of these projects was the great manuscript of Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma* executed for Tahmāsp I and referred to as the *Shāh-nāma-i Shāhī*. The manuscript was dismembered by Houghton, a former owner, and its folios are now to be found in various state and private collections, including 78 miniatures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and 118 miniatures in Tehran. These 118 paintings and nearly the whole text were acquired by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1994. It is quite possible that Tahmāsp's father initiated the project that resulted in the making of the *Shāh-nāma*. The large-format manuscript (470×318 mm) contains 258 miniatures, which were executed over a lengthy period, from *c*. 1522 to the beginning of the 1540s. Towards the end of this period, some of the artists were already engaged in work on another project. Neither the name of the copyist nor the date of completion is known. All of the margins are coloured and sprinkled with gold (*zar-afshān*). Only 1 miniature ('Ardashīr and Gulnār', fol. 516a) bears the date of completion (934/1527–8), whereas 2 of them have attributive notes with the names of the artists: 'Manuchihr on the Throne' (fol. 60b), attributed to Mīr Musavvir, and 'Haftvād and the Worm' (fol. 521b), attributed to Dūst Muhammad (Dīvāna). In Welch's view, a

total of 15 artists worked on the miniatures at various times, including such masters as Sultān Muhammad, Mīr Musavvir, Dūst Muhammad Dīvāna, Āqā Mīrak, ^{c}Abdu'l Samad, Muzaffar ^{c}Alī, Mīrzā ^{c}Alī, Shaykh Muhammad and Mīr Sayyid ^{c}Alī.[8]

Evidently, this project was initially directed by Sultān Muhammad, to whom all experts unanimously attribute the miniature 'The Court of Kayumars' (fol. 20b) (Fig. 1). This miniature is magnificent in terms of its style and clearly displays the innovative tech-



Fig. 1. The court of Kayumars, from the *Shāh-nāma-i Shāhī* (Shāh Tahmāsp's *Shāh-nāma* by Firdausi), *c*. 1522–40, fol. 20b. (Photo: © From the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan.)

[8] Dickson and Welch, 1981.

nique of Sultān Muhammad in its free, allround composition of the action. Thereafter, the work was conducted under the supervision of Āqā Mīrak and Mīr Musavvir. In spite of the grandiose scale of the project, it must be noted that the quality of the miniatures is extremely uneven. Some of them are unquestionably excellent, others are first-class while a third group are ordinary and conventional. The manuscript of the Tahmāsp *Shāh-nāma* was a masterpiece of the Tabriz *kitāb-khāna* that was never surpassed; the miniatures it contains reflect practically all of the stylistic trends of Persian book painting at various stages of its development from the 1480s and 1490s onwards, including the early Safavid Tabriz style.

Another masterpiece that does not bear the name of the calligrapher and may have been part of a second project is the undated and now dismounted manuscript of the *Dīwān-i Hāfiz* of *c*. 1527, formerly in the Cartier private collection. The manuscript was clearly executed in Tabriz although one of the four miniatures (there were originally five), the 'Feast of ᶜĪd', painted by Sultān Muhammad, is dedicated to Sām Mīrzā, the brother of Tahmāsp I, who ruled in Herat from 1522 to 1527. The miniatures in this manuscript clearly show the differences between the two schools: the Turkmen court school and the Herat school of Bihzād.

Another manuscript of Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma* (St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, MS. D184) (Fig. 2) was copied at a slightly earlier date (931/1524) in Tabriz, and contains 27 miniatures, the work of between 4 and 6 artists engaged in the project of the Tahmāsp *Shāh-nāma*. The manuscript is remarkable in that it records some artistic trends, the convergence and adaptation of certain styles and the first steps in the formation of the style that was later to be known as the early Safavid style, that is to say, the Tabriz school of the first half of the sixteenth century.

In the year 931/1524–5, the 12-year-old Tahmāsp I copied the poem *Gūy va Chaugān* by ᶜĀrifī. This delightful, small (290×190 mm), exquisitely decorated manuscript (St Petersburg, Russian National Library, MS. Dorn 441) is adorned with 19 miniatures, the work of Bihzād and 4 other leading artists of the atelier. The miniatures are not signed but it is thought that Bihzād put the finishing touches to the diptych (fols. 1b, 2a) and that the artist Sultān Muhammad painted 7 miniatures, 3 of which he executed jointly with the young shah. Āqā Mīrak painted 3, Mīr Musavvir, 1, and Dūst Dīvāna, 6 miniatures.

Another equally outstanding manuscript is the Nizāmī *Khamsa* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 13.288.7) copied by the calligrapher Sultān Muhammad-i Nūr in the same year, 931/1524–5. Most of the 16 miniatures in this manuscript are believed to be the work of Shaykhzāda. To him are also attributed the 5 or 6 miniatures in the



Fig. 2. Iskandar in search of the water of life. Folio from Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma*, 931/1524. Calligrapher Muhammad al-Herawī. Tabriz. (Photo: Courtesy of the St Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, MS. D184, fol. 388a.)

manuscript of the *Dīwān-i Nawā'ī* [Collection of Poems by ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī] copied in Herat in 933/1526–7 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Turc 316–317).

Another ambitious project undertaken in the Tabriz *kitāb-khāna* was the manuscript of Nizāmī's *Khamsa*. This was executed by the master calligrapher Shāh Mahmūd Neshāpūrī between 1539 and 1543. The manuscript is a true masterpiece of the art of the book. It measures 360×250 mm and is decorated with 14 miniatures (of the 3 that have been removed from the manuscript, 2 are now in the Sackler Museum, Cambridge, Mass., and 1 in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh). Muhammad Zamān from Qum added 3 more miniatures to the manuscript in 1675–6; none the less, it was never fully illustrated. The miniatures bear notes attributing them to the most famous artists of the *kitāb-khāna*: Sultān Muhammad and his son, Mīrzā ᶜAlī. The name of Mīr Musavvir and the date 946/1539–40 are noted below a couplet in the miniature, 'Anūshirvān and his Vizier Contemplate the Ruins'. In principle, the *Khamsa* provides the most complete picture of the Tabriz style as it developed, although, at the same time, it may be noted that the main components of early Safavid painting are closely linked with both the Turkmen court style and the Herat style of Bihzād.

Dūst Muhammad Herawī provides a very detailed account of the establishment of Tahmāsp's court library, naming the leading masters who worked there in 951/1544–5. Taking into account the reports of other sources, it would appear that there were in all 21

masters working in the library (calligraphers, painters, copiers, etc.). This figure takes no account, of course, of pupils and apprentices. Bihzād was succeeded as head of the atelier by Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad Mu'min, who departed for India when the atelier was dissolved.

Tahmāsp I, who was obsessed by the fact that the Ottomans had managed to take Tabriz in 1548, decided to move the capital to the town of Qazvin, further from the theatre of any possible military operations. It was evidently at that time (if not later, in 1549), that Tahmāsp lost interest in his creation, the *kitāb-khāna*, in which at least two generations of remarkable masters had worked for a quarter of a century. They were virtually dismissed, with the exception of the calligrapher Dūst Muhammad, who was retained in the shah's service.

The masters dispersed throughout the region in search of work and patrons. Some of them travelled to Istanbul; others to Kabul to Bābur's successor, Humāyūn, in exile; and yet others to the courts of the independent rulers of the Deccan. Lastly, a few settled in Qazvin, where they continued to work within the canons of the Tabriz style. According to the sources, Tahmāsp reconstituted the *kitāb-khāna* in Qazvin in the early 1560s, but its output was much smaller and less intense than what it had been in Tabriz.[9] None the less, it could count 10 'masters of brush and pen', including the calligraphers Mālik Daylamī and Khalīl Allāh Shāh, the gilders Hasan Baghdādī and ᶜAbdullāh Shīrāzī and the painters Muzaffar ᶜAlī, ᶜAbdu'l Jabbār, Siyāvush Beg Gurjī, ᶜAlī Asghar Kāshī and ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Kāshī. In all likelihood, it was within the walls of this *kitāb-khāna*, on the command of Tahmāsp, that the manuscript of the *Fāl-nāma* [Book of Auguries] was penned.[10]

MASHHAD (*c.* 1550–89)

In 1556 Ibrāhīm Sultān (1543–77), the son of Tahmāsp's brother, Bahrām Mīrzā, was appointed governor of Mashhad, remaining in that post until 1564. On his arrival, this gifted youth commissioned from a number of masters a copy of the 7 poems, the *Haft Aurang* [Seven Thrones] by ᶜAbdu'l Rahmān Jāmī. Work on this splendid manuscript (Washington D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, 46.12.) (Fig. 3)[11] continued, with interruptions, for 9 years (1556–65). The 7 poems were copied by outstanding calligraphers whose names have entered the pantheon. The entire manuscript was designed by ᶜAbdullāh Shīrāzī. The work contains 28 superb miniatures, evidently executed by 6 painters. The miniatures differ in style and execution: if some may be compared with the work of the Tabriz school

[9] Stchoukine, 1959, pp. 86–98.

[10] This large-format work (590×445 mm) has not survived intact but some unsigned miniatures (about 28) are extant. One of these is now in Geneva (Museum of Art and History, N 1971–107/35).

[11] Simpson, 1982, pp. 93–119.



Fig. 3. Folio from the *Haft Aurang* by Abdu'l Rahmān Jāmī, 1556–65. Mashhad. (Photo: © Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase F1946.12. 132a)

at its height, others reveal a new and original trend in their conception and execution. The miniatures contained in the *Haft Aurang* reflect the increasing trend towards a languorous style that was later to become the main ingredient in the traditional painting of the Isfahan school for the whole of the seventeenth century.

Naturally, the output of Ibrāhīm Sultān's atelier could not be compared with that of the court *kitāb-khāna* in Tabriz. The works produced in the Mashhad style include a large double miniature: a frontispiece illustrating a hunting scene (depicting Ibrāhīm Sultān?) and pasted into the manuscript of the *Silsilat al-zahab* [The Golden Chain] by ᶜAbd al-Rahmān Jāmī (St Petersburg, Russian National Library, MS. Dorn. 434, fols. 1b-2a). The diptych, which was evidently painted around 1560–5, is very similar in style to the Mashhad school and highly reminiscent of the hand of Mīrzā ᶜAlī.

QAZVIN (1550–98)

A new school was formed in Qazvin in the 1560s and early 1570s, chiefly through the efforts of a new generation of artists who were not constrained by the traditions of Tabriz;

the style and canon of this new school were described by Stchoukine as baroque.[12] This decorative style was most strikingly expressed in individual miniatures and coloured drawings on separate sheets, often depicting single figures or young couples. These drawings represent a search for the ideal beauty of youth and sensual allure. There is therefore no question of any attempt at portraiture. And yet these drawings are, to some extent, ethnographic, showing everyday clothes, dress uniforms, military equipment, horses' harnesses and so on. The technique employed in their execution is of the highest order: sure, crisp lines and contours and a palette that sharply defines the figures against the background of a very schematic landscape. This genre was pioneered by Muhammadī, a remarkable painter from Herat whose work significantly anticipated and predetermined the style employed in the genre in Isfahan during the first half of the seventeenth century. It is worth noting that the tradition of lavish illustrated manuscripts persisted albeit on a much reduced scale.

On his accession to the throne, Shāh Ismā^c^īl II, who ruled for just one and a half years (1576–7), almost immediately set about the reorganization of the court *kitāb-khāna*, in which, according to the sources, 12 artists worked together with 2 calligraphers and 2 gilders (*muzahheb*s).[13] The head of the *kitāb-khāna* was clearly Mīr Zayn al-^c^Ābidīn, Sultān Muhammad's nephew. The new establishment was instructed to produce a large manuscript of the *Shāh-nāma*. At first, the project was directed by the well-known if very elderly Muzaffar ^c^Alī, who enlisted the services of his pupils, Sādiqī Beg Afshār and Siyāvush Beg Gurjī. This manuscript was evidently never completed. Fifty-two miniatures remain. All of them have attribution marks, applied by the same hand – obviously the *kitābdār* (librarian) – and corresponding to the names of 8 masters: Sādiqī Beg and Siyāvush Beg (mentioned above), Naqdī, Murād, Zayn al-^c^Ābidīn, Mihrāb, ^c^Alī Asghar Kāshānī and Burjī.[14] The miniatures were executed in a highly professional manner in the typical style of the Qazvin school. They are not notable for any particular individuality but neither do they appear especially refined or mannered.

The death of Ismā^c^īl II obliged the master craftsmen to leave the court *kitāb-khāna* since the shah's elder brother and successor, Sultān Muhammad Khudābanda (1578–87), showed no interest in it. In search of employment, they had to disperse throughout the land to the courts of the local rulers (Gilan, Mazandaran) and Safavid governors (Mashhad, Shiraz). Some of them found refuge in Herat with the khans of the Shāmlū clan. Thus Muhammadī Musavvir painted in Herat the portrait of the first regent of the future Shāh ^c^Abbās, ^c^Alī

[12] Stchoukine, 1959, pp. 89–90, 145, 162–3, 181–2, 192–3.
[13] A. Welch, 1976, pp. 162–3; Robinson, 1976, pp. 1–8.
[14] Robinson, 1976, p. 108; 1988, pp. 125–8.

Qulī Khān, who was killed in 1588.[15] During the period from 1588 to 1598, these masters of the manuscript book continued to work in Herat under the Shaybanid rulers, paying occasional visits to Bukhara, Balkh and Samarkand, where they exercised an important influence on the formation of the new Bukhara school of the seventeenth century.

During the period from 1598 to 1620, after Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629) had restored Khurasan to the fold of the Safavid empire, a *kitāb-khāna* functioned at the court of the Shāmlū governors, Husayn Khān and his son Hasan. This atelier produced 20 or so extremely fine manuscripts: a *Shāh-nāma* of 1008/1599 with 44 miniatures (Sotheby, Sale Catalogue, New York, 2 May 1975), a *Dīwān-i Hāfiz* (Windsor Castle, Royal Library, N RSIN.10050.17) and an *Iskandar-nāma* [The Book of Alexander] of Nizāmī (Tehran, Golestan Palace Library, N566). The miniatures in these manuscripts are eclectic: landscapes in the Qazvin-Mashhad style are to be found alongside classical Herat sixteenth-century compositions; the treatment of human figures, their clothes and, particularly, their faces appears to anticipate the Isfahan style of the seventeenth century even though the paintings are executed in the traditions of the classical Persian miniature of the sixteenth century.

PROVINCIAL STYLES

Shiraz (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1640)

Shiraz was always the main centre in Iran producing fine manuscripts for sale in a trade which apparently had its beginnings in the 1340s. It managed to preserve its status as the centre for this trade up until the middle of the seventeenth century: the colophons of a number of manuscripts indicate the presence of private ateliers producing manuscripts for the market between 1625 and 1745.[16] The time-tested'commercial style' was maintained under the Safavids: in the first quarter of the sixteenth century it was practically unchanged, retaining its 'Turkmen' stylistic features, although the distinctive Safavid headgear, the *tāj-i heydarī*, made its appearance in the miniatures. The figures became less thickset and assumed more elegant proportions; the round Turkmen turban was replaced with an elongated version.

The Safavid commercial style of Shiraz took shape towards the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Compared with the metropolitan style of Tabriz or Mashhad-Qazvin it appeared provincial, continuing the tradition of two-dimensional representation.

[15] Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1334–6/1955–7, Vol. 2, pp. 337–8; A. Welch, 1976, p. 174, note 41.

[16] For example, a scribe called Muhammad Husayn Dār al-Marzī pointed out in the colophon of Nizāmī's *Khamsa* that he had transcribed the book in the private workshop of Lutfallāh the gilder at Shiraz in 1034/1627 (Bayānī, 1363/1984, p. 684).

However, the manuscripts retained a high level of artistry and decorativeness. They were also highly striking. Shirazi artists occasionally travelled to the capital, where they worked on various projects with their resident colleagues. Thus the *Shāh-nāma* of Ismāᶜīl II, the *Haft Aurang* of Ibrāhīm Sultān, referred to above, and the *Shāh-nāma* of 1580–5 (Windsor Castle, Royal Library, Holms 150 A/5), with its 88 miniatures, were clearly products of the Shiraz school in the case of 3 of the 4 artists concerned. On their return, they brought to their work in Shiraz some of the experience they had acquired of the style practised in the capital.

At the same time, the enormous number of manuscripts produced in Shiraz, which were alike both in terms of pictorial technique and style of the miniatures, and also the remarkable similarity of the *nastaᶜlīq* (sloping style of script developed in the fifteenth century for writing Persian), demonstrates that the quality of manuscript production, if not of the first order, was genuinely satisfactory and that manuscripts were turned out in a constant stream. The considerable output can hardly be ascribed to two or three ateliers, such as, for example, the one located near the grave of Husāmu'ddīn Ibrāhīm. An explanation was furnished by Budāq Munshī of Qazvin, who noted in 1576:

> The author [of these lines] travelled to Shiraz and verified that in every family in Shiraz the wife is indeed a copier, the husband a painter, the daughter a book designer and the son a binder. Any book, if it is so wished, may be produced by a single family. Should anyone wish for 1,000 illuminated books, they will certainly be delivered from Shiraz within the year. And all alike, so that it is impossible to spot any differences.[17]

Thus, in addition to private ateliers, there was in fact a widespread practice of home-based manuscript production.

It is worth noting that, in the course of several generations during the fifteenth and the first third of the sixteenth centuries, 'masters of the pen' developed a particular style of *nastaᶜlīq* writing which has not been recognized by connoisseurs inasmuch as it was not flowing and elegant or an expression of individual skill. It did, however, supply what was needed for a continuous flow of manuscripts: professional clarity and conciseness, compactness and legibility. The members of these families bore such common names as Qawām, Murshid, Munᶜim and Auhadī. It is quite probable that some of these masters practised two professions: calligrapher and decorator, or painter and decorator.

One distinguishing feature of the miniatures painted in Shiraz was the relationship of the written text to the miniatures on the page. These mathematical proportions were observed in Shiraz from the 1530s. Horizontally, the miniature, including the text, represented three-fifths of the total height of the page (Fig. 4). The page was divided into three sections

[17] Akimushkin, 1994*a*, pp. 456, 483.



Fig. 4. Khusrau in front of Shīrīn's castle. *Khamsa* of Nīzāmī. Shiraz. (Photo: Courtesy of the St Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, MS. D212, fol. 91a.)

by two blocks of text and the miniature projected outwards (to the left or right) beyond the framed text and extended vertically over its full length, thus creating the typical T-configuration of the entire field. It is also worth noting the somewhat less striking, toned-down palette typical of the Shiraz school, which otherwise preserved its characteristic traits with practically no changes until the 1630s.[18] The manuscript of Siyāqī-Nizāmī's *Futūhāt-i Humāyūn* [August Victories], painted in Shiraz at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is a good example of this style.[19]

Khurasan and Astarabad (1560–1620)

A considerable number of illustrated, well-designed and copied manuscripts were produced in Khurasan in the period 1560–1600, in places that were not far apart (according to their colophons, in Herat, Bākharz and Mālān). The style of the miniatures of this provincial school was highly simplified and represented a blend of the Mashhad style in the days

[18] This particularity was noticed and studied by G. D. Guest and analysed in detail by B. W. Robinson. See Guest, 1949; Robinson, 1979, pp. 105–8.

[19] Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris, Suppl. Pers. 226); see Adle, 1975.

of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and the style associated with the brush of Muhammadīin Herat. The size of the output suggests that most of the manuscripts were made for export to Central Asia (Bukhara) and to Mughal India and the Deccan. This supposition is reinforced by the fact that the margins of some of the manuscripts are designed in the fashion that was popular in Bukhara: wide, tinted, cardboard margins with painted and gilt stencilled patterns. As noted by Robinson,[20] the style is characterized by confident drawing and a firm line recalling the technique of Muhammadī; the decorativeness of the miniatures is reduced to a minimum, with bubble-shaped hills in a simple landscape dominated by the greenish and pale blue tone of the foreground.

A relatively small group, consisting almost entirely of manuscripts of the *Shāh-nāma*, was produced in Astarabad between the 1560s and the 1640s. The miniatures contained in these manuscripts are naive in a provincial fashion but are well designed with a strict composition and some claim to originality in their development of the subject. The palette is one of bright tints and sharp contrasts.[21]

ISFAHAN (*c.* 1598–*c.* 1700)

Soon after his accession to the throne in 1587, Shāh ᶜAbbās I re-created the court *kitāb-khāna* in Qazvin and many masters of the manuscript book who had previously worked under Tahmāsp I, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and Ismāᶜīl II again found employment there. The *kitāb-khāna* was headed by Sādiqī Beg Afshār (d. 1609–10). It almost immediately set to work on a manuscript of the *Shāh-nāma*, a fragment of which has survived (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. N.277). This fragment consists of 21 sheets containing 16 miniatures (2 of which were added later in 1675–6 by Muhammad Zamān Qumī). It is thought that 14 of the miniatures were executed by 3 artists, 2 of whom achieved renown: Sādiqī Beg (who painted 3) and Rizā, the son of ᶜAlī Asghar Kāshānī. Their work reflects the main features of contemporary painting. Sādiqī Beg's most distinguished contribution to this *Shāh-nāma* is undoubtedly the large, full-page miniature, 'Simurgh Carrying Zāl, the White-Haired Baby, to his Nest': the subject is not only developed in an unusual manner in aesthetic terms but is also executed in a masterly fashion.

Experts agree that Sādiqī Beg made 107 coloured drawings in the manuscript of Kāshifī's work *Anwār-i Suhaylī* [The Light of Canopus]. According to the colophon, where he is referred to as Sādiqī-i Musavvir ('Sādiqī the Painter'), the manuscript was copied in 1002/1593 at his order (Fig. 5). Sādiqī Beg was removed from his post as head (*kitābdār*)

[20] Robinson, 1982, pp. 54–6.
[21] Robinson, 1982, pp. 54–6.



Fig. 5. The ducks carry the tortoise over a village, where all stop to stare. (Photo: © From the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan, MS 40, fol. 89v.)

of Shāh Abbās' library[22] and was replaced by ᶜAlī Rizā-i Tabrīzī, an equally renowned calligrapher and a skilful intriguer, whose plotting led to the death in 1615 of the last great master of *nastaᶜlīq*, Mīr ᶜImād of Qazvin.[23]

The same period witnessed the rapid rise to fame and popularity of the remarkable young painter Āqā Rizā, the son of ᶜAlī Asghar of Kashan (d. 1635), who, at the turn of the seventeenth century, took the name Rizā-i ᶜAbbāsī.[24] This artist gradually brought in a style based on a new aesthetic vision of the ideal beauty of youth, a vision that was to dominate Persian traditional painting throughout almost all of the seventeenth century (Fig. 6). Although Rizā-i ᶜAbbāsī began in the traditional manner, working on miniatures for books (for example, the *Shāh-nāma* of ᶜAbbās I), he soon switched to single, separate miniatures and drawings, to which he was to devote most of his attention throughout his career. Nevertheless, he also produced illustrations for books from time to time, at least

[22] A. Welch, 1976, pp. 54–70.
[23] Akimushkin, 1996, p. 43.
[24] Stchoukine, 1964, pp. 85–133; Canby, 1996.



Fig. 6. A convivial party by Rizā-i Abbāsī, 1020/1612. Isfahan. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg)

five of which are known. These include Nizāmī's *Khusrau va Shīrīn* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 364–1885 and 1613–1964); a *Dīwān-i Hāfiz (c.* 1617–19; Tehran, National Museum of Iran, N. 4323); and a *Makhzan al-asrār* [Repository of Secrets] (1614) of Haydar-i Khwārazmī.[25] His early work (up to 1605) includes a graceful and elegant miniature entitled 'Girl in a Fur Hat' (St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, V P705) (Fig. 7), dated 1011/1602–3. The superb miniatures 'The Shepherd' (St Petersburg, Russian National Library, MS. Dorn. 489, fol. 73b), dated 1043/1634, and 'Portrait of a Man' (St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, MS. D181, fol. 16a), dated 1044/1634, are among the best works of the artist's later years. Rizā-i ᶜAbbāsī was undoubtedly one of the most talented artists and draughtsmen in the history of Persian painting and was acknowledged as the head of the Isfahan school.

At the time when the capital was transferred to Isfahan in 1598, certain masters of the older generation such as Habīb Allāh of Mashhad and Muhammad Husayn of Isfahan were also employed in the *kitāb-khāna*. It was Habīb Allāh who painted a miniature entitled 'Mantiq al-tair' [The Conference of the Birds] in the manuscript of the work of the same name by ᶜAttār (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS. 63.210, fol. 11a). While 3 of

[25] Soudavar, 1992, pp. 275–81.



Fig. 7. Girl in a fur hat by Rizā-i Abbāsī, 1011/1602–03. Isfahan. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg)

the 4 miniatures of the book contain elements of the Qazvin- Isfahan and, to some extent, of the Timurid style, the work of Habīb Allāh remains particularly Timurid in style. The Timurid masters were also followed in the making of the 44 miniatures of the *Shāh-nāma* in the New York Public Library (Spencer Collection),[26] personally commissioned by Shāh ᶜAbbās in 1614. All are stylized copies of the Bāysunqur *Shāh-nāma* of 1430 (Tehran, Golestan Palace Library, MS. 716).

It is extremely difficult to say with any certainty which of the masters who usually adhered to the style of Rizā-i ᶜAbbāsī were his pupils and which his followers. Muhammad Muᶜīn unquestionably belongs in the first category. His creative activity in the course of a long life was nothing short of phenomenal: his earliest known work is dated 1638 and the latest 1705. All of his works bear dated annotations (often in very great detail). In technique and style, Muᶜīn's early miniatures strongly resemble the works of Rizā-i ᶜAbbāsī (Fig. 8). However, by the beginning of the 1640s, Muᶜīn had developed his own individual style, which was light and lively. Curiously, towards the end of his life, he partially absorbed some of the stylistic trends that had arrived from Europe.[27]

[26] Grube, 1964, pp. 9–28; Robinson, 1982, p. 66.
[27] For an example of his work dated 1655, see A. Welch and S. C. Welch, 1982, pp. 117–20.



Fig. 8. Portrait of Tīmūr Khān Turkmān. Begun in 1002/1593–4 by Sādiqī Afshār and completed in 1095/1683 by Mu^cīn Musavvir. Isfahan. (Photo: Courtesy of the St Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, MS. D181, fol. 16a.)

The followers of Rizā-i ^cAbbāsī and Muhammad Mu^cīn undoubtedly represent a galaxy of fine artists: Muhammad Yūsuf, Muhammad Qāsim, Muhammad ^cAlī and Shafī^c ^cAbbāsī (the son of Rizā-i ^cAbbāsī). Among their contemporaries were two highly talented artists, Afzal al-Husaynī from Tun and Pīr Muhammad al-Hāfiz, who signed some of the 192 excellent miniatures in the large-format *Shāh-nāma* in St Petersburg (Russian National Library, MS. Dorn. 333). This manuscript was copied by the calligrapher Muhammad Shafī^c b. ^cAbdu'l Jabbār between 1642 and 1651. In works bearing the signature of Afzal al-Husaynī there are, however, clear signs of decadence.

European influences on the school of Isfahan (*c.* 1640–1722)

Alongside the traditional movement in Persian painting, which was represented by several schools (the style of Rizā-i ^cAbbāsī remaining dominant), a new trend, influenced by European painting, took shape in Isfahan at the end of the first half of the seventeenth century. Persian artists had in fact developed an interest in European painting as early as the mid-sixteenth century and Shaykh Muhammad of Shiraz had copied works by European painters at that time.[28]

[28] Stchoukine, 1959, pp. 46–7; 1964, p. 82.

The growth of diplomatic and commercial relations with various European countries could not fail to stimulate interest in European art and culture and in the people's way of life. This new-found interest was reflected in the miniature. New subjects were chosen, depicting European figures. The influence of European painting, which also came via India, grew steadily as Western works of art made their appearance in Iran. Pictures and engravings by European masters were imported by ambassadors as gifts for the shah but also by merchants and missionaries. European artists came to Iran, probably as members of embassies and missions, and some of them remained to work in the country. The latter development was considerably assisted by the court's enthusiasm for European painting, which had become fashionable, and by the interest shown in it by the shah; it is known that Shāh ᶜAbbās II (1642–66) took painting lessons from two European artists.[29]

Court and local artists did not let this occasion pass and at first made copies of European originals. They gradually learned the techniques of European painting such as linear perspective, chiaroscuro modelling and the use of light and scale to create the appearance of space, depth and volume. These borrowed techniques subsequently became integral features of the Persian miniature and Persian painting as a whole. Persian artists evidently learned all of these technical devices *in situ*, copying European models and studying with European artists who had come to Iran. There is no reliable information as to whether any of them studied painting independently in Europe at that time or were sent there for that purpose by the shah. Persian artists also absorbed a number of techniques from contemporary Indian (Mughal) painting: the realistic representation of fauna and flora, the striving to achieve a portrait likeness of their subject and the use of artificial lighting. It remains unclear whether they learned these aesthetic innovations in Iran or whether they absorbed them in India as, evidently, in the case of ᶜAlī Qulī Beg Jabbādār.

The artist in whose work European features were most evident was Muhammad Zamān b. Hājī Yūsuf Qumī (d. *c*. 1700). As Ivanov convincingly demonstrated, Muhammad Zamān studied under a European artist in Isfahan and the report of his being sent by Shāh ᶜAbbās II to study in Italy, where he adopted Christianity, is no more than a colourful legend.[30] He was apparently a highly gifted artist who diligently copied European originals in the traditional miniature form. He worked in the court atelier under Shāh Sulaymān (1666–94) and, probably, in the first years of the reign of Shāh Sultān Husayn (1694–1722). A fair number of his miniature copies have survived on separate sheets; there are also lacquer pen-cases (*qalamdāns*) and assorted beautifully painted articles made of papier mâché. The only examples of book miniatures by Muhammad Zamān are contained in two

[29] Ivanov, 1996, p. 34.
[30] Ivanov, 1979, pp. 65–70.



Fig. 9. The king and his courtiers by ᶜAlī Qulī Jabbādār. European style of the school of Isfahan, *c*. 1670–5. (Photo: Courtesy of the St Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, MS. E14, fol. 98a.)

manuscripts produced long before his day: three miniatures added by him to the Nizāmī *Khamsa* of 1539–43, and two others, dated 1675–76, in a *Shāh-nāma* for ᶜAbbas I.[31] His style is clearly recognizable and highly individual: he frequently introduces European background details and interiors into traditional Persian subjects.

Another leading figure in this movement was ᶜAlī Qulī Beg Jabbādār. According to a note in the *Ātash-kada* [Fire-temple], he was a European or of European origin and a convert to Islam, who enjoyed a long career working at the court of three Safavid shahs: ᶜAbbās II, Sulaymān and Sultān Husayn.[32] ᶜAlī Qulī's style is also easy to recognize: his drawing is highly individual and is usually characterized by the lack of a clear calligraphic line. His style contains features of the Mughal school of the second half of the seventeenth century (Fig. 9).

Closely related in style to ᶜAlī Qulī and using similar techniques were such contemporaries as Shaykh ᶜAbbāsī, his son ᶜAlī Naqī, Hājī Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm (Muhammad Zamān's brother)[33] and ᶜAlī Muhammad (Muhammad Zamān's son), who was responsible for the portrait of Shāh Sultān Husayn that is now in the British Museum.[34]

An extremely interesting work of this period is the large-format *Shāh-nāma* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cochran 4, 13, 228.17), which was begun prior to 1663 and

[31] Ivanov, 1996, pp. 35–6.
[32] Ibid., p. 36.
[33] Adle, 1980; *EIr*, Vol. 1, pp. 86–8: ᶜAbbāsī, Wayk– (R. Skelton).
[34] Robinson, 1982, p. 71.

completed in 1669. The calligrapher was Shaykh Muhammad b. Shamsu'ddīn. It contains 42 miniatures that were painted nearly a quarter of a century later and which, in Robinson's opinion,[35] may be divided stylistically into three groups. According to the ascriptions, Ghulām Pīr Beg, ᶜAlī Naqīb. Shaykh ᶜAbbāsī, Fazl ᶜAlī and also, evidently, Muhammad Zamān worked on these miniatures in 1692–5, in addition to Muᶜīn, who painted the great majority.

The Afshars (1735–47) and the Zands (1747–94)

The lack of stability and the disorder within the country, the political turbulence and civil wars in eighteenth-century Iran were not conducive to the development of culture and the arts. The most dramatic change during this period was the enormous decline in the output of manuscript books, including, of course, illustrated books. Those that have survived from this time may be counted in single figures.[36] Artists turned to oil painting, and also to lacquer painting on pen-cases, covers for portable mirrors, book-covers and various sorts of papier mâché boxes, a technique that became very fashionable and popular. Two fine contemporary portraits of Nādir Shāh (1736–47), painted in oil in what is clearly the European fashion, are now in London (Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 201919; Commonwealth Relations Office).

The best artist in the second half of the eighteenth century was undoubtedly Muhammad Sādiq (Āqā Sādiq, Mullā Sādiq), whom Robinson considers to be the creator of a new style of painting known as the Qajar style.[37] Much of his work in oils was exhibited in Tehran in the former Negaristan Museum (now in the Saᶜdābād Palace Museum). It is worth remembering that, at this time and in the first half of the nineteenth century, there were several artists working in Iran whose names included the element 'Sādiq'. Thus, a certain Muhammad Sādiq painted and signed 21 miniatures dated 1200/1785–6 in an album compiled at the beginning of nineteenth century (St Petersburg, Russian National Library, MS. PNS 383).

Another artist who worked in several genres (miniatures, lacquerware, objects, etc.) was Muhammad Bāqir Imāmī (Isfahānī). There is a portrait of Karīm Khān Zand (1750–79) painted in oils by him, now in Georgia (Tbilisi, State Museum of Art, N. 12).[38] Over 50

[35] Robinson, 1972, p. 73–86.

[36] See, for instance, regarding manuscript production, Monzavī's statistics about political disorder (cited in note 1); Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, 1341/1962; *Tārīkh-i Hazin*, 1332/1954.

[37] Robinson, 1982, p. 72.

[38] See photocopy of this portrait in Adamova, 1996, pp. 38, 84, Fig. 8.

of his works have survived, half of which are signed. Another artist of the same name is encountered in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In addition to the above-mentioned Sādiq and Bāqir, ᶜAlī Ashraf, whose lacquerwork (a profusion of flowers of many sorts on a black background) was well known, also worked in Shiraz between 1730 and 1760. Other natives of Shiraz were Muhammad Hādī (d. *c*. 1822) and Lutf ᶜAlī (1797–1869), whose lacquerware depicting flowers and birds (*gul o bulbul*) achieved enormous popularity under the Qajars (1795–1925).[39]

The Qajars: from Āghā Muhammad Khān to Muhammad Shāh's reign (1795–1848)

The style that had taken shape in Shiraz in the second half of the eighteenth century under the Zands continued smoothly and practically unchanged under the Qajars. The only difference related to the depiction of interiors and the forms of the figures, including details of clothes and the sumptuous precious ornaments for which the Qajar period showed a particular predilection.

The Qajar period witnessed the triumph of large-scale oil painting. The first painter and leading artist at the Qajar court in this fashionable kind of art was Mīrzā Bābā, who had previously been in the service of the Qajar family at Astarabad. He painted some remarkable full-length oil portraits of Fath ᶜAlī Shāh (1796–1834). He was also responsible for reviving the art of the book miniature, producing two portraits of the shah and his uncle, Āghā Muhammad, and designing the cover and margins of the manuscript of the *Dīwān-i Khāqān* [Royal Verse Collection], which was sent by Fath ᶜAlī Shāh in 1812 as a gift to the future King George IV of England (Windsor Castle, Royal Library).[40] Another outstanding master was Mihr ᶜAlī, who painted some ten portraits of the shah, including the seated portraits in oils of Fath ᶜAlī, in the Saᶜdābād Palace Museum in Tehran and the Hermitage (St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, VP-1108). The latter work is dated 1229/1813–14.

The period of the first Qajars also saw the revival of large-scale thematic pictures with many figures as previously seen, for instance, in the Chehel Sotun Palace in Isfahan. The category includes two large paintings (oil and canvas) commissioned from an anonymous artist (*c*. 1815–16) by ᶜAbbās Mīrzā (d. 1833) for his residence in Ujān. The first of these (230×395 cm) is entitled *The Battle of the Persians Against the Russians* (St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, VP-1122); the second (203×415 cm), *Review of the Persian*

[39] Robinson, 1982, p. 74.
[40] Robinson, 1963, pp. 94–105; Falk, 1972; Robinson, 1982, p. 75; Adamova, 1996, pp. 38–40, 85–6.

Troops by Fath ᶜAlī Shāh (in the same collection, VP-1121).[41] Another artist of the same generation was ᶜAbdullāh Khān (d. *c.* 1848). In 1812 he painted a huge fresco on three walls of the audience room in the Negārestan Palace: *The Reception of Foreign Envoys by Fath ᶜAlī Shāh* (depicting a total of 118 figures). The fresco was destroyed at the beginning of the twentieth century.[42]

In the second generation of court painters were Sayyid Mīrzā Ahmad (the pupil of Mihr ᶜAlī) and Muhammad, who specialized in the depiction of languorous, moon-faced beauties with enormous eyes. Another pupil of Mihr ᶜAlī, Abū'l Hasan Ghaffārī, was sent to study painting in Italy by Muhammad Shāh (1834–48). When he returned, Nāsiru'ddīn Shāh (1848–96), who had in the meantime ascended the throne, appointed him chief artist with the title of Sanīᶜ al-Mulk. He led a group of 34 artists who worked on a grandiose project: the Persian manuscript translation of *A Thousand and One Nights* (Tehran, Golestan Palace Library, MS. N.2240). The completed project consisted of 6 volumes (1,144 pages of text and 1,134 miniatures). Some of the miniatures were executed by the Sanīᶜ al-Mulk in person.[43]

During the nineteenth century, masters of lacquer painting worked in Isfahan (Najaf ᶜAlī and his three sons, Kāzim, Ahmad and Jaᶜfar) and Shiraz (Āqā Buzurg, Fathallāh Shīrāzī and Sanīᶜ Humāyūn). To a greater or lesser degree they all kept up the traditions of the local schools of lacquer painting, but did not avoid subjects with a European content.[44]

North-western Central Asia

The Shaybanids (Bukhara, 1500–98) and the Janids (Astarkhanids) (Bukhara, 1599–1753)

In the middle of the fifteenth century, an independent (Timurid) school of painting was in operation, chiefly, of course, in Samarkand. Attached to the local tradition, its style was to some degree influenced by that of Herat in the period before Bihzād. This school, which continued to function until the 1520s, was characterized by large, ponderous figures with elongated, obviously Mongol-type faces; the representation was clearly two-dimensional and the landscape schematic. The miniatures illustrating the manuscript of the poem by Muhammad Shādī, the *Fath-nāma* [Book of Victory] (Tashkent, Institute of

[41] Adamova, 1996, pp. 42–4, 86–7.
[42] Robinson, 1972, Pl. XXXIII; 1982, pp. 77–8; *EIr*, Vol. 1, fasc. 2, pp. 197–8; Adamova, 1996, p. 42.
[43] Atabai, 1976, pp. 1375–92.
[44] Robinson, 1985, pp. 176–296; Diba, 1989, pp. 243–65.

Oriental Studies, MS. N.5369), were executed in this style as were those in the manuscript of Hātifī's poem *Khusrau va Shīrīn* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ouseley N.19); both are works of the 1520s.[45] Greatly resembling the Samarkand miniatures of the 1440s and 1450s are the illustrations for the manuscript of Nawā'ī's *Khamsa* of 1521–2 (St Petersburg, Russian National Library, MS. Dorn 559), which was executed in Shahrukhiyya for Sultan Keldi Muhammad (d. 1532–3). This centre broke up with the death of the sultan and most of the artists moved to Bukhara.[46]

In Bukhara the court library flourished under the Shaybanids, enjoying the patronage of ᶜUbaydullāh Khān (1505–33) and, more particularly, of his son, ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān (1533–50), who was a passionate bibliophile. A pleiad of artists, who had come or been brought from Herat, worked there with their local apprentices. Sultān Mīrak was the *kitābdār* under whose supervision and on whose initiative the remarkable manuscripts brought from the Herat collections were reformatted. Among the many manuscripts that came to the library were the Saᶜdī *Golestān* (*Gulistān*) [Rose Garden] of 1500 (Geneva, Bodmer Foundation, Pers.30), the Jāmī *Tuhfat al-ahrār* [Gift to the Noble] of 1509 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. N.215) and the Nawā'ī *Khamsa* of 1491–2 (Windsor Castle, Royal Library, MS. N.177). Original manuscripts were also executed in the library by such renowned calligraphers as ᶜAlī al-Husaynī al-Herawī, Khwāja Mahmūd b. Ishāq al-Shihābī, Mīr Sayyid Ahmad-i Shamᶜrīz-i Mashhadī, Mīr Husayn al-Husaynī (Mīr Kulangī) and others.[47]

Three trends may be identified in Bukhara book miniatures of the period 1520–90. First, there were variations on the Herat style of Bihzād, related to the work of his most consistent follower, Shaykhzāda, who was possibly brought to Bukhara by ᶜUbaydullāh around 1529, and also to the work of other masters trained in Herat.[48] The fact that Shaykhzāda actually worked in Bukhara is confirmed by the manuscript of Hātifī's *Haft Manzar* [Seven Portraits] of 1537–8 (Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, N.56.14), in which he signed one of the miniatures. Also from his brush are two miniatures in the *Anthology* (St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, MS. C860, fols. 9a and 41a), copied in Bukhara in 1529 (Fig. 10).

Second, there was the transitional Herat-Bukhara style, whose most outstanding practitioners were Mahmūd Muzahhib, ᶜAbdullāh (at first) and Shayhān b. Mullā Yūsuf al-Herawī. It is possible that they all trained under Shaykhzāda while their own work extends

45 Ashrafi-Aini, 1979, pp. 250–1, 260, 262; Robinson, 1982, pp. 41–3; Soudavar, 1992, pp. 206–9.
46 Ashrafi-Aini, 1979, pp. 260–2; Soudavar, 1992, p. 209.
47 Akimushkin, 1994*b*, pp. 325–41.
48 Soudavar, 1992, pp. 189–97; Ashrafi-Aini, 1979, p. 264; Schmitz, 1992, pp. 57–60.

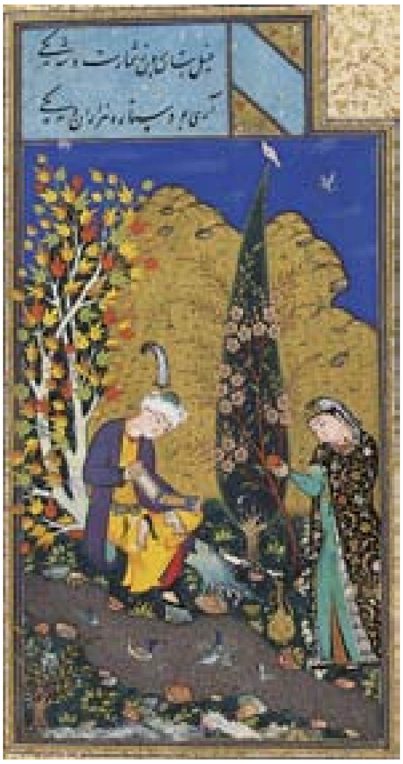


Fig. 10. Two lovers in an orchard in full bloom. 'Bayāz' Collection of ^{c}Alī al-Husaynī al-Herawī, 1529, Bukhara style, *c*. 1530–40. (Photo: Courtesy of the St Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, MS. C860, fol. 41a.)

from the 1530s to the beginning of the 1550s.[49] An example is the diptych painted by Mahmūd Muzahhib in 1545–6 for the manuscript of the Nizāmī *Makhzan al-asrār* of 1537–8 (Fig. 11). This trend typically acknowledged local traditions in the depiction of individual figures and couples although the models used were those of the Herat miniatures. This style gradually lost ground and faded away at the end of the sixteenth century.

Third, there was the Bukhara school itself, which flourished from the 1550s to the 1570s.[50] It was linked with the name of ^{c}Abdullāh, whose artistic development culminated in the creation of a local style of painting: stocky, rounded figures with heavy jaws and small mouths and unrefined brushwork, a schematic composition and a simple, unfinished landscape. A typical example of his style is the diptych 'The Lovers' (fols. 2b–3a) in the manuscript of the Sa^{c}dī *Bustān* [Orchard] of 1575–6, the work of the master calligrapher Mīr Kulangī (St Petersburg, Russian National Library, MS. PNS 269).

49 Ashrafi, 1974*a*, pp. 159–92; Ashrafi-Aini, 1979, pp. 268–71.
50 Ashrafi, 1987, pp. 159–92; *EIr*, Vol. 1, fasc. 2, pp. 193–4: ^{c}Abdallāh Bokārī (P. Soucek).



Fig. 11. Sultan Sanjar and an old woman. Nizāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*, 1545–6. (Photo: © Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Suppl. Persan 98D1, fol. 40v.)

From the 1580s onwards, the Bukhara school was chiefly known for its twodimensional, schematic compositions and a conventional treatment of landscape and architectural decor. Typical of this period are miniature paintings of single figures or couples placed in a background which is lightly adorned with solitary trees and sparse vegetation. The motifs and subjects of Khurasan painting at the end of the sixteenth century exerted a general influence, as a consequence of Shaybanid dominion over Herat and Mashhad in the period 1588–98. This influence continued to be felt in the painting of Bukhara and Samarkand until the 1630s. That the book miniatures produced in these towns served as examples for local artists is clearly demonstrated by the 28 miniatures in the manuscript of the *Zafar-nāma* [Book of Victory] of 1628–9 by ᶜAlī Yazdī (Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, MS. N.4472). The palette, landscape and cliffs, the compositions and figurative quality practically reproduce the styles of Mashhad and Herat in the 1570s and 1580s.[51]

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Bukhara school temporarily gave way to the school of Samarkand. At the time, two gifted artists, Muhammad Murād Samarqandī and Muhammad Sharīf, were working in Samarkand under the Janids. The former, who worked between 1600 and 1625, had a realistic style, modulated by a satirical strain. His style can be clearly seen in the miniatures of the *Shāh-nāma*, copied in 1556–7 (Tashkent,

[51] Schmitz, 1992, pp. 57–60.

Institute of Oriental Studies, MS. N. 1811), and the Sa^c^dī *Bustān* of 1578 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 297). Four of the eleven miniatures in this manuscript were finished by the painter's contemporary, Muhammad Sharīf.[52]

It is known for certain, from information provided by the historian Muhammad Amīn of Bukhara in *Muhīt al-tawārīkh* [The Ocean of Histories], that there was a library in Bukhara at the court of the Janids in the second half of the seventeenth century.[53] The artists on the staff of the library were Muhammad Muqīm, ^c^Awaz Muhammad, Muhammad Amīn, Muhammad Salīm and Bihzād; the designer was Khwāja Gadā'ī Naqqāsh; the calligraphers, Yādgār, Mullā ^c^Arabshāh and Mullā Barqī; and the heads of the library, ^c^Abdu'l Rahmān and Nāsiru'ddīn. The Bukhara library carried out several major projects for ^c^Abdu'l ^c^Azīz Khān (1645–1680), including two manuscripts of Nizāmī's *Khamsa* of 1648 (St Petersburg, Russian National Library, MS. PNS 66) and of 1671 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 276). If no Persian influence is apparent in the miniatures illustrating these manuscripts, they do exhibit to some extent the influence of seventeenth-century Indian (Mughal) painting. This may be sensed particularly in landscape and figurative painting. At the same time, the depiction of the faces of figures and their clothes, and the pure, bright, rich palette are traditional in Bukhara painting.

From the evidence we have, book miniatures seem to have fallen into a state of terminal decay in Bukhara and Samarkand in the 1720s and 1730s and the book markets of the khanate became entirely dominated by the illustrated manuscripts imported from Kashmir in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[54]

52 Schmitz, 1992, pp. 59–60; Ashrafi, 1974*a*, pp. 108–14.
53 Akimushkin and Ivanov, 1982, pp. 127–39.
54 Schmitz, 1992, pp. 59–60; Skelton, 1987, pp. 1–9.

Part Two

PAINTING IN MUGHAL INDIA

(*A. Okada*)

Bābur in India (1526–30) and the creation of Mughal India

The first traces of the artistic style which was later to develop into the brilliant and highly distinctive tradition of Mughal painting are generally said to have appeared towards the end of the reign of Emperor Humāyūn (1530–56), the second ruler of the Timurid or Mughal dynasty, established by Bābur in northern India in 1526. Although the short and turbulent reign of Bābur (1526–30) hardly provided an auspicious setting for sustained artistic creation, it is nevertheless true that the founder of the Mughal dynasty had a definite love of painting, and books and manuscripts in general – a love that all his successors were to inherit. This is reflected in certain passages of Bābur's own memoirs, the *Vaqāyi*^{c} or *Bābur-nāma*.

In these well-known lines, Bābur gives his views on the work of the great artist, Bihzād: 'His work was very dainty but he did not draw beardless faces well; he used greatly to lengthen the double chin; bearded faces he drew admirably.'[55] The memoirs also describe a small tent in which the emperor sometimes liked to sit, which was set up at the gate of the Garden of Plane Trees (in Kabul), south-east of the picture gallery – the garden and the pavilion were said to have been laid out and built by Bābur.[56] We also know that a precious manuscript bearing Bābur's seal – to which were later added the seals of some of his successors, such as Humāyūn, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb – represented one of the treasures of the Mughal imperial atelier (*kitāb-khāna*). Illustrated at Herat *c*. 1440 for Prince Muhammad Jukī (1402–44), grandson of Timur and brother of Prince Bāysunqur,

[55] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 291. For the corresponding passage in the original Turki text, see Bābur, 1995, p. 283.

[56] See Adle, 2000, pp. 173–80.

patron of the arts, this manuscript of the *Shāh-nāma* (London, Royal Asiatic Society) fell into Bābur's hands – although the date and circumstances are unknown. The taste for books and richly illuminated manuscripts was not the prerogative of Bābur alone – he shared this passion with his sons. In January 1526, when he took possession of the fortress of Malot (Salt Range) in Punjab, the emperor went through the books preserved in Ghāzī Khān's library. He gave the most precious books to Humāyūn, who was accompanying him, and sent the others to his brother Kāmrān, who was then at Kandahar (Qandahār).[57]

Prince Kāmrān and Humāyūn (1530–56)

Some time after Bābur's death in 1530, Prince Kāmrān commissioned the calligrapher ᶜAbdullāh Shīrāzī to copy a manuscript of *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* by Jāmī (*c*. 1530–40; New York Public Library), a manuscript which was thought to have been copied in Kabul. It was in Kabul that the artist Dūst Muhammad, from the studio of Shāh Tahmāsp Safavī, entered Kāmrān's service in the late 1530s, thus joining the small group of painters who formed the prince's modest studio and among whom were Maulānā Darwīsh Muhammad and Maulānā Yūsuf.[58] In 1543, however, Humāyūn, who had succeeded Bābur on the throne of Mughal India, was forced to seek refuge in Persia after being defeated and dispossessed of his realm by the Afghan leader Sher Shāh Sūr (1540–5). During his brief period of exile at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp in 1544, the Mughal emperor had the opportunity of meeting at Tabriz two great masters, ᶜAbdu'l Samad and Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī, whose beautifully finished compositions pleased him immensely.

In 1545 Humāyūn established his court provisionally at Kabul and invited the two artists to come and join him there. In 1549 ᶜAbdu'l Samad and Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī came to Kabul and in 1554, when the exiled monarch set out to reconquer his kingdom, the Safavid painters, including Dūst Muhammad, followed him to India. There they had the task, during the last months of Humāyūn's reign and even more so during the reign of his successor, Akbar (1556–1605), of laying the foundations of a Mughal school of painting, a brilliant and creative synthesis of Persian and Indian traditional arts. In a letter to ᶜAbdu'l Rashīd Khān, the khan of Kashghar (1533–60), Humāyūn wrote about the two Safavid masters whose talent illuminated his court:

> One of them is the painter Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī, Nādir al-ᶜAsr ['Rarity of the Age'], who is matchless in painting. He has painted on a grain of rice a polo scene – two horsemen stand within the fields, a third comes galloping from one corner, while a fourth horseman stands

[57] Bābur, 1995, p. 416; 1922, p. 460.
[58] See Adle, 2000, pp. 193–217, in which the author, examining the artistic sources of Mughal painting, dwells at length on the studio of Ulugh Beg II (1469–1502), the last Timurid ruler of Kabulistan.

> at one end receiving a mallet from a footman; at each end of the field are two goal posts... Another is the painter Maulānā ᶜAbdu'l Samad, the unique one of the time, Shīrīn-Qalam ['Sweet Pen'] who has surpassed his contemporaries. He has made on a grain of rice a large field on which a group is playing polo.[59]

Few graphic works from the troubled reign of Humāyūn have survived. A handful of rare paintings, executed at Kabul around 1550 by one or other of the three Persian masters, give clear evidence of the Safavid tradition, which quite naturally dominated the early Mughal production. It was not until the long and prolific reign of Akbar that Mughal painting really developed and that, in the imperial studio, manuscripts and miniatures were produced in great quantities by artists who, as time went on, showed an increasing mastery of their art, freeing themselves gradually from Persian influences and traditions.

Akbar (1556–1605) and the birth of Mughal painting

The founding and development of the imperial *kitāb-khāna* owe much to the exceptional personality of Akbar and his intense intellectual curiosity despite the fact that he was reputed to be illiterate. Akbar followed the work of his court painters with real interest and discernment as his successors, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, were also to do. He was the first to encourage them to move gradually away from the Persian models which had inevitably influenced their early work and to turn boldly to new styles, including the art of the West, which gradually penetrated the Mughal court in the wake of Jesuit missionaries and European travellers and merchants. According to the historian Abū'l Fazl, the author of the *Akbar-nāma* and the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, it was by no means rare for the emperor himself to indicate to his artists the subjects that he wished them to paint. He was also eager to have the artists' work presented to him every week and on those occasions granted rewards and increases in salary, based on the quality of the work. The emperor, writes Abū'l Fazl, had in this way discerned the extraordinary talent of a painter of humble origins, the son of a palanquin-bearer, called Daswant, who used:

> to draw and paint on walls. One day the eye of His Majesty fell on him; his talent was discovered, and he himself handed over to the Khwāja. In a short time he surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age. Unfortunately the light of his talents was dimmed by the shadow of madness; he committed suicide. He has left many masterpieces.[60]

Although the policy followed by Akbar and his successors in matters of art was exemplary – and the astonishing flowering of miniatures and manuscripts during that period bears witness to this – it was nevertheless directly inherited from the ancestral Mongol and Timurid

[59] Bāyazīd Bayāt, 1941, pp. 67–9; quoted in Chandra, 1976, pp. 172–3.
[60] Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 117; 1938–9, Vol. 1, p. 114.

traditions in which the monarchs were seen as cultivated men who encouraged the arts, surrounding themselves with a brilliant court and a select circle of poets, writers, painters, calligraphers and musicians. Akbar appointed the masters ᶜAbdu'l Samad and Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī to direct the *kitāb-khāna*, while artists were taken into service in increasing numbers, some of them – as their names indicate (Nand Gwāliorī, Sūr Das Gujarātī, Muhammad Kashmīrī) – from Malwa, Gujarat and Kashmir.

In these provinces, which were newly conquered and annexed to the Mughal crown, local schools of painting had been flourishing for a long time, well before the arrival of the Mughals in India, thus forming established regional centres of art which existed alongside the Persian tradition promoted by the directors of the *kitāb-khāna*. The arrival at court of these artists who had inherited different artistic traditions played a considerable role in the creation and development of imperial Mughal painting, since their own artistic backgrounds helped to enrich the court art with innovative stylistic features.

The 218 miniatures of one of the very first Mughal manuscripts, the *Tūtī-nāma* [Tales of a Parrot] (Cleveland Museum of Art), executed *c*. 1560–5, represent, in relatively finished form, a particularly significant synthesis of various styles deriving from different pre-Mughal local traditions and schools. These sometimes naive illustrations contain discreet traces of the art of the sultanates, which had survived particularly in the courts of Bengal, Golconda and Mandu. They also show more obvious features that are clearly Indian in origin and derive mainly from a 'Hindu' school of painting that came into being in the Rajput courts and is typically found in the illustration of Sanskrit or local language texts (manuscripts of the type known as *Caurapañcāshikā*), though we should not overlook certain stylistic features which derive from the Jain tradition of painting in Gujarat and Rajasthan. The presence of these artists, many of whom were Hindus, also encouraged the emergence of themes which were to become typical of the Mughal school of painting, such as scenes of self-renunciation, of Hindu ascetics and *yogin*s, of the ascetic life of the hermitages (*āshrama*s) and of Hindu rites and customs.

The abundant production of illustrated manuscripts characteristic of the reign of Akbar – over 30 manuscripts, some of which contained a large number of illustrated folios, are known to have been prepared between 1560 and 1600 – was mostly the result of a 'collective' form of work introduced by the emperor, in which several artists shared the execution of a single work. The painters, who were almost inevitably obliged to specialize because of this system, distributed the tasks in accordance with their respective skills and experience. The most experienced usually had the tasks of overseeing the general composition of the page and painting the portraits, while the less talented artists or the young novices were responsible for filling in the colours. The miniatures produced in Akbar's *kitāb-khāna* were

thus the result of a highly specialized collaboration between two or three painters, hence the inevitably homogeneous or even somewhat uniform style of the imperial production, particularly in the years 1580–90.

Although this group work made it easier to produce large quantities of high-quality manuscripts in a short time, it went out of fashion during the reign of Jahāngīr (1605–27), who encouraged the imperial painters to work alone and produce increasingly more individual and refined works. From the reign of Akbar onwards, however, the names of the artists were set down precisely by the scribes attached to the *kitāb-khāna* and noted, often in red ink, in the lower margins of the manuscript. This system of notation presumably made it possible to see the number of paintings executed by a single artist and to remunerate him in accordance with the quality and quantity of his work.

In the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Abū'l Fazl writes:

> More than 100 painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus: their paintings surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them.[61]

And the chronicler names, in order of excellence, 17 of the artists who were regarded as the most eminent among those then attached to the imperial *kitāb-khāna*: Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī of Tabriz, Khwāja ᶜAbdu'l Samad, Daswant, Basāwan, Kesav, Laᶜl, Mukund, Miskin, Farrukh the Kalmuk (Qalmāq), Mādhav, Jagan, Mahesh, Khemkaran, Tārā, Sānwala, Haribans and Rām.[62]

The vigorous creativity of the imperial *kitāb-khāna* from the time of its foundation is reflected brilliantly in the illustration of the *Hamza-nāma* [The Story of Hamza], the first of a series of great Mughal art projects carried out between 1562 and 1577. This work, which ranks among the most ambitious ever undertaken by the Mughal painters, relates the semi-apocryphal adventures of Hamza, an uncle of the Prophet Muhammad and one of the early heroes of Islam. Originally consisting of some 1,400 illustrations divided into 14 books with some 100 illustrations per volume, the *Hamza-nāma* required the services of about 100 artists from the imperial studio. Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī first of all, and then ᶜAbdu'l Samad, supervised the execution of the *Hamza-nāma* (many paintings of which are missing today, the remainder being scattered among different museums). The manuscript stands out on account of the unusually large size of its illustrations (*c*. 80×60 cm), the boldness and vigour of its compositions and the intensity and brilliance of the colours.

[61] Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, pp. 116–17; 1938–9, Vol. 1, p. 114.

[62] Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 118; 1938–9, Vol. 1, p. 114. The forms of names as given in the translation have been corrected. For works by the artists named by Abū'l Fazl, see entries in alphabetical order in Verma, 1994.

Throughout his reign, Akbar showed an unfailing interest in tales, anthologies of fables and lyric works in poetry or prose. The monarch therefore commissioned his artists to illustrate manuscripts such as the *Dārāb-nāma (c*. 1580–5; London, British Library), the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (*c*. 1585; London, Keir Collection), the *Golestān* of Sa^{c}dī (dated 1582; London, Royal Asiatic Society), the *Bahāristān* of Jāmī (dated 1595; Oxford, Bodleian Library), and the *Nafahāt al-uns* of Jāmī (dated 1605; London, British Library). But the emperor, who had a keen sense of history and an undying determination to uphold the grandeur and legitimacy of the dynasty, also commissioned a large number of historical manuscripts intended to exalt and underline the political legitimacy of the Mughals and their right to govern India. Thus he had the memoirs of the founder of the Mughal line, Bābur, translated from Chaghatay Turki into Persian (the cultural and administrative language of the Mughal empire) and then illustrated by the imperial artists. He also entrusted Abū'l Fazl, his friend and close counsellor, with the task of writing, from 1590 onwards, the official annals of his reign, the *Akbar-nāma*, a real literary monument, dedicated to the achievements of the emperor. Two famous illustrated manuscripts of this work are extant, the first usually dated *c*. 1590 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum), the second *c*. 1604 (divided up between the British Library in London and the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin), both illustrated by a whole series of the most outstanding imperial artists.

But the emperor was also intent on a history of the Muslim world and, perhaps even more so, the glorious annals of two of his most revered ancestors – Chinggis Khan and Timur. This was how the *Tārīkh-i alfī* [History of the Millennium] (*c*. 1592–4; now dispersed), the *Chingīz-nāma* (dated 1596; Tehran, Golestan Palace Library) and the *Tārikh-i khāndān-i Timuriyya* [History of the Timurid Dynasty] (*c*. 1580; Patna, Khudābakhsh Library) came to be illustrated. Thus through the compilation of manuscripts dealing with the history of the Timurids, Akbar measured his own achievements against the exploits of his illustrious ancestors.

In his desire also to make the great literary and religious texts of India accessible to the members of his court and the Muslim elite, the emperor decided in 1574 to have them translated from Sanskrit into Persian and illustrated. In the Translation Office, then in Fatehpur Sikri, Persian scholars worked together with Hindu pundits in order to produce the most accurate translations possible of the great texts of ancient India, and were followed by the artists, often of the Hindu faith, who illustrated the newly translated texts with fervour and verisimilitude. The *Razm-nāma* [Book of Wars] (Jaipur, City Palace Museum), the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa, illustrated *c*. 1582–6, the *Harivamsa* (dispersed), illustrated *c*. 1585, and the *Rāmāyana* (Jaipur, City Palace Museum), illustrated in 1588, thus bear witness to the artistic opulence and iconographic innovations of Akbar's artists in

dealing with a repertoire of themes and motifs which were totally new, compared with the Persian-based expression which had earlier dominated the pictorial creations of the Mughal court. These Mughal manuscripts of the great Hindu epics reflect the policy of religious tolerance boldly advocated by Akbar, who showed a sincere interest in and genuine respect for the cultural and religious traditions of his Hindu subjects.

It was precisely that policy of religious tolerance established by Akbar, combined with his interest in questions of a spiritual and religious nature, which made possible the first Jesuit mission in 1580 to Fatehpur Sikri, then the capital of the Mughal empire. At the invitation of Akbar, who wished to hear the Jesuit fathers explain the nature of Christianity to him and to see them take part in the philosophical debates held in the ᶜIbādat-Khāna (House of Prayer), bringing together the adepts of the different religions followed in his empire, Father Aquaviva, Father Monserrate and Father Henriques left Goa for Fatehpur Sikri. The gifts they presented to the emperor included seven of the eight volumes of the famous *Polyglot Bible* printed in Antwerp between 1568 and 1572 by Christophe Plantin at the behest of King Philip II of Spain. Printed in four languages (Hebrew, Chaldean, Latin and Greek), the Bible contained title pages engraved by various Flemish artists, such as Pieter van der Heyden, Pieter Huys, the Wiericx brothers and Gerard van Kampen. These illustrations, combined with the numerous European engravings (mainly Flemish and German) which reached the Mughal court, exercised a considerable influence on the court artists and on the subsequent development of Mughal painting.

In addition to welcoming the Jesuit fathers and their gifts with the greatest courtesy, Akbar invited his court painters to seek inspiration from the European engravings, study their style and technique and make faithful copies or free adaptations of these works (Fig. 12). Despite the fact that the religious content remained a closed book to them, the imperial painters hastened to make copies and adaptations (which were sometimes brilliant, but frequently rather naive) of these strange models and in so doing learned the effects of volume, relief and perspective, notions which were absent in the Persian tradition. The European engravings found in India (which were generally presented in album form, *muraqqaᶜ*, like the Mughal miniatures), or copied by local artists, included German works (Albrecht Dürer, the Beham brothers, Georg Pencz) and even more numerous works by engravers active in Antwerp in the late sixteenth century (the Sadeler brothers, Jerome Wiericx, Cornelis Cort). However, engravings inspired by religious subjects were not the only ones to reach India from Europe at this time. Works of a profane character were also introduced, this time by the European merchants who came to trade in the Indian subcontinent. Thus, Francisco Pelsaert, an agent for the Dutch East India Company during the reign of Jahāngīr, wrote in 1626:'Send us two or three good battle pictures, painted by an artist



Fig. 12. Allegorical figure, *c*. 1590. Artist: Basāwan. Musée National de Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris (No. 3619, J,a). (Photo: © R.M.N./© Ravaux)

with a pleasing style, for the Moslems want to see everything from close by – also some decorative pictures showing comic incidents or nude figures.'[63]

The discovery of the European engravings was to have a determining influence on the development of art at Akbar's court, which was eclectic, inspired by various sources including Persian influence, and which, by partially assimilating the lessons of the West, moved gradually towards greater realism. The court artists, using the new techniques which they had acquired by studying the European engravings, endeavoured to achieve greater realism in portraiture. This new approach, which emphasized the personality of the subjects and sought to bring out their underlying nature, giving the portrait a psychological dimension, had a considerable influence on Mughal art, particularly in the reign of Jahāngīr. Nevertheless, Akbar was the first Mughal emperor to give open encouragement to the art of the portrait, which was regarded as a particularly suitable means of perceiving the personality of an individual. In the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Abū'l Fazl relates the emperor's original decision to have a vast album of portraits compiled:

> His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered the likeness taken of all grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed: those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them.[64]

[63] Quoted in Beach, 1978, p. 156.
[64] Abū'l Fazl, 1867–77, Vol. 1, p. 118; 1938–9, Vol. 1, p. 115.

Akbar's clearly expressed interest in capturing the personality of the subject and creating a psychological portrait was to be admirably served by the newly acquired techniques of draughtsmanship and an objective, almost analytical observation of the facial features. But it was Akbar's son Jahāngīr who was to raise the imperial art of the portrait to its most sophisticated form, making it the expression *par excellence* of Mughal art.

Jahāngīr (1605–27)

History has left a flattering and, all in all, a justified image of Jahāngīr as a patron of the arts, a refined aesthete, a demanding connoisseur and an insatiable collector. His interest in the work of the court painters, combined with his discernment in the field of art, naturally led him to surround himself with a circle of particularly talented and prolific artists upon whom on occasion he conferred the most laudatory titles. Thus the artist Abū'l Hasan received in 1618 the title of Nādir al-Zamān ('Rarity of the Time') while the painter Mansūr was given the title of Nādir al-ᶜAsr ('Rarity of the Age'). The emperor also sometimes paid tribute to his favourite painters in his memoirs, the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, while not forgetting to pay tribute to his own discernment in matters of art. Indeed, he was proud of his ability to distinguish the work of a given artist from that of another painter, whether of past times or contemporary:

> As regards myself [he writes] my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrow.[65]

Jahāngīr's genuine interest in his artists and their work undoubtedly contributed to the extraordinary flourishing of Mughal painting in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The practice that had been common during Akbar's reign of several artists collaborating to create a single work gradually went out of fashion and was soon replaced by miniatures entirely painted by a single artist and sometimes bearing his signature. Similarly, the abundant production of illustrated manuscripts, which had been so characteristic of the previous reign, declined noticeably, while the artists, working in a sophisticated and increasingly individual style, obviously lost interest in the dense and deliberately complex compositions and sought to represent single figures generally standing out against a

[65] *Tuzuk*, 1914, Vol. 2, pp. 20–1.

monochrome background. These single paintings were intended to be set out on pages with richly ornamented margins and then included – along with pages of calligraphy – in albums (*muraqqa*^{c}s) compiled for the aesthetic satisfaction of the patron.

The most outstanding form of Mughal art, the art of the portrait in the reign of Jahāngīr and his successor Shāh Jahān (1628–58), is characterized by a strictly static rendering of the human figure, whose contours stand out clearly against the background of the page (Fig. 13). The profile (especially of the faces, as the bodies were generally turned at an

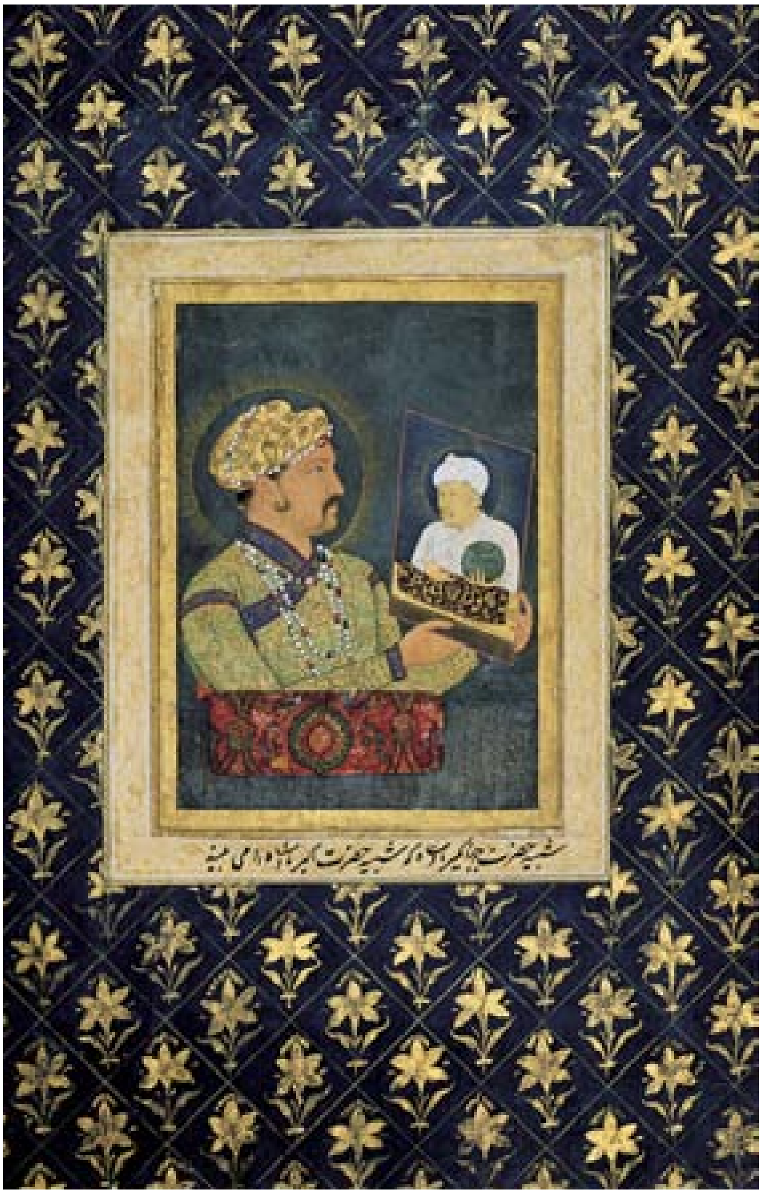


Fig. 13. Portrait of Emperor Jahāngīr holding the portrait of his father Akbar, *c*. 1615. Artists: Hāshim and Abū'l Hasan. Musée National de Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris (No. 3676, B). (Photo: © R.M.N./© Thierry Ollivier.)

angle, three-quarters towards the front) is systematically emphasized, its clear lines bringing the subject into sharp focus. The obvious predilection in this art for static forms and fixed attitudes fits in with a sense of the hieratic which is not graphic alone but clearly reflects the ostentatious formalism of a court governed by etiquette and ceremony. The idea of separation into clear divisions, which is both spatial and hierarchical, is particularly obvious in the scenes depicting royal audiences (*darbār*s) or group portraits, in which the arrangement of the different planes and the compartmentalized structure of the composition are intended to reflect strictly codified court etiquette.

Jahāngīr's interest in highly individualized and psychological portraits, reflecting the very soul of the subject, is shown in the portrait that the emperor commissioned in 1618 of one of his court dignitaries, ᶜInāyat Khān. The sovereign, struck by the ravages wrought by disease in the dying ᶜInāyat Khān, had instructed his artists to paint a portrait of him at death's door. A drawing and a painting[66] have survived, depicting the courtier a few hours before his death. These are poignant works, showing both the extraordinary degree of realism attained in the Mughal portraits, and the morbid and almost indecent curiosity sometimes displayed by the emperor in his aesthetic passion for painting.

Allegorical portraits and dynastic legitimacy

In 1615 the ambassador of King James I of England, Sir Thomas Roe, reached the Mughal court bearing gifts for the emperor, as custom demanded. In his account of his mission to the Great Mughal, Roe mentions more than once the interest shown by Jahāngīr in precious objects from Europe, particularly the works of the famous English miniature painter, Isaac Oliver, of which Roe had brought several examples to the court.

The works of Isaac Oliver and the other paintings brought by Sir Thomas Roe, as well as those received from Europe through other possible channels, were to have an influence on the development of Mughal imperial iconography comparable to that of the European engravings introduced at Akbar's court by the Jesuit missionaries. From then on, the court painters, in their enthusiasm for artistic innovation, were to seek inspiration in Christian imagery and symbolism and elaborate a new imperial iconography full of European references and motifs and designed to glorify the emperor and exalt his grandeur and power. Thus the brilliant and complex allegorical portraits created in the second half of Jahāngīr's reign, the production of which was to continue during the reign of Shāh Jahān, reflect the deliberate assimilation by a few of the most eminent artists in the imperial workshops (such as Abū'l Hasan and Bichitr) of foreign motifs (crown, hour-glass, globe, halo,

[66] See S. C. Welch, 1963, Pl. 28.

cherubs brandishing royal insignia). These were subtly integrated into the Mughal imperial iconography and cleverly linked to ancient Islamic symbols celebrating royalty and dynastic legitimacy.

The process of deification of the emperor, admirably served by the talent of a few outstanding painters, was obviously a choice subject for graphic illustration and encouraged the astonishing use by the artists of a symbolism which was foreign to their own iconographic and aesthetic traditions. The allegorical portraits, exalted and sometimes grandiloquent works which provide a godlike interpretation of the emperor Jahāngīr, are among the most outstanding masterpieces of Mughal painting. 'Jahāngīr Preferring a Sufi Shaykh to Kings' (by Bichitr, *c*. 1618; Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art) (Fig. 14), 'Jahāngīr Embracing Shāh ᶜAbbās' (by Abū'l Hasan, *c*. 1618; Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art), 'Jahāngīr Triumphing over Poverty' (attributed to Abū'l Hasan, *c*. 1620; Los Angeles County Museum of Art) and 'Jahāngīr Symbolically Killing Malik ᶜAmbar' (by Abū'l Hasan, *c*. 1616; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library) are unique compositions in the Mughal iconographic repertory and are also a brilliant testimony to the artistic eclecticism of the Mughal genius.[67]

It will be remembered that Akbar had commissioned in the last decades of the sixteenth century the illustration of an ambitious series of historical manuscripts relating the epic deeds of his ancestors, Chinggis Khan and Timur. His successors, particularly his grandson Shāh Jahān, succeeded in giving this political statement an original artistic dimension by commissioning a series of 'dynastic portraits', brilliant works with an immutable and stereotyped iconography.

The determination of the Mughal emperors to affirm their dynastic prestige and to trace their lineage back to Amīr Timur could already be seen in the very choice of imperial seals, which invariably listed the names and titles of the reigning sovereign's ancestors back to Timur. It is also known that Jahāngīr was a keen collector of Timurid miniatures, manuscripts and jades, that he personally sent regular funds for the upkeep of Timur's tomb in Samarkand, and that Shāh Jahān in turn chose to bestow on himself the title Sāhib Qirān-i Sānī ('Second Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction') as a reference to his ancestor Timur, the first Sāhib-i Qirān. Mughal art had to reflect this obsession with the imperial lineage and the court painters consequently painted portraits of Timur sitting on a throne and handing one or other of his Mughal descendants the Timurid crown, the orb of power or an ornamental egret plume to adorn their turbans. The symbolic transfer of authority in these allegorical works is thus explicitly shown by Timur's gift to the Mughal emperor of an object regarded as one of the attributes of royalty.

[67] See Okada, 1992, pp. 45–59, Figs. 48, 49, 53, 54, and p. 37, Fig. 37.



Fig. 14. Jahāngīr preferring a Sufī *shaykh* to kings, *c*. 1618. Artist: Bichitr. Photo: © Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase F1942, 15a

Two pages in the *Minto Album* (one held in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the other in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin), which were obviously meant to be placed opposite each other, illustrate the symbolic transmission of power from a monarch to his successor. One of these pages, by the painter Govardhan, shows Timur enthroned between the two Mughal emperors, Bābur and Humāyūn, and presenting the imperial crown to Bābur; the second miniature, dated 1630 and signed by Bichitr, reproduces exactly the same composition and iconography, showing Akbar enthroned between

his successors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān and presenting the latter, who had commissioned the two illustrations, with the imperial crown.

The apogee of Mughal painting under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān

A propensity for naturalism, which was one of the features of Mughal painting under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, led to the development of outstanding animal studies in which several artists, and particularly the famous Ustād Mansūr Nādir al-ᶜAsr, excelled. Jahāngīr, who enjoyed contemplating nature and was curious about the diversity of the animal world, commissioned Mansūr to represent the different species of animals not usually to be found at his court, for example the famous zebra brought back from Abyssinia by Mīr Jaᶜfar, which the emperor had decided to present to Shāh ᶜAbbās I of Persia, painted by Mansūr in 1621. In the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, the emperor refers several times to the unrivalled talent of the artist: 'Ustād Mansūr has become such a master in the art of painting that he holds the title Nādir al-ᶜAsr, and in the art of drawing he is unique among the artists of his generation.'[68] 'As it was something out of the common, I ordered Ustād Mansūr, who has the title of Nādir al-ᶜAsr, to paint and preserve its likeness.'[69]

Thus Jahāngīr showed himself to be the worthy descendant of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar, who were also delighted by the contemplation of nature. Humāyūn's servant, Jauhar Aftābichī, mentions in his memoirs that, one day in 1543, the emperor was fascinated by a beautiful bird which had suddenly flown into his tent and immediately ordered one of his artists to paint it. Bābur had also described in great detail the flora and fauna of Ferghana, Kabul and Hindustan but, as Jahāngīr does not fail to point out, he never had his artists paint them:

> Although King Bābur has described in his memoirs the appearance and shapes of several animals, he had never ordered the painters to make pictures of them. As these animals appeared to me to be very strange, I both described them and ordered that the painters should draw them in the *Jahāngīr-nāma*.[70]

It was Akbar who first gave visual and artistic form to Bābur's literary descriptions of his ancestor when he decided to have Bābur's memoirs translated and then illustrated. These representations of the fauna and flora of India, produced in the last decades of the sixteenth century, are remarkable for their freshness and spontaneity and cover several pages of the

[68] *Tuzuk*, 1914, Vol. 2, p. 20.
[69] *Tuzuk*, 1914, Vol. 2, pp. 107–8; cf. Das, 1991, p. 45.
[70] *Tuzuk*, 1909, Vol. 1, p. 215; cf. Das, n.d., p. 1.

various manuscripts of the *Bābur-nāma*. They herald the emergence of a whole wave of animal painting within the Mughal artistic tradition, a subject which henceforth became a fully-fledged art motif, and no longer a secondary feature for decorating the margins of miniatures.

In 1620 the prolific artist Ustād Mansūr accompanied Jahāngīr to Kashmir, which the Mughal emperors regarded as their 'private garden'. At the request of the sovereign, Mansūr made innumerable flower studies inspired by the profusion of flowers and plant varieties which flourished in this fertile valley. Although most of these studies have unfortunately been lost, they were highly appreciated at the time and did much to renew the thematic and decorative repertoire of the Mughal artists. It may be supposed that they lay behind the astonishing enthusiasm for floral motifs which then became a feature of the Mughal artistic tradition. From the 1620s onwards, for a period of over two centuries, flowers of various species, delicately stylized or treated with the precision of the naturalist, began to proliferate in the borders around miniatures and in the margins of illustrated albums. They also appeared on textiles, prayer mats, tent hangings and decorative objects in glass or jade and even in the great architectural monuments erected in the reign of Shāh Jahān (the Taj Mahal, and Agra and Delhi Forts), whose walls were carved and inlaid with delicate floral motifs.

There is, however, another element which explains the vogue for floral motifs in the arts of the Mughal court, and for their obviously technical treatment. It is known that illustrated botanical works and plant collections – such as those of Clusius or Doddens, printed in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin – were in circulation at the Mughal court, and these highly naturalistic illustrations could have inspired the work of the imperial painters in the same way as the religious European engravings brought by the Jesuit missionaries had inspired their predecessors. The influence of these European sources can be clearly seen in the composition of the Mughal floral decorations and in the precision and clarity of their line – showing once again, if that were necessary, the extraordinary artistic eclecticism of Mughal India (Fig. 15).

Mughal painters' 'naturalism' did not extend only to animals and flowers. Bichitr, who could so easily play with symbols of divinity borrowed from the West, forgets all formality when depicting a villager listening to two roadside Sufi singers sitting in front of poor men's huts (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IM 27 and A-1925). This is a side of Mughal painting that should not be overlooked while appraising this largely court-oriented art.

Mughal painting in the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān had undoubtedly a courtly splendour of its own. One of its great monuments is the imperial manuscript of the *Pādshāh-*



Fig. 15. Tulips and an iris. Mughal, *c*. 1650. (Photo: © From the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan.)

nāma [Royal History], preserved in the Royal Library of Windsor Castle. A chronicle of the reign of Shāh Jahān, it was written by ᶜAbdu'l Hamīd Lāhorī and illustrated by the most eminent court painters, then at the pinnacle of their art.[71] This imperial manuscript, with its splendid illustrations and brilliant and sumptuous colours, is one of the finest examples of the composite nature of Mughal inspiration, the crystallization of different influences and traditions subtly assimilated and transposed with infinite mastery in a brilliant and eminently original style.

The last Mughals

The main artistic features of Mughal painting were sustained under the reign – austere and much less conducive to the flourishing of the arts – of Aurangzeb (1659–1707), but the production of the imperial *kitāb-khāna* was often less sumptuous and less beautifully finished. From 1665 onwards, the sovereign turned gradually away from painting and even closed down the imperial studios. Gradually deprived of the emperor's favour and largesse, the artists entered the service of new patrons from among the nobles and high dignitaries. Among the favourite themes during these last decades of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century were hunting scenes and the depiction of graceful

[71] See Beach and Koch, 1997.

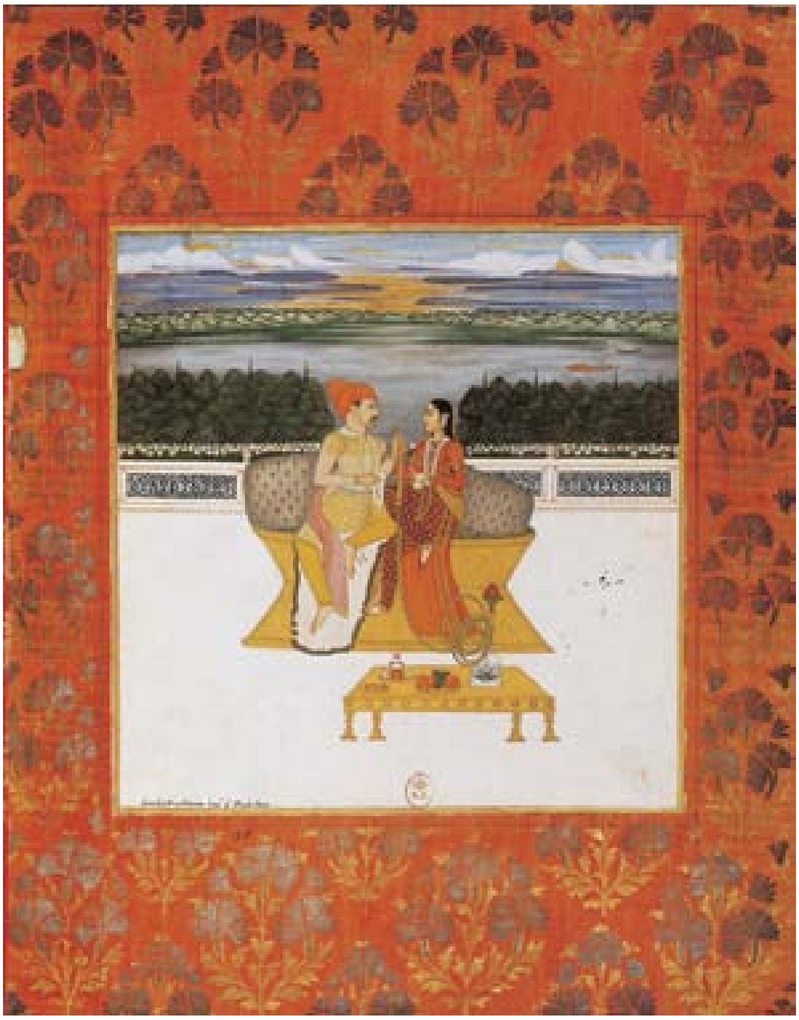


Fig. 16. Shujā^{c} Qulī Khān on a terrace in the company of a lady. Lucknow (?), *c*. 1760. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Estampes, Rés. Od 51 4°, fol. 20, Coll. Gentil). (Photo: © Bibliothèque Nationale de France.)

princely entertainments taking place by night on terraces overlooking a lake or standing out against a sky lit up by fireworks. These intimate and even hedonistic paintings depicting everyday life or romantic scenes are typical of eighteenth-century Mughal taste and were briefly to flourish under the reign of the emperor Muhammad Shāh (1719–48), before coming abruptly to an end after the sack of Delhi by the Persian conqueror Nādir Shāh in 1739.

After the fall of Delhi, during which many of the Mughal treasures were lost (including the famous Peacock Throne commissioned by Shāh Jahān in the year of his coronation, invaluable precious stones and jewels and many priceless manuscripts including the *Hamza-nāma*), thus precipitating the decline of a dynasty which was already significantly weakened, many artists left the Mughal court in search of new patrons. Some of them

went to the Rajput kingdoms of Rajasthan or Punjab, others were to establish themselves in Bengal and the kingdom of Awadh (Oudh), governed by extravagant nawābs who were patrons of the arts. A school of painting known as 'provincial Mughal' was to emerge in Faizabad, Lucknow, Farrukhabad and Murshidabad. Inheriting the great imperial traditions, this school was mainly characterized by a taste for hedonistic and courtly themes emphasizing the depiction of revelries and carefree entertainment, and by the intensity of its colours, often used in the depiction of sunsets or fiery skies in which red, orange and purple tones predominate (Fig. 16). A few artists such as Mihr Chand or Mīr Kalān Khān, who had come from the imperial workshop of Muhammad Shāh and were working in Faizabad and Lucknow, were to sign some of the finest compositions in this late 'provincial' flowering of Mughal art.

In Murshidabad, the reign of the Nawāb ᶜAlī Virdī Khān (1740–56) and of his successor Sirāj al-Daula fostered the development of a school of painting that was dominated by a powerful and vigorous style, enhanced by hard and distinct lines and relatively cold colours. Some mannerisms, such as the exaggerated elongation of the eye towards the temple or the pronounced contours of the faces, distinguish the school of Murshidabad from the pictorial production of the neighbouring provinces. However, neither the Murshidabad school nor that of Lucknow could escape an increasing formalism, which would gradually strip them of all psychological subtlety and emotion. Apart from the hedonistic themes dear to the artists of these provincial schools, there are also many illustrations of *Rāgamālā*s, or 'garlands of musical modes (*rāga*s)', a pictorial motif which also enjoyed great favour in the Hindu kingdoms of Rajasthan and the hills of Punjab during the eighteenth century.

In Delhi, during the reign of the Mughal emperors Akbar Shāh II (1806–37) and Bahādur Shāh II (1837–58), the painters, far from innovating, were more often than not merely content to reproduce, in a wilfully archaistic vein, the brilliant compositions that had been conceived during earlier reigns – particularly the court scenes from the days of Shāh Jahān – and to provide unending series of portraits of emperors and scenes of audiences often revealing graceless draughtsmanship, overemphatic modelling and a palette lacking in chromatic subtlety. A number of talented painters such as Ghulām Murtazā Khān and Ghulām ᶜAlī Khān did, however, work in Delhi in the first half of the nineteenth century. The latter was a particularly talented and eclectic artist who painted many portraits for the Mughal court, while also putting himself at the service of the British – including James Skinner and John Fraser – for whom he unhesitatingly made significant changes in his style so as to satisfy the aesthetic tastes of his new patrons. Among the most famous works by Ghulām ᶜAlī Khān is the portrait that he painted of the last Mughal emperor, Bahādur Shāh

II, who, after the 1857 Rebellion, was deposed and imprisoned by the British. Bahādur Shāh's tragic destiny marked the end of the Mughal empire and the Timurid dynasty.

With the rise of British power in the second half of the eighteenth century, new patrons – agents of the East India Company, traders, mercenaries, adventurers, etc. – replaced the Indian sovereigns and princes. The tastes and sense of economy of these new amateurs and collectors, which were very different from those of their opulent precursors, led to the emergence of a new type of art, traditionally described as 'Company painting'. The favourite subjects of these new collectors included dull portraits of kings and princes, court scenes or genre paintings, representations of the principal Hindu gods, suave and rustic evocations of the Indian castes and trades, of festivals and religious ceremonies, and often repetitive series showing the most famous monuments of Hindustan.

Part Three

EASTERN CENTRAL ASIA

(*Liu Zhengyin*)

Xinjiang

The Xinjiang region can be roughly divided into two dissimilar cultural areas. The area to the south of the Tian Shan is referred to as Tian Shan Nanlu (i.e. the region to the south of the Tian Shan mountains) in Qing-dynasty literature; this includes the Tarim basin and the Turfan and Hami areas, both agricultural oases. The population of this region consisted mainly of Uighurs and other Muslim peoples. To the north of the Tian Shan is the area called Tian Shan Beilu (i.e. the region to the north of the Tian Shan mountains) in Qing-dynasty records; it is an area of steppe and mountain pastures where the Oirat Mongols lived during this period. After the middle of the seventeenth century, the Oirat Dzungars dominated the area to the north of the Tian Shan, which came to be known as Dzungaria in European accounts.

TIAN SHAN NANLU

In our period the written language of Tian Shan Nanlu was predominantly Chaghatay Turki. Since the tenth century, following the spread of Islam to the area of the Tarim basin

under the reign of the Karakhanids, the Arabic script was used for the contemporary written form of the Turkic language. This form of the written language is known as Haqaniya. As Islam spread, this written language was adopted over larger areas and inevitably changed in some ways, with much influx of Persian vocabulary. By the beginning of the fifteenth century Chaghatay had become the common literary language for the Uighur peoples, being the predominant Turkic language within both Xinjiang and some other areas in Central Asia. It was used chiefly in the regions of the Chaghatay khanate, which explains its name. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries in the area we now call Xinjiang a number of works were written in the Chaghatay language. At the same time Persian also became widespread in this region and was the language used in the writing of literature, such as the famous historical chronicle, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, written in the mid-sixteenth century.

Works of literature were usually handwritten. They normally made use of bamboo, wooden or reed pens and were written in black ink on paper. The most commonly manufactured paper of the time used by the scribes was mulberry-bark paper, but old and recycled cotton fibres and worn-out hessian were also used as materials for paper-making. Basically, paper was produced locally in the towns of the Tarim basin, especially in Khotan. There were enormous variations in the thickness of different papers, as well as the final quality, durability and pliability. Paper which underwent a process of calendaring and milling may be described as 'processed paper'. In addition some paper had starch paste applied to it as both a preservative and a blanching agent; other paper might be subjected to the addition of powdered white minerals or plant extracts to impart colour or produce an exquisite hue. Mulberry-bark paper was both pliable and tough and many transcribed texts made use of it. Most of the extant works of literature from that time use this durable paper.

The style of the Arabic script used was generally *nastaᶜlīq*. This lettering is also known as *khat-i fārsī* ('Persian script') and is the most commonly found script in Xinjiang. Other styles include *naskh* and *suls*; these were used mainly in writing the titles of books, headings of chapters or sections in a book. After all the leaves of a book had been transcribed, they were bound into a volume with covers. Sometimes the limits of the written form were determined within prescribed boundaries which stipulated the maximum permissible length of transcription on each page. The most exquisite examples of the genre frequently strive to combine excellence within both the text and its accompanying illustrations, relying upon coloured drawings or patterned text either to embroider the artwork itself or the patterns within it; this is accomplished by the use of carefully constructed designs of great beauty which use a wide variety of vibrant colours. In addition to this, pages are given highly decorated margins, employing pigments of a golden hue, various shades of water-

based ink and even powdered gold. In particular, the title pages and the headings of chapters of bound volumes are especially finely decorated.

The front and back covers of bound volumes (including the spine) are most commonly of goat or camel hide or other animal skins; the binding is fine and exquisitely designed and worked. Book formats vary greatly, often similar to modern sextodecimo formats. The edges of book covers are even with the edges of pages, and the back cover has an extension which is folded inside along the lower edge of the volume, and then folded again inside along the upper edge of the volume, with the corners cut off to form a very obtuse angle, which serves as a flap, usually triangular, folding under the front cover. The book flap, together with the fore-edge flap (between a back cover and a flap), protects the edges of the pages and can also be used by readers as a bookmark.

A great variety of patterns adorn the covers and title pages of these books. Early book covers were decorated with geometric designs; later geometric designs evolved into floral patterns and become gradually more elaborate, depicting flowers, clouds, ornamental rocks and landscapes. Influenced by Chinese art, some of these designs incorporate dragons, phoenixes and miscellaneous birds and animals. Most of the covers are rectangles with a central medallion filled with geometric or floral patterns, corner quadrants with similar patterns and a border which varies in width, composed of a series of cartouches, around all the four patterned margins. The front and back covers are decorated in the same style, but the back-cover decoration is usually simpler. Earlier, most of the decorated covers were tooled and stamped with individually carved templates or small sets; later the covers were pressed with large stamps and engraved copper or steel matrices for the field design which was able to cover the whole field. In addition to gold stamping, gilding was occasionally used, giving the book an opulent appearance and demonstrating considerable artistic achievement. The covers of books usually took the colour of the original animal hide as their base, other colours being superimposed on part or whole of the leather covering. Cloth covers are similarly adorned with every conceivable type of design, and are especially dazzling in appearance.

Following the spread of Islam, painting in this region underwent a transformation. The depiction of the human form was abandoned and painting was directed more towards geometric and floral patterns. This greatly increased the use of traditional Uighur and other ethnic decorative patterns, thus gradually producing a highly individual and authentic style of painting.

Not only was painting used for decorative and illustrative purposes in books, it was also applied to the walls of mosques, mausoleums and other buildings. It could be widely found on the ceilings, rafters and beams of mosques and places of religious instruction;

these paintings were often of coloured floral designs, bright in hue. The subjects painted were herbs, peonies, lotus, sunflowers, chrysanthemums, plum blossom and roses, occasionally interspersed with landscapes. Paintings on ceilings or vaulted recesses usually concentrate on a single theme, with floral designs predominantly composed of grass, flowers and other plants. On such ceilings where entire compositions are painted, the drawings are based on moulded designs which focus on smallscale depictions of flowers, plants and landscapes. Repetitive patterns sometimes occur in wide bands of continuous floral decoration on beams and rafters; the column heads and struts which support the beams and rafters exhibit floral ornamentation in bas-relief based on a combination of floral, plantinspired and geometric designs.

Colourful paintings can cover large areas and make use of many colours, with contrasting colours deployed at focal points either in a homogeneous manner or presenting complex contrasts. Paintings often use ultramarine, dark green, magenta, black or other dark shades as base colours, with the superimposed floral designs frequently of white, yellow or other lighter hues. Mausoleums do not make such wide use of coloured paintings as do mosques. Paintings are usually found only on the walls and vaults of the coffin chamber within the mausoleums: the designs are chiefly based upon scripture and geometry and the drawings are bold and powerful, unlike the delicate and exquisite paintings found on the walls of the mosques.

Royal palaces and the mansions of the rich and powerful also contained many paintings. According to Haydar Dughlāt, there were a great many fine and imposing buildings in Yarkand, each with over 100 rooms with 'dados of glazed tiles and frescoes'.[72] Even relatively small and humble dwellings had painted walls or murals, and a vast array of buildings were decorated with painted vaulted ceilings and ornamented rafters and beams, although simpler and less richly toned than those found in religious buildings.

Following the annexation of the whole area by the Qing dynasty in the 1750s, the art of this region came to be greatly influenced by Chinese culture. In paintings one can see the tell-tale imprint of Chinese designs, especially in Hami in the eastern part of this region, where one notices that the style of painting now clearly reflects that of China proper. The screen wall of the royal court of the Uighur monarch at Hami was painted with coloured murals depicting 'the sun rising in the eastern sky' and 'the fierce tiger vaulting over the hills',[73] which happen to be favourite Chinese traditional themes.

To return to calligraphy, after the sixteenth century when Islam became the universal religious faith of the area, the art of Arabic calligraphy not only took root in the whole of

[72] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 297.
[73] *Hami Huiwang shiliao*, 1962, p. 63.

the Tian Shan Nanlu region, but also provoked change in the style of the written form. The older Kufic lettering was more often employed in artistic adornment and also underwent a great transformation. Prior to the sixteenth century, Haydar Dughlāt writes that inscriptions or epigraphs found on a mausoleum in Yarkand could not be understood because 'most of them were in Kufic characters, but not in the Kufic which is employed nowadays'.[74] In this period the art of calligraphy was flourishing in the region. Sa^{c}īd Khan, the founder of the Yarkand khanate, was accomplished in calligraphy, especially in the writing of the *nasta^{c}līq* script.[75] According to the *Tawārikh-i musīqiyyūn* [Annals of Musicians], which was written in the mid-nineteenth century, the consort of Rashīd Khan wrote a book entitled *Shurūh al-qulūb* [Exposition of the Hearts], dealing with poetry, music and calligraphy.[76]

Following the mid-eighteenth-century acquisition of the Western Territories by the Qing dynasty, calligraphy underwent much enrichment, developing in manifold directions and spawning more than 30 distinct categories. The lettering most commonly found in manuscripts of the time is the *nasta^{c}līq* script; its especial characteristics are its smooth and easy fluency and naturalism, its delicate lettering and its flexible and compact nature suited to both reading and writing. It was frequently used in the transcription of works of literature and those which survive to the present day usually employ this script (see Fig. 17). The secondary *naskh* and *suls* scripts, since they too belong to the artistic form, often feature in the transcriptions of book titles and headings of chapters, or are used in the writing of aphorisms, exhortations, recitations and so on, or in the writing of plaques and the carving of steles or seals. Calligraphy was also used widely as a device in patterned and ornamental designs on the front and back covers of books and around the margins of the page, as well as in the decoration of every type of Islamic architecture.

TIAN SHAN BEILU

After the sixteenth century the Oirat Mongols gradually established themselves in the region to the north of the Tian Shan mountains (Tian Shan Beilu). The Oirats were nomads and had originally practised shamanism, but around the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth they switched their allegiance to the Yellow (Gelu) sect of Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism) and were henceforth heavily influenced by this conversion.

The Oirats speak a Western Mongolian dialect. Before the mid-seventeenth century, they used the Uighur script for writing Mongolian. In the mid-seventeenth century the eminent Oirat monk, the Zaya Pandita, introduced such alterations to the Uighur-Mongolian

[74] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 299. The tomb was presumably that of Dawa Khan (d. 1306).

[75] Haydar Dughlāt, 1898, p. 138.

[76] Maulā ^{c}Ismatullāh Mujizī, 1982.

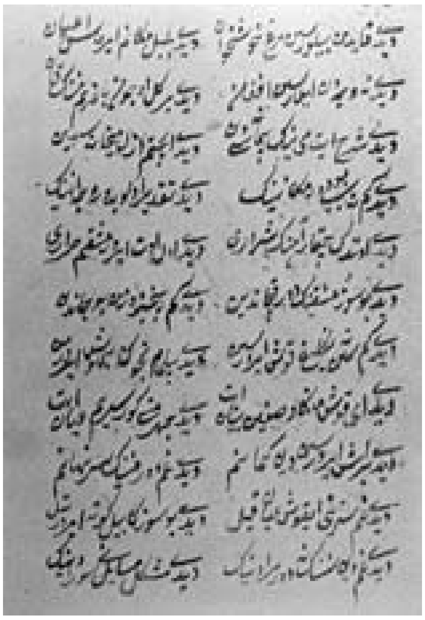


Fig. 17. Page from *Muhabbatnama wa Mihnatnama*
[Love and Misery] in Chaghatay, written by Hirkiti in the seventeenth century. State Museum of Xinjiang, Urumqi. (Photo: Courtesy of Liu Zhengyin.)

script as took account of the special characteristics of the Oirat dialect and thus created the Mongol Todo script. This script could more accurately reflect the nuances of the spoken Oirat dialect. Thus the Oirats called this more readily comprehensible script 'Todo', meaning 'clear' in Mongolian. The Oirat Mongols made use of it to write a large number of works on religion, astronomy, history, linguistics, etc.

These works of literature were largely handwritten, although some were printed. They were usually written with bamboo or wooden pens in ink on paper. At that time pulped *cha'asun* grass was used to make paper 'of a thick, well-pressed quality suited to writing'[77] which thus came to be known as *cha'asun* paper. Mulberry-bark paper made to the south of Tian Shan was also used, as well as paper made in Tibet, paper from eastern China and from Russia. The texts were written in straight columns read from left to right across the page; careful scribes invariably used a fixed number of columns on each page, with evenly spaced gaps between the columns. The style of bookbinding used more often than not was *pothi* binding (a bookbinding form like Indian palm-leaf binding) or accordion binding (a method of folded paper binding); in later times thread binding (*xian zhuang* in Chinese), a method of binding that had originated in China proper, was also employed.

The written characters were framed in the most exquisite calligraphy. Writing was also usually with wooden or bamboo pens. The Oirats called these writing pens *ujug*s and made

[77] Fuheng et al., 1782, Vol. 41, Materials I.

them from finely sliced and pared wood or bamboo. They were 4 or more *cun*s in length (1 *cun* = approx. 3.3 cm), 2 *fen*s wide at the top (1 *fen* = approx. 0.3 cm) and tapered gradually towards the tip of the brush, which was as narrow as the edge of a knife and could thus be easily used with black ink. Ink-holding devices called *bir*s were hair-brooms, usually 4 *cun*s or more in length. The tips of these brushes were left unbound for the final 0.5 *cun* or so (approx. 1.67 cm) and so could be immersed in ink and remain moist thereafter. The originator of the Todo script, the Zaya Pandita, himself practised the most beautiful calligraphy, which was then widely disseminated.

There is an intimate connection between the paintings of this region and the development of Lamaism. After the Oirats had adopted Tibetan Buddhism as their official religion, a number of Buddhist monasteries (lamaseries) were established in the region. Within these monasteries were to be found wall paintings and designs of all kinds of birds, beasts, flowers, trees, and the like. These wall paintings chiefly had Buddhist themes and included representations of the Buddha, the bodhisattvas and their acolytes as well as depictions of Buddhist scriptures and lore. Other paintings showed scenes with human beings, mountains, rivers, birds, flowers, beasts and the like. The most famous Buddhist monasteries in this region were built in the first half of the eighteenth century and were the Gulja monastery (also known as the Golden Top Temple) on the northern banks of the Ili river and the Xainuk monastery (also known as the Silver Top Temple) on the southern banks of the Ili. According to sources of the time, 'the lofty temples touched the heavens, their golden streamers sparkling in the sunshine, their ridgepoles and tiled roofs lofty and spacious, the temples looked both solemn and dignified'.[78] Unfortunately, these two monasteries are no longer extant.

The Baluntay 'Yellow' monastery in the Tian Shan mountain range (north of current Hejing County in Xinjiang) has, however, survived. Built in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the principal building is 2,500 m^2 in area and is thus on a grandiose scale. Because the entire complex is painted yellow, it has long been called the Yellow monastery. The buildings within the monastery compound are adorned with exquisite paintings and multifarious types of decorative designs. A Buddha 8 m in height stands in the main hall. There are exquisitely painted Buddhist murals on the walls on either side in rich and gaudy colours. On the doors to the main hall are painted *mthun-pa'i-spunbzhi* (auspicious four animals) and the 'Garuda' (golden eagle). These likenesses are full of life, each painting executed in the minutest detail and meticulously drawn and outlined, while being filled with appropriately rich and lustrous colours. They represent some of the highest achievements of Buddhist art (see Fig. 18).

[78] Fuheng et al., 1782, Vol. 39, Customs I.



Fig. 18. Paintings on the doors to the main hall of the Yellow monastery in Baluntay, Xinjiang, showing the *mthun-pa'i-spun-bzhi* (auspicious four animals) and the 'Garuda' (golden eagle). (Photo: Courtesy of Liu Zhengyin.)

Mongolia

After the sixteenth century, there was a period of relative stability in the Mongol region, and Mongol culture entered an important stage of development. From this time onwards, the Yellow sect of Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism) was in the ascendant and exerted an overwhelming influence on the entire spectrum of Mongol society. In the field of Mongol art this was apparent both in the techniques adopted and the subject chosen.

After the thirteenth century the Uighur script was almost always used for the Mongolian literary language. Although the Tibetan hPhagas-pa script was adopted as the official script by the government, the Uighur script was used by the general populace. After the sixteenth century, following a resurgence of Mongol culture, the Uighur script came to be used in the vast majority of handwritten and printed works on religious as well as secular matters. Since there were insufficient letters in Mongolian to render Buddhist texts into Mongolian, the *ali-ghali*, a new phonetic alphabet, was created for transliteration from Tibetan and Sanskrit.[79] This was used to translate Buddhist sutras from both Tibetan and Sanskrit, making it much easier to transliterate a great body of canonical literature into the indigenous language. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Khalkha Mongols of northern Mongolia used Sanskrit and Tibetan scripts for reference, creating the Soyombo script, suited to translations of works on Buddhist texts. The Soyombo script is an alphabetic system based upon squares and is written horizontally from left to right. The lettering has printed, formal and cursive forms. This script was employed in Khalkha temples

[79] *Ali-ghali* is a word from Tibetan, where *ali* means vowel and *ghali*, consonant.



Fig. 19. A Buddhist sutra written in Mongolian.
Imperial Palace Museum, Beijing. (Photo: Courtesy of Liu Zhengyin.)

for more than 200 years and was used chiefly in the translations of Buddhist scriptures; however, because it was difficult to write, it was never widely used.

Works of Mongolian literature were usually hand-copied transcripts or woodblock prints, or sometimes stone-block prints. Most were hand-copied transcripts, especially in the earlier period; secular works chiefly used the handwritten method, while Buddhist tomes usually employed methods of woodblock printing. Mongolian literature pays close attention to both format and lettering. The texts were written in straight columns that ran across the page from left to right; the columns are parallel and evenly spaced. Whether handwritten or block-printed, the books show the same style of lettering, and each page holds a predetermined number of lines. Some used cinnabar-based printing frames for retouching, others contained exquisite illustrations (see Fig. 19). Earlier the Mongols mainly used pared bamboo pens for writing, but under the Qing dynasty, Chinese-style writing brushes were progressively used.

Most works used Chinese black or red inks and after the seventeenth century, also used vermilion produced in Mongolia. Most texts were written with black ink. Red ink or vermilion was used in the special sections of the text or in the writing of the prestigious names, as well as in the decoration around the margins of the pages. Usually, Mongol works were hand-copied or were printed on paper in accordance with three basic formulae: black ink on white paper; vermilion or cinnabar lettering on white or black paper; and golden lettering on dark greenish-blue paper. Buddhist sacred texts are even lavishly decorated with the text embossed on sheets of silver and gilded. Some sutras were written on black paper in the nine colours which were made of the 'nine gems', gold, silver, coral, pearls, lapis lazuli,

turquoise, steel, copper and mother-of-pearl. Most paper used in the Mongol region was produced in China. After the rise of Lamaism in Mongolia, and the consequent strengthening of relations between Mongolia and Tibet, paper produced in Tibet was also used. Subsequently, paper began to be manufactured in Mongolia itself, although it was of a thick and coarse consistency. Later, Russian paper was also used. In addition, a few Mongol documents continued to be written on birch bark, silk or leather. *The Silver Birch Book of Statutes* from the early seventeenth century was written on birch bark; it is 10 cm in height and 14 cm in breadth, and is bound into a volume.

As in Tian Shan Beilu, books were mostly bound in three kinds of bookbinding: *pothi* binding (also called ‘palm-leaf binding’), accordion binding (*jingzhe zhuang* in Chinese, literally meaning ‘folded sutra binding’) and thread binding (*xian zhuang* in Chinese). The great majority of Buddhist works use *pothi* binding, which originated in India. This bookbinding format consisted of sheets of paper cut into rectangular-shaped pages like palm leaves stacked on top of each other. The pages could be turned, enabling both sides of the leaf to be read. In general, the pages were sandwiched between wooden boards that not only helped keep the pages together, but also protected them from damage. The book title was written or carved on the wooden board. Some boards were also decorated in red, blue or yellow colour, as well as painting; others were also covered in golden brocade. In some works, pages in this format were stacked in wooden boxes or were packed with silk or thick cloth. According to the size of volume, the works in the *pothi* format can be subdivided into a large type, a mid-sized type and a small type. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, besides Buddhist works, some chronicles and other secular works also used this binding; an example is the *Altan Tobchi* [Golden History] in Mongolian, written by Lubsandanjin, and hand-copied in the mid-seventeenth century.[80] Later this binding format was generally used in works of Buddhist literature.

‘Accordion’ binding was a bookbinding format in which a long sheet of paper was folded into a volume like an accordion. Mongol accordion binding can be divided into either horizontally folded or vertically folded formats. The horizontally folded format is unique to Mongolia; the writing is executed from the top to the bottom of the page in straight rows, vertically within each fold. The page format is similar to that of *pothi* binding. The style of covers or first page of this bookbinding is similar to that of *pothi* binding, usually with illustrations especially printed on the left- and right-hand margins of the page. The vertically folded volumes are very similar to the Chinese accordion binding, but they are marked by certain dissimilarities between the Chinese and Mongolian systems of handwriting as well as the direction of writing on the page. Chinese is written perpendicularly

[80] These are preserved in the National Library of Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar.

from right to left and so has a method of folding which allows books to be opened on the left side. Mongolian is written perpendicularly from left to right and so uses a method of folding which allows books to be opened on the right side. Accordion bookbinding was first used mainly for volumes of Buddhist scriptures and only later also for historical works.

In thread binding certain pages were stacked to form a quire and were sewn together with threads alongside the spine to make a book. The Mongol method of thread binding, or threading, developed directly from that of China, and was more usually seen in works handwritten or published after the eighteenth century. This thread binding could be subdivided into latitudinally and longitudinally bound books. Latitudinally threaded volumes were horizontally rectangular in shape and resembled Mongol *pothi*-bound books. The texts were written from the top to the bottom of the page in straight rows, vertically over open edges, also similar to that of *pothi* binding. Longitudinally threaded volumes look similar to Chinese thread binding on the outside, but, since handwriting customs differ, the direction in which such books open also differs. The covers of Mongol thread binding were usually made of paper in the same shape and size as the pages. Other covers were made of cloth or brocade. The title of a book was written on the front cover or on the label affixed to the front cover.

Painting was an important component of the artistic life of Mongolia. Following the gradual revival of Mongol culture after the sixteenth century, Mongol painting began to acquire a certain dynamism. The illustrations in the still-extant *Memorial of the Shunyi Wang Altan Khan to the Emperor of the Ming*[81] are among the precious artistic remains which unambiguously demonstrate the finely honed Mongol artistic techniques of that period. The Mongolian memorial and its Chinese version appear side by side, with the illustrations placed beneath the texts. The illustrations are coloured with brush and ink on a silk-scroll base and date from 1580. The contents trace the route taken by the tributary envoys sent from Tümed where Altan Khan lived to Beijing. The paintings show evidence of the influence of Chinese artists, yet at the same time they evince many unique characteristics: they show felt tents and horses painted with ease. Of particular note are the exquisite realistic depictions of Altan Khan and his consort, retinue and cavalry. In the paintings we also see delicate interpretations of scenes showing the tributary envoys travelling along the city walls, as well as Altan Khan's palaces and the minutiae of palace life. Thus in one priceless, illustrated historical document we find representations of landscapes, palatial halls and lofty buildings, the passage of chariots and horses and intimate details from life at every level of society.

[81] The originals are held in the Museum of Asia attached to the Russian Academy of Sciences. 'Shunyi Wang' ('Obedient and Righteous Prince') was a title granted to Altan Khan by the Ming court.

After the mid-sixteenth century, following the ascendance of the Yellow sect of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia, Lamaist art in this region underwent considerable development. Inspired by Tibetan art, and influenced by Chinese painting, blended with the artistic style of the Mongol peoples, there arose the style of Mongol Lamaist painting. Its most important distinguishing characteristics are that, besides subjects of Tibetan Buddhism, the themes include stories from Mongol history as well as popular customs; and the composition of paintings often reflects traditional designs of popular Mongol culture.

Following the spread of Lamaism, temples and Buddhist pagodas were built in every area of Mongolia, usually in either the Chinese or Tibetan style. These buildings often contain the most beautiful murals, such as those found in the Mayidari Dzu (where the latter word indicates a monastery), the Qingyuan temple and the Da ('Grand', in Chinese) Dzu complexes in the Hohhot region of Inner Mongolia.

The Mayidari Dzu, in the Tümed Right-banner in Inner Mongolia, constitutes the most important group of buildings to have been commissioned by Altan Khan. It was built in 1575. Mayidari Khutughtu, who travelled from Tibet to Mongolia as a missionary, stayed here, and so the buildings became known as the Mayidari Dzu (see Chapter 18, Part Four). The complex included a Buddhist chapel, temples, a royal residence and surrounding walls. The brightly coloured murals in the various halls include depictions of the Buddha, the bodhisattvas and eminent monks as well as scenes from the stories of the Buddha's previous lives; there are also depictions of historical figures, the natural landscape and environment and other decorative patterns.

Representations of the Buddha can be seen everywhere in wall paintings and hanging portraits found in the chapel, the main hall and the glazed hall. These employ many different techniques and styles. Stories from the Buddhist tradition are painted on the walls of the chapel; on the lower half of the wall there are some portraits of the Buddha. These paintings are all carefully drawn and outlined and show human forms in exquisite and well-proportioned detail. The colours give the impression of harmony and elegance. Gold leaf is evenly used in some paintings. Of especial note is a painting of a landscape of mountains, rocks and trees diligently dotted in moss-shapes in the manner of the traditional Chinese method of painting characterized by the predominance of blues and greens.

The brilliantly coloured portrait of the Buddha on the wall opposite the entrance of the chapel reflects the special nature of Tibetan Lamaist art and is in sharp contrast to the simpler and elegant murals. The Buddha's images in the glazed hall are exquisitely designed and drawn, making faint strokes in an array of colours. Most of the faces are of a livid purple colour evidently designed to create feelings of awe. The postures of bodhisattvas painted on the walls are uniformly elegant, and their hands are either held out,



Fig. 20. Wall painting of Junggin Khatun at Mayidari Dzu (detail). (Photo: Courtesy of Liu Zhengyin.)

palms cupped upwards, or so turned as if they are plucking flowers. Each bodhisattva has his own individual gesture, betraying the kind and good-natured temperament attributed to women in Chinese art. A giant portrait of the Sakyamuni (Buddha) is painted on the wall opposite the entrance of the main hall; the walls on either side are fully occupied by paintings which show scenes from the Buddha's previous lives. On the east and west walls are some exquisitely crafted and traced paintings showing the image of Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow sect of Tibetan Buddhism, and scenes from his previous life. The outlined figures are filled with colours such as vermilion, cinnabar, ochre, bright yellow, grey and mineral green (a green pigment made from malachite) and other mineral-based pigments. The warm tones used to portray the Buddhist figures offer a contrast to the cool greens and blues used to paint landscapes and create a brilliant yet harmonious effect.

The mural depicting Altan Khan's consort Junggin Khatun on the western wall of the main hall is perhaps the finest to be found in the Mayidari Dzu complex. Junggin Khatun was a famous Mongol stateswoman (*fl. c.* 1600), and was proclaimed Zhongshun Furen (Loyal and Obedient Lady) by an imperial Ming-dynasty edict. The mural is 17 m long and 2 m high. The left side concentrates upon the first part of Junggin Khatun's life; the right side, upon the last part: these are separated by the central section which contains a painting of the Sumeru Pedestal. The left-hand section shows a youthful Junggin Khatun (see Fig. 20) sitting cross-legged, wearing a coloured hat topped with a red tassel and a scarlet sleeveless outer garment over grey-coloured bound sleeves and a long robe. Beside



Fig. 21. Wall painting of Junggin Khatun at Mayidari Dzu (detail). (Photo: Courtesy of Liu Zhengyin.)

her is Altan Khan, wearing a coloured hat and a grey cape with a red edge over tangerine-coloured bound sleeves and a long robe, his hand fingering some prayer beads. Both his consort and he bend forwards as if in contemplative prayer. Their retinue kneel on either side, respectfully presenting them with tea in cupped hands. There is also a figure wearing a short-sleeved half-length robe to Junggin Khatun's left, the robe being apricot yellow in colour. This part of the painting shows the landscape of the Mongol steppes, with clusters of fresh flowers and streams rushing and gurgling. The artist uses the Buddhist scriptures, beads, etc. to decorate the painting and fill any empty spaces, emphasizing the brilliance of the subject and presenting an integrated whole.

In the right-hand painting we see an aged Junggin Khatun (see Fig. 21). She wears a fur-lined conical hat with a broad brim and a fur-edged yellow outer robe and has a faint smile. She is seen half-sitting on a wooden bench in a reverential manner. Painted lower than her is a young woman wearing a scarlet jacket and a shawl over her shoulders and below her feet are four young women playing different musical instruments. To the young woman's left there is a bearded elder wearing a broad-edged conical hat topped with a pearl and a red tassel, and beneath her feet are also four young men in fur- lined conical hats and pigtails sitting on a vermilion rug. All the figures in the painting appear to follow the rhythms of the canticles and musical instruments in what is a most vibrant scene. Using heavy brush strokes, the style is bold and unsophisticated. The hues are brilliant and the effect is quite

startling; such depiction allows us to see, perhaps, the highest level of achievement in Mongol artistry.

In the monastery there are many murals of flowers, birds, mountains and landscapes: amongst these the wall paintings in the temple where Junggin Khatun is said to lie entombed in her coffin are outstanding. These paintings of the natural world are unlike the landscapes of the Song and Yüan dynasties in China, as they use a freehand style of brushwork characterized by vivid expressions and bold outlines, showing that they were heavily influenced by the Chinese ink paintings of the late Ming period. Nevertheless these landscapes often make use of perspective, a regional artistic characteristic worthy of note.

The Qingyuan temple is at Usutu village to the north-west of Hohhot and was built in 1606. Later, another four temples were added and the whole complex became known as the Usutu Dzu. The Qingyuan temple was built by Mongol craftsmen. The wall paintings can be found on the eastern and western walls of the Buddhist temple. Each one is 13 m high and 4.1 m wide. The paintings are each divisible into two parts, the upper part showing Bhairava and the lower part natural landscapes, giving an impression of space and grandeur. The various postures and facial expressions of Dharmapala are imbued with great verve and strength and were intended to create awe among those who looked upon them. This sort of detail is of the same type found in the paintings at the Mayidari Dzu in that the brush strokes are thick and emphatic. These scenes all lead the eye onwards to Dharmapala through the use of relatively pale colours. In sharp contrast with the lower sections of the paintings are the varied postures and facial expressions of Mahakalah, whose limitless supernatural powers, Buddhists believe, ensure that every living creature in the world depends upon his protection. The expression of the goddess Shridevi is intended to evoke extreme feelings of fear as her three eyes glare down on the beholder. In her hands she holds a human heart and a *danda* (stick) and she rides a donkey through an ocean of blood. The donkey wears a human head dripping with blood. There are other fearsome and hideous deities painted in an exaggerated fashion among the murals.

The Da Dzu, known in Mongolian as the Yeke Dzu, on the site of the monastery at Hohhot, was built under the sponsorship of Altan Khan in 1579– 1580 and was granted the name of Hongci Shi (‘Hongci temple’) by the Ming court. Both the Buddhist chapel and the temple contain wall paintings. The murals on the eastern and western sides of the chapel are 18.3 m high and 2.6 m wide. In layout, the paintings are divided into three levels: the heavens are at the top, the Sakyamuni resides in the middle and the earth forms the lowest level. They tell the story of the Sakyamuni’s first enlightenment and of how he travelled from place to place preaching over the course of the first 15 days of the lunar New Year.

The paintings are all on a grand scale. In terms of skill, the influence of the Chinese artistic tradition is to be seen in the soft and delicate brush strokes which nimbly and meticulously sketch the figures. The depictions of the Buddha are the most colourful, such as in the painting which shows him sitting cross-legged in meditation upon a lotus-flower throne and holding a *cakra* (wheel of dharma) in his upturned palm, his face imbued with grace and benevolence. His head is inclined slightly to one side as he contemplates the world below. His bejewelled crown and flowing robes are all extremely lifelike. The colouration is evenly applied and the simple and elegant artwork has a most charming appearance. In the depiction of the landscape, faint strokes in an array of dyes and hues are used to paint the cloud layers to perfection, and the lotus throne is also vividly dyed.

The Wudang Dzu in Wudang Gou to the north-east of Baotou city in Inner Mongolia began to be built during the reign of the Qing emperor Kang Xi (1662–1722) and was extensively renovated in 1749. The monastery is built in the Tibetan style and includes six halls, three mansions and one mausoleum. One of its most striking features are the richly gorgeous wall paintings. They illustrate stories from the life of the Sakyamuni, a tale of Tsongkhapa, numerous Buddhas and the four Kings of Heaven (namely, Dhrtarastra, Virudhaka, Virupaksa and Dhanada), etc.

From the sixteenth century there was a great flurry of temple building in every corner of Mongolia. After the establishment of the Qing government in the region, many more temples were built, particularly in Inner Mongolia. Around Hohhot, for example, there were 15 large monasteries. In ‘Outer’ Mongolia, the famous Erdeni Dzu was the first monastery dedicated to the Yellow sect of Tibetan Buddhism. It was constructed in 1586 by the Khalkha ruler Abtai Khan at the ruins of Karakorum, the famous city under the Yüan dynasty. In 1723 the Qing government also built the Qinning monastery at Urga (present Ulaanbaatar) where Jebtsundamba Khutughtu lived. Other temples were also built in relatively remote locations. All these large and small temples were decorated with murals and this naturally promoted the development of Mongol art.

A notable Mongol art form is the *thangkha* (scroll painting), something painted on, or embroidered on, cloth. *Thangkha* paintings constitute an important part of the heritage of Lamaist art among the Mongols. The Mongol *thangkha*s, similar to the Tibetan *thangkha*s, mostly depicted figures of the Buddha and scenes from the stories of the Buddha’s life as well as from other Buddhist legends. *Thangkha* paintings also depicted local customs and way of life. Besides large *thangkha* paintings which were several tens of metres long or wide, there were small *thangkha* paintings hanging from the walls of Buddhist chapels. These small *thangkha* paintings mostly depicted scenes from the stories of the Buddha, and constituted a series of exquisitely made picturestory paintings.



Fig. 22. Portrait of Yunli by Manghuli (landscape supplied by Jiang Tingxi).
Painting on a silk scroll. Imperial Palace Museum, Beijing. (Photo: Courtesy of Liu Zhengyin.)

Prints (in other words, pictures printed from an engraved or etched plate) are also an important form of Mongol art. When the Buddhist sutras were printed, illustrations showing themes relevant to Buddhism were created. The vast collection of Buddhist sutras include a great quantity of woodcuts. Their flowing lines, lifelike portraits and exquisite printing bear testimony to the fine craftsmanship of the Mongol artists.

After the seventeenth century the influence of Han Chinese art on Mongol areas became increasingly important. This was shown by the emergence of an eminent group of Mongol artists well-versed in the techniques of Chinese painting. Manghuli and Buyantu are representatives of this group. Manghuli was an outstanding portrait artist attached to the royal court. He studied Western methods of painting to inform his own skills. In his famous *Portrait of Yunli* (Fig. 22) the facial features are traced with thin lines using a reddishbrown ochre and the hair, beard and eyebrows have both dark and light shades, giving the portrait a three-dimensional quality.

Buyantu flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century and was the most famous landscape artist of the time. Not only was he adept at painting, he was also a master of the theory of art. His well-known book *Huaxue Xinfa Wenda* [Questions and Answers on Painting] uses a question-and-answer format to address the many theoretical questions regarding art. The book contains 37 chapters in which the master answers his students' questions. The aestheticism of his drawings is rooted in realism but also displays some romanticism.

Buyantu was an outstanding artist who managed to combine theory and practice relatively well and whose artistic theories hold a certain practical relevance even now.

Calligraphy is an important component of Mongol fine art. One of the most notable early characteristics of Mongolian writing was the way in which the tails, or suffixes, of a great number of words were written, pointing straight down; this type of writing is therefore also known as the 'Mongolian upright tail script'. Around the eighteenth century the design of the Mongolian script fell gradually into a regular pattern. Whereas in the past a confused jumble of different symbols gave rise to peculiar characteristics, writing now became increasingly clear and more attractive; the tails of words began to point in a more horizontal direction and so this type of writing became known as the 'Mongolian horizontal tail script'.

Writing tools also influenced the way in which the script was written. In earlier times Mongolian had been mainly written with bamboo pens and so the script had strong, angular strokes. From the eighteenth century, most texts were written with Chinese brushes so that the once strong, angular strokes were gradually replaced by softer, rounder and more fluent lines. Early Mongolian was usually in the regular script, in which all kinds of strokes in the initial, medial and final forms of the characters are, on the whole, neatly and clearly written. From the eighteenth century, calligraphy progressed from the regular style into a regular-running style with tails which protruded from the bottoms of the characters. The strokes of these tails are usually thickly and heavily written with calligraphy brushes; since they look like knives in shape, they are called 'knife-strokes'. The style of the 'seal' character is also employed mainly for decoration in Mongolian calligraphy. All these different scripts give the impression of a strong and vibrant art form. Buddhist writings are written in a comparatively fine manner, being supposed to be the embodiment of precious and sacred truths. These Buddhist works were usually transcribed by master calligraphers, and the scrolls or bound volumes were often kept in the monastery's treasury. Mongolian calligraphy was also used on boards fixed to walls or the lintels of doors or was carved on steles. There are many outstanding examples of calligraphy in Mongolian texts and on engraved steles that date from the sixteenth century.

After the seventeenth century, influenced by the culture of inland China, Mongolia also produced some calligraphers of the Han (Chinese) script. Manghuli and Buyantu, mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, were skilled at both painting and calligraphy. There were other famous calligraphers like Fashishan (1753–1813), Songyun (1752–1835) and Woren (1804–71). All these Mongol masters hold a secure place in the history of Chinese calligraphy.

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APPLIED ARTS: METALWORK, CERAMICS AND SCULPTURE

A. Ivanov

Contents

Metalwork

Of the history of metalwork in Central Asia in our period we can as yet offer only a very patchy picture. The mid-sixteenth to the nineteenth century is known as the 'late period', whose material culture has sparked very little interest among researchers. Following exhibitions of 'Muslim art' in the early decades of the twentieth century, it became clear that the peaks of artistic development in most of the Islamic countries had been passed well before the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it is the earlier period that has mainly attracted the attention of scholars.

Here it is necessary to draw attention to the importance of accurate attribution ofartefacts – that is, the objective determination of the time and place of their creation – since all

historical conclusions depend upon the degree of accuracy with which the determination is achieved. The problem of attribution is unfortunately far from being solved. While a reasonable framework of attributions has been established for Persian metalwork – copperware and bronze- (or brass)ware[1] – produced from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, many other nineteenth-century items still await study. The same can be said of metalware from nineteenth-century Transoxania, although some scholars have studied the subject.

Museum collections are of little help in determining when and where an object was made. Their original provenance is often undocumented and the catalogues often do not even mention the time and place at which a particular item was first acquired. As to the dates of manufacture, they are hardly ever inscribed on the objects themselves in our period (sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century), though such inscribed dates are quite numerous in the later part of this period. These late dates can still help to build a chronological sequence establishing the development of ornamentation and some traditional techniques used by coppersmiths in different regions. The two factors in their turn can be used to determine the possible origin of the products of each particular group or school.

Copperware and bronze- (or brass) ware

IRAN

The period from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century in the history of copper and bronze (or brass) production in Persia has been studied unevenly. Two stages of production can be distinguished: the first extends from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century, and the second, from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. The second stage has the following characteristics: First, new types of artefacts appear and old types, which were characteristic of the first stage, disappear. Second, silver and gold inlay disappears. In the nineteenth century there are attempts to make objects with inlay work, but for the most part these are found in the second half of the century. Third, the replacement of Arabic by Persian inscriptions is further extended: only Arabic verses in honour of ᶜAlī, blessings sought from the imams and the owner's name remain. The blessings are found only on socalled 'magic cups', while in the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, they are inscribed on a very wide variety of objects. Inscriptions from the Qur'an in the second stage are also written on 'magic cups'. Among the inscriptions, Persian verses predominate. Couplets from the great classical poets of Persia are inscribed,

[1] This double definition must be kept because no analysis of the structure of the alloy has been carried out in the case of many artefacts and a definite distinction between bronze (copper plus tin) and brass (copper plus zinc) is not always possible.

although sometimes samples from the works of contemporary poets are also found. About 100 fragments of poetry unknown in the first stage have been identified on objects from the second stage.

Fourth, the script used for the inscriptions changes. In objects from the first stage, inscriptions are made, as a rule, in the *naskh* or *suls (thuluth*) cursive scripts (varieties of Arabo-Persian scripts). From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards the less condensed *nastaᶜlīq* script, developed in the fifteenth century for writing Persian, begins to predominate and continues until the present time. *Suls* and *naskh* are found only in inscriptions in Arabic.

Fifth, the arrangement of the inscriptions in the cartouches on artefacts changes. In the first stage, the words of the inscription fill the entire space of the cartouche, leaving no gaps between letters. From the middle of the sixteenth century, inscriptions as a rule are more spread out along the line and elements of floral decoration appear between words and letters. The tendency for ornamentation to occupy the background of inscriptions intensifies in the seventeenth century, when the background is filled by twisting stems with leaves and flowers.

Sixth, a change in style of ornamentation occurs: several new compositions involving floral ornamentation appear and continue into the nineteenth century. On objects from the second stage, images of animals and people can be seen. These are practically non-existent on works from the fifteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century. There are, of course, exceptions, but they amount to fewer than a dozen.

A characteristic of Persian artisanship is the work in the background to ornamentation and inscriptions. It first appears in the fourteenth century. On all objects from the first stage, the background is worked in cross-hatching with perpendicular strokes. On copper objects it is thicker and cruder, while on bronze (or brass) objects with inlay, it is very thin or fine.

In the mid-sixteenth century, the background begins to be worked in hatching – in other words, the perpendicular strokes disappear. Obviously this speeded up the manufacture of an object. In the second half of the sixteenth century, we find objects on which the background to ornamentation and inscriptions is both cross-hatched and hatched. Cross-hatching disappears completely in the 1590s (this is demonstrated by a large number of accurately dated objects). On all objects from the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, the background is worked exclusively in hatching. This change helps us to date works from the second stage.

While the dating of objects from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century isrelatively straightforward, and dates are accurate to within 50 or even 25 years, the determination of their origin remains highly problematic. This question has particular

relevance within the frame of the present volume as only one part of Iran – the province of Khurasan – is included within the area defined as 'Central Asia'. There is almost no seventeenth–eighteenth-century metalwork that can be indisputably linked to towns in Khurasan. There is however a *rubā^{c}ī* (quatrain) found on six copper vessels of similar shape made in the seventeenth century, which indirectly indicates Mashhad as the place of origin (Fig. 1). Although the shapes are similar, the ornamental decoration on each of the six objects is very different and this raises doubts. However, until proved otherwise, one can presume that these six copper objects were made in Mashhad in the seventeenth century.

No reference has been traced in the historical sources to metal production in Khurasan between the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. Names of master coppersmiths in this period with a *nisba* (gentilic name) linked to Khurasan are virtually unknown. The only exception is a certain Husayn Herawī, who made a bronze money-box in Sha^{c}ban 959/ July–August 1552. This money-box is in the National Museum of Iran in Tehran (inv. 20139). His *nisba* implies that his family (or he himself) came from Herat, but does not necessarily mean that he worked there.

The causes of the collapse in metalware production are not known but perhaps theturbulent political events of the eighteenth century – the fall of the Safavid dynasty in Persia, the brief rule of Nādir Shāh (1736–47) (see below) and the struggle following his murder in 1747 – brought about a decline of urban life, dramatically reducing the use and production of metalwork. Effects of these events are reflected in the objects themselves: the technical processes are simplified. From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, the background to the ornamentation and inscriptions is no longer worked in hatching; it is punched. This clearly speeded up the production process, but also simplified it. In other words, objects from the Safavid period can be distinguished from those of the Qajar period by the background provided to ornamentation and inscriptions. Such changes demonstrate that a new stage in the history of metal production in Persia had begun in the late eighteenth century. As in the middle of the sixteenth century, one sees the appearance of new types of artefacts and the disappearance of old ones. A rough calculation shows that out of 50 types of artefacts known from the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, only 12 or so remain by the nineteenth century.

Preliminary observations on the sixteenth-century inscriptions on metalwork show that the most common script was *nasta^{c}līq* and the quality of execution was significantlyinferior to that in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As noted before, *nasta^{c}līq* was only used for Persian inscriptions. Of nearly 100 texts now known on objects from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth, only 11 were still used on nineteenth-century



Fig. 1. Mashhad. Copper vessel. First half of the seventeenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

objects. Inscriptions in Arabic are found rarely, mostly, as mentioned above, on 'magic cups'.

There are marked changes in ornamentation. Elements of floral ornamentation found in the Safavid period are either absent in nineteenth-century objects or they are treated differently. On the other hand, by comparison with the earlier period (the seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth century), images of people, animals and a variety of fantastic creatures become more common, being, indeed, the typical decorative elements in the nineteenth century. Sometimes even European subjects such as the Madonna and Child, or horsemen in European dress can be seen on metalwork, for instance those signed by Muhammad Hakkāk (Fig. 2).[2]

All these changes mean that a new phase in the history of metalwork in Persia began in the second half of the eighteenth century, but it is difficult to determine when it ended. It is not certain that its end coincided with the fall of the Qajar dynasty in 1925.

The role of Khurasan in the nineteenth century remains problematic. Western and Russian travellers write about copper and bronze metalware in central Persia (Qazvin, Kashan, Isfahan, Shiraz) as they did during the Safavid period, but they do not mention any of the towns in Khurasan. It is only in the second half of the nineteenth century that

[2] See Ivanov, forthcoming.



Fig. 2. Iran. Bronze (or brass) ewer signed by Muhammad Hakkāk. Mid-nineteenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

Shahrud is referred to with 5 coppersmiths and Herat with 15 workshops.[3] It is thus difficult to determine whether copper and brass (or bronze) objects were produced in Khurasan towns in the first half of the nineteenth century. It would be premature to assume that the nineteenth-century metalware kept in museums in eastern areas of Iran and western Afghanistan was actually made in these regions, as these objects may have been brought from elsewhere.[4]

AFGHANISTAN

The boundaries of modern-day Afghanistan were only finally determined in the second half of the nineteenth century. Until the 1850s, eastern Khurasan with Herat at its centre was considered part of Iran in all respects. As to the other parts of Afghanistan, nothing is known about the production of metalware in provinces to the south of the Hindu Kush from the sixteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century. *Misgar*s (coppersmiths) were active in the second half of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries in Kandahar and Kabul,[5] but the works of these craftsmen are so far unknown. Names of artisans with *nisba*s from cities south of the Hindu Kush have not so far been recorded.

[3] See Tumanovich, 1989, p. 64.
[4] On these attributions, see Melikian-Chirvani, n.d., pp. 312–14.
[5] See Mendelson, 1983, p. 118; Frembgen, 1986, pp. 41–60.

TRANSOXANIA

The territory to the north of the Amu Darya (Oxus) was part of the Shaybanid kingdom in the sixteenth century and subsequently, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of the Janid (Astarkhanid) kingdom. The history of copper- and bronzeware in this territory from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century remains unclear. This is because until now we have been unable to bring to light, or to identify, objects which could have been made in this region.[6] Undoubtedly they must be different in some way from Iranian objects of the same era. Collections in major museums of the region do not contain such items. Written sources from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century give very little indication of the existence of centres of metalware manufacture. The present author is aware of only three such mentions: (a) in a *waqf* (religious endowment) document of Khwāja Ahrār (no later than 1490) there is a reference to a 'coppersmiths' bazaar' in Samarkand.[7] Whether this bazaar was large or not is unknown; (b) in documents of the Juybārī *shaykh*s (midsixteenth century) a 'coppersmith's shop' in Qaraqul (near Bukhara) is mentioned;[8] and (c) a certain Muhammad Qulī Bāy Beg *misgar* (coppersmith) is mentioned in connection with the sale of land in the village of Kan-i Gil near Samarkand in 1086/1675.[9] The seventeenth-century poet from Transoxania, Saido Nasafī, also wrote a *qasīda* (eulogy) in honour of a certain *tashtgar*,[10] the word designating a maker of large copper basins. It should be stressed that the fact that metalware was used in daily life at the time does not mean that all the objects were necessarily made in Transoxania.[11]

The eighteenth century was also a difficult period in the history of Transoxania and urban life declined considerably. Economic recovery, however, came at the end of that period, and in the nineteenth century copper and bronze (or brass) production was already well developed. There is evidence to this effect from historical sources and artefacts exist with the names of their makers. Coppersmith *nisba*s point to different towns in the region:

[6] When, in 1972, the author of this chapter defended a dissertation on Iranian copper- and bronzeware of the second half of the fourteenth century to the second half of the eighteenth century, not a single object made in Transoxania in the sixteenth–eighteenth century was known; and to this day, no such works have been found. Other authors support this opinion; see Abdullaev and Khakimov, 1986*a*, pp. 36–7.

[7] *Samarkandskie dokumenty XV–XVI vv*, 1974, p. 245.

[8] Ivanov, 1954, p. 286.

[9] National Library of Russia (St Petersburg), Manuscript Department, document F. 940, No. 4.

[10] Mirzoev, 1956, pp. 64, 86, 138, 141.

[11] Mukminova, 1976, pp. 104, 107–10.

Khiva,[12] Bukhara,[13] Samarkand,[14] Karshi (Qarshi), Shahr-i Sabz,[15] Ura-tepe,[16] Kokand (Khoqand)[17] and Tashkent.[18] While there are not very many names of craft workers with *nisba*s, and nothing is known as yet of the biographies of those who worked in the first half of the nineteenth century, material is now available for some fruitful research on this 'late period', which, as mentioned previously, has so far attracted only limited attention.[19] Production techniques, however, have been well described and attempts have been made to produce a typological description of objects and a definition of their uses. Systematic analysis of the decoration and ornamentation of objects is only beginning, but some regional differences in both the form of objects and their decorative ornamentation have already been noted.[20]

It was mentioned above that typical Persian ware from the second half of the sixteenth century to the first half of the eighteenth has a hatched background to the ornaments and inscriptions, while from the middle of the eighteenth century, the background is punched, a tradition which continued in Persia throughout the nineteenth century. Contrary to this tradition, on the overwhelming majority of nineteenth-century copper and brass objects correctly attributed to Transoxania, the background remains hatched, but often in different directions. This leads one to think either that there was a strong Persian influence on production in Transoxania from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, or that craft workers emigrated there from Persia during the troubled years of the eighteenth century. As for the shapes of objects from Transoxania in the nineteenth century, they are very

[12] Shamansurova, 1965, pp. 62–5. In the mid-nineteenth century there were 38 coppersmiths in Khiva; see Dzhabbarov, 1971, pp. 86–7.

[13] Chabrov, 1964, pp. 103–8.

[14] Abdullaev, 1972, pp. 252–68 (this article does not give scholarly attributions of objects). In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were 31 coppersmiths' workshops here. See Faiziev, 1979, p. 43.

[15] A brass cup made by Yūsuf Shahrisabzi is in a private collection in St Petersburg.

[16] There were five coppersmiths there around the middle of the nineteenth century; see Mukhtorov, 1998, p. 144.

[17] In 1841 a certain Hājī Qalandar, a *misgar*, was active in Kokand (see Beisembiev, 1985, p. 39). In the Museum of Ethnography in St Petersburg there is a brass cauldron, made by Mīrzā Qalandar-Ustā *misgar*. On a variety of objects from Kokand in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Borochina, 1991, pp. 44–7.

[18] In Iski-Miskarliq, a district of Tashkent in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Mallitskiy, 1927, pp. 115, 118.

[19] The following works may be noted: Kornilov, 1932; Sergeev, 1960; Abdullaev, 1974; Westphal- Hellbush and Bruns, 1974 (it should be noted that numbers 95, 96, 114, 116, 117, 119and 123 in the album are clearly the work of Iranian craftsmen of the sixteenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century; mortar no. 124 was made in Khurasan in the twelfth century; and two objects – 111 and 120 – are Iranian, but of nineteenth century); Voitov, 1986, pp. 41–65; Abdullaev and Khakimov, 1986*a*, pp. 37–41.

[20] See Abdullaev, 1974, pp. 13–17.



Fig. 3. Transoxania (Khiva?). Bronze or brass ewer. Mid-nineteenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

different from Persian objects of the same period. The same can be said of plant ornamentation. Living creatures are rarely depicted in Transoxanian ware of the nineteenth century, while they appear in great numbers on Persian ware. Inscriptions (with the exception of the names of the craft workers) are rarely found on objects from Transoxania, while in Persia they are very often used to decorate metalware.

The most common items of nineteenth-century metalware in Transoxania are small jugs for boiling water (*chāyjūsh*, i.e. tea boiler) whose shape differs according to where they were made, large water jugs with rounded bodies, jugs with a flared brim and ewers (*āftāba*s) which are typical of Khiva (Fig. 3). A wide variety of teapots, samovars, hookahs, cups and basins was also made. It is still difficult to decide whether significant changes in copperware production took place in this region in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the markets received great quantities of Russian factory-made goods.

XINJIANG AND WESTERN CHINA

To all appearances, the production of copperware was developed in western Xinjiang (East Turkistan), as *nisba*s from Yarkand (Yārqand)[21] and Kashghar[22] appear among names of craftsmen. Objects bought in East Turkistan are similar in shape to nineteenth-century Transoxanian ware. This is entirely understandable since Transoxania was a major centre of metal production in the nineteenth century. But whether there was any difference in the ornamentation of objects between Xinjiang and Transoxania remains to be determined.[23]

Nothing is known about pre-nineteenth-century objects in this region. There were links with Chinese art, but they have yet to be established. Contacts already existed in the seventeenth century,[24] but it remains unclear what form they took in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

INDIA

The Indian subcontinent has a centuries-long tradition of metalwork. The publication of Zebrowski's book[25] makes the task of this survey easier, as it covers the period during which the Great Mughals (1526–1858) ruled over most of the territory. The objects take many original forms that are unknown among Iranian and Transoxanian ware. The ornamentation of vessels is also original, although many bronze (or brass) objects have relatively little ornamentation, which distinguishes them from works from other regions. It is true that most of the objects that have appeared in the literature date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the nineteenth century is barely represented.

Objects with Shi^{c}ite inscriptions should be ascribed to Hyderabad (Deccan) or Oudh (Awadh) ownership. They show a link with Persia not only through these inscriptions, but

[21] Two craftsmen are known: (1) Mullā Ahmad Yārqandī, cup no. E-3300 in the collection of the Museum of the History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan, in Tashkent, see Abdullaev, 1974, no. 44 (no reproduction and description); (2) Mullā ^{c}Abd-Nāsir Yārqandī, a copper box with a lid (see Sarre. 1906, no. 91). The attribution of the wares to the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries and to East Turkistan is questionable.

[22] Three craftsmen: (1) Ustād Bābā Kāshgarī, who made a tin-plated copper jug in 1255/1839– 40 which is kept in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St Petersburg; (2) Ustād Ayyūb Kāshgarī, who made a jug, or *chāyjūsh*, in 1266/1849–50 which is in the Museum of Western and Eastern Art in Kiev; and (3) Fulād-Khwāja Kāshgharī, who made a tin-plated copper jug, now in the Museum of Ethnography in St Petersburg. This jug is not dated, but may be ascribed to the nineteenth century.

[23] Three jugs with highly original ornamentation, quite different from the ornamentation on Transoxanian ware, were recorded in the album of F. R. Martin and attributed to 'Eastern Turkistan' (see Martin, 1902, Pl. 68), but this annotation clearly refers to the place of purchase. It remains difficult to judge when they were made.

[24] See Laufer, 1934, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 145–6.

[25] See Zebrowski, 1997, which has a wide-ranging bibliography (pp. 360–4); see also Jones, 1996, pp. 708–10.

also in the characteristic hatching on the background to the ornamentation and inscriptions, which is typical of all Persian ware from the seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth century. This process is clearly linked to the migration of the objects' owners or makers: some cups[26] look entirely Persian in both shape and decoration, although they were made in India (this is evidenced by the larger twisting stems with flowers on the backgrounds; on seventeenth-century Persian works these stems and flowers are finer and thinner). The question of the links between Indian and Persian metalwork in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must be pursued further.[27] In all likelihood, the provinces of Kashmir[28] and Punjab[29] were at the centre of these contacts. It was only in India that artefacts were made of *bidri*, an alloy with zinc predominate and little quantities of lead, copper and tin, inlaid with silver and brass (Fig. 4).[30] They continued to be produced in the nineteenth century.

Steelware

A variety of objects made of damask steel were produced in Persia during the Safavid period, but the role of Khurasan remains problematic. In Mashhad, the museum at the shrine of Imām Rizā contains a group of artefacts of different shapes made by the craftsmen ᶜAbbās b. Sulaymān, Fayzullāh Shushtarī[31] and Kamālu'dd īn Mahmūd.[32] But the fact that these objects are now kept in this museum does not prove that they were made either in Mashhad itself or in some other towns in Khurasan or even elsewhere as seen in the *nisba* Shushtarī(from Shushtar, a town in south-western Iran). As usual, nothing is known of the careers of these craftsmen.

[26] See Zebrowski, 1997, nos. 581–2. If we take the Iranian analogy into account, then both cups should be dated to a period no earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century, and not around 1600. While the later inscription on cup No. 581 bears the date 111, it is more logical to understand this as [1]111 or 1699–1700 and not 1[0]11/1602–3. There are many examples in which the initial digit representing 1000 was left out of the date, not an internal number.

[27] See Melikian-Chirvani, 1994, pp. 54–81.

[28] See Ujfalvy, 1883; Digby, 1955–7, p. 22, Pl. 7; Scarce and Elwell-Sutton, 1971, pp. 71–85; Digby, 1974, pp. 181–5.

[29] For the period from the middle of the sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century, four coppersmiths are known to have worked in Lahore. A tray made in Sialkot in the middle of the nineteenth century was published by Professor Scerrato: see Scerrato, 1971, pp. 13–25.

[30] See Stronge, 1996, pp. 713–14.

[31] This craftsman also made a dagger blade for Shāh Sultān Husayn (private collection in the United States).

[32] See Samadī, n.d., pp. 36, 44, 53, 56–9; Kamālu'ddīn Mahmūd also made a blade for sharpening quills – a *maqta*ᶜ – and an open-work plaque, both dated 1108/1695–6 (see *A Survey of Persian Art*, 1939, Pl. 1390 F; *Islamic and Indian Miniatures*, Christie's, 25 April 1995, N. 304).



Fig. 4. India. *Bidri* ewer inlaid with silver. Eighteenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

No eighteenth-century steel objects[33] have been found so far and the same is true of the nineteenth century; the steel objects we know of are Isfahan ware from the second half of the nineteenth century,[34] but there is nothing from the first half. The role of Khurasan again remains unclear.

Sixteenth–nineteenth-century steelware from other regions of Central Asia has not been studied.

Arms

IRAN

In the late Middle Ages, constantly racked by war, it would be logical to expect theman-ufacture of a large quantity of firearms and cold steel. But, oddly enough, when we study the period, we find that very few examples have come down to us from the Safavid period. There are no old (i.e. pre-nineteenth-century) blades in the treasury of the shahs.[35] There

[33] The objects in the Mashhad museum are dated to the late seventeenth–early eighteenth centuries. Some steel tips of banners (ᶜ*alam*) have appeared at auction, dated to the same period, and that is all.

[34] The history of the mysterious Hājī ᶜAbbās has been explained by Dr J. Allan. This craftsman worked in Isfahan and died there in 1380/1960–1 at the age of 95 (see Allan, 1994, pp. 145–7); see also Lukonin and Ivanov, 1996, nos. 253, 277.

[35] See Meen and Tashingham, 1968.

must surely be weapons from the Safavid period in Istanbul, but very few of the city's museum collections have been published. The collections of the armoury in the Kremlin are better known; they include some sabres and daggers offered as gifts by the shahs to the Russian tsars in the eighteenth century.[36] Individual daggers are scattered among various collections,[37] with some examples in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg(Fig. 5).[38]

Here again, the same question arises: which of the arms of the Safavid period can be attributed to Khurasan? If the scanty available information is brought together, we can infer that various types of arms were produced in Semnan, Mashhad, Tus, Herat and Khabushan (Quchān) from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. All this information relates to cold steel. What kind of firearms were produced in Khurasan during this period and what they looked like remains unknown.

Quite a large number of nineteenth-century weapons of various kinds have survived to the present day, but, once again, it has been impossible to elucidate the role of Khurasan in their manufacture. Brief accounts by travellers are of little help. According to Ogordnikov, writing in the late nineteenth century, 'Khurasan is no less famed for the manufacture of blades and cold steel in general than Kashan and Qum are for their steelware.'[39] Herat sabres apparently yielded nothing in terms of quality to those from Mashhad.[40] The huge surface of an iron mine was discovered in the winter of 2000 by Chahryar Adle in Sangan, 100 km west of Herat, on the Iranian side of the border between Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran. It has been extensively exploited and Adle has found traces of a very large furnace. The name of the furnace, Hindu-Sūz (Indian-Burn), seems to indicate relations with India. It is not possible at this stage to be more precise on this subject.[41]

AFGHANISTAN

Very little is known about Afghan arms: they were made in Kabul by the Waziri tribes (of the Sulayman range), rifles were made in Badakhshan, and daggers and knives were forged in Kafiristan (Nuristan).[42]

[36] See *Treasures of the Sixteenth–Eighteenth Century. Persian and Turkish Applied Art*, 1979, nos. 1–24; Lukonin and Ivanov, 1996, nos. 179–80, 200, 216, 220.

[37] See Ivanov, 1979, pp. 64–77.

[38] See *Masterpieces of Islamic Art in the Hermitage Museum*, 1990, Nos. 80, 114; Lukonin and Ivanov, 1996, nos. 165, 199, 201, 248–9.

[39] See Ogordnikov, 1878, pp. 180.

[40] See Mendelson, 1983, pp. 74–5.

[41] C. Adle's private communication to the author.

[42] See Mendelson, 1983, pp. 30, 46, 74–5, 83.



Fig. 5. Iran and India. Dagger with sheath (steel, gold, emeralds, rubies, pearls). The blade bears the signature of Muhammad Lārī dated 1031/1621–2. Lārī, a Persian artist, may have been active in India where the handle and the sheath of this dagger were added later at the end of the seventeenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

TRANSOXANIA

The picture is much the same in this region as in Khurasan. There are references in the historical sources to the production of various kinds of arms in Samarkand and Bukhara in the sixteenth century.[43] However, no identifiable sixteenth–eighteenth-century weapons have so far been found.[44]

The Hermitage collection contains a mysterious sabre with the name of a certainKüchüm Khan on the blade.[45] Naturally, this immediately calls to mind Küchüm Khan (d. 1601) (see Chapter 6, Part Three), the ruler of the Siberian khanate, who was defeated by Yermak in the 1580s. Can it be proved that the sabre actually belonged to this khan?

[43] See Mukminova, 1976, pp. 114–26. The names of many armourers from Bukhara are contained in the documents of the Juybārī *shaykh*s. See Ivanov, 1954, pp. 93, 101, 105, 112, 113–14, 119, 125, 175, 183, 248, 252, 290, 292.

[44] See Abdullaev and Khakimov, 1986*b*, nos. 85–99. The section on arms has no preface. Why the detailing on the shirt of mail no. 86 is dated to the eighteenth century is not clear; lance no. 87 is not 'Bukhara, eighteenth century' but 'Iran, nineteenth century'; Helmet no. 88 is not 'Bukhara, eighteenth century' but 'Iran, seventeenth century'. The remaining items belong in fact to the nineteenth century.

[45] See Lenz, 1908*a*, p. 106; Lenz, 1908*b*, Table VIII.



Fig. 6. Khiva. Sabre with decorated sheth (steel, gold, silver and semiprecious stones). First half of the nineteenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

The blade of the Hermitage sabre is similar in shape to seventeenthcentury Persian blades. This raises a multitude of questions. There are no pre nineteenth-century arms in museum collections in Transoxania. Even in the Khivan treasury deposited in the Hermitage, all the arms date from the nineteenth century. Most of them were made and decorated in Khiva (Fig. 6), which, like Bukhara, was a major centre of arms production in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Hermitage also has many examples of harnesses, sent as gifts to the Russian emperors from the emir of Bukhara in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.[46]

XINJIANG

The history of arms in this region has attracted little attention, at least outside China, and even nineteenth-century weapons are virtually unknown. One sabre by the craftsman Hājī Sa^c^du'dd īn Kāshgharī with the date 1265/1848–9 has been published, but it was made in Bukhara, as the inscription itself indicates.[47] In the Hermitage there is a sabre belonging to Ya^c^qūb Beg, who led an uprising against the Chinese in 1864–7. Its blade is different in shape from Transoxanian and Persian sabres, which may indicate local manufacture.

[46] See also the following: Botyakov and Yanborisov, 1989, pp. 49–60; Kurylev, 1978, pp. 4–22; Pulatov and Mirkhalikov, 1963, pp. 100–7; Gorelik, 1996, p. 262.
[47] See *Oriental Splendour. Islamic Art from German Private Collections*, 1993, no. 130.

INDIA

The Indian subcontinent boasts a wide variety of types of weapons and ways of decorating them. India is considered the home of damask steel, and we are well acquainted with its many different forms, which are on display in almost all the major museums of the world. This wide variety of types can probably be explained by the multinational character of the subcontinent. Weapons from India are to be found not only in all the major museums of the West but also in important collections in India itself.

Indian production was not apparently affected much by events in the eighteenth century, and it steadily continued to produce arms. An English report of the year 1785 of the Nawāb Wazīr's stores at Lucknow (Oudh), says:

> But beyond everything curious and excellent in the Nawab's possession are his arms and armour. The former consist of matchlocks, fuzees [fusees], rifles, fowling-pieces, sabres, pistols, scimitars, spears, *syef*s [long straight swords], daggers, poniards, battle-axes, and clubs, *most of them fabricated in Indostan*, of the purest steel, damasked or highly polished and ornamented in relief or intaglio with a variety of figures or foliage of the most delicate pattern… The armour is of two kinds, either of helmets and plates of steel to secure the head, back, breast and arms, or of steel network, put on like a shirt, to which is attached a netted hood of the same metal to protect the head, neck and face.[48]

The history of the manufacture of the various items of arms and armour manufactured in India has yet to be written, although some attempt has been made at classification.[49]

Gold- and silverware

IRAN

Gold- and silverware of the Safavid period has only begun to be studied in recent decades. Although there are reports by various European travellers on the vast amounts of gold- and silverware in the treasury of the Safavid shahs (Fig. 7), almost nothing of it has come down to us;[50] everything seems to have disappeared during the disturbances of the eighteenth

[48] Quoted in Irvine, 1903, p. 62. Irvine's work still contains the major study of Indian arms and armour of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (pp. 62–151).

[49] See Pant, 1981–6: Vol. 11, 1981, pp. 57–76; II: Swords, Vol. 12, 1982, pp. 109–34; III: Daggers, Vol. 13, 1983, pp. 131–56; IV: Armour, Vol. 14, 1984, pp. 195–206; V: Tribal Weapons, Vol. 15, 1985, pp. 63–78; VI (Conclusion): Fire Arms and Miscellaneous Weapons; Vol. 16, 1986, pp. 149–71.

[50] There are some items in the Armoury in Moscow. See *Treasures of Sixteenth–Eighteenth Century Persian and Turkish Applied Art*, 1979, nos. 25, 55, 57; Lukonin and Ivanov, 1996, nos. 202, 217, 219, 232. In the Hermitage there is only one seventeenth-century cup, see Lukonin and Ivanov, 1996, no. 218. It is possible that among the objects in the Khivan treasury kept in the Hermitage, Iranian artefacts in gold and silver will turn up, but the study of the treasury has not gone far enough to provide such precisely dated material.

century. The Royal Treasure now in the Central Bank in Tehran has no artefacts from the earlier periods,[51] and of the immense booty that Nādir Shāh carried off to Persia after the sack of Delhi in 1739, almost nothing remains in the treasury.[52]

At the same time we know of the existence of a court *zargar-khāna* (goldsmiths' workshop) in Isfahan and of the office of a *zargar-bāshī* (king's or chief goldsmith) who was in charge of that workshop. The names of quite a number of goldsmiths from the Safavid period are also known,[53] but only a few of them were linked with Khurasan: these include a certain Āqā Shahāb, a jeweller who lived in Astarabad in the first half of the sixteenth century,[54] and Nauruz ᶜAlī Beg Shāmlū, who at some point during the seventeenth century was the chief goldsmith of the rulers of Herat.[55] Goldsmiths were working in Herat as early as the fifteenth century (and before), as names such as the *madrasa* of Khwāja Malik the Goldsmith or the Garden of Āqā the Goldsmith clearly show.[56] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a goldsmiths' quarter existed in Herat together with the *madrasa* of Malik the Goldsmith.[57] In the late nineteenth century there were 30 goldsmiths' shops in Herat.[58]

What these goldsmiths produced and whether they were active in other towns of Khurasan remains unknown. The existence of precious items deposited in the shrine of Imām Rizā does not prove that they were made in Mashhad or in Khurasan. These include golden tablets made by ᶜAlī, 1012/1603–4,[59] golden plaques by Muhammad Tāhir, son of the craftsman Masīh Shīrāzī, 1146/1733–4[60] and an incense-burner made by ᶜAlī Asghar b. ᶜAlī Rizā.[61]

With the coming to power of the Qajar dynasty in 1795, the production of goldware flourished at least in the capital Tehran, but whether this revival affected Khurasan as well

[51] Meen and Tashingham, 1968.
[52] Only one aigrette (*jiqa*), an orb, emeralds and diamonds can be considered Indian. See Meen and Tashingham, 1968, pp. 62–5, 68, 81, 95, 123.
[53] Thirty-two names are known, but the works of only nine of them have survived.
[54] See Sām, 1314/1935, p. 44.
[55] See Nasrābādī Isfahānī, 1316/1938, p. 391. It is interesting to note that even local rulers had their *zargarbāshī*. There were some workshops (*boyutāt*) in the seventeenth and early eighteenthᶜenturies in Herat and Kandahar (see Keyvani, 1982*b*, pp. 172–3; Nasrābādī Isfahānī, 1316/1938, p. 93).
[56] See Allen, 1981, N. 475, 624.
[57] Tumanovich, 1989, pp. 49, 55, 58.
[58] Ibid., p. 64.
[59] See *Arts of Islam*, 1976, N. 246.
[60] See Mayer, 1959, p. 73.
[61] Its date is unclear (see Samadī, n.d., p. 77, no. 104).



Fig. 7. Iran and India. Gold cup decorated with rubies, emeralds, pearls and turquoises. Seventeenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

is not known. As mentioned above, there were 30 goldsmiths' shops in Herat in the late nineteenth century, but the precise nature of their work remains unclear.[62]

AFGHANISTAN

Goldware coming from Afghanistan has not been identified. One can, however, assume that goldsmiths did work in various cities of the region before the nineteenth century. Information about goldsmiths in the nineteenth century remains very sketchy,[63] but it is known that jewellery for women and toilet articles were made.[64]

[62] In the museum at the shrine of Imām Rizā there is a gold candlestick dated 1222/1807–8, which is the work of Muhammad Ibrāhīm (see Samadī, n.d., p. 75, no. 125), but, again, we do not know if this artist worked in Khurasan.

[63] In Kandahar in the late nineteenth century the goldsmith's art was in the hands of Hindus; see Mendelson, 1983, p. 21.

[64] See Bauer and Janata, 1974, pp. 1–43. These items were probably made not earlier than the end of the nineteenth century; see also Janata, 1981.

TRANSOXANIA

Historical sources refer to the use of gold and silver in the upper strata of society.[65] Names of goldsmiths in Bukhara and Samarkand are known.[66] In the second half of the sixteenth century, there was a 'goldsmiths' bazaar' in Samarkand;[67] in Bukhara, at the same time, a 'goldsmiths' mosque';[68] and in the late seventeenth–early eighteenth century in Bukhara, a 'goldsmiths' *madrasa*' with a library.[69] Works from this period have not survived.

In the nineteenth century, the picture changes. We know of the production of gold- and silverware in all the large cities of the region: Khiva,[70] Bukhara (Fig. 8), Samarkand,[71] Shahr-i Sabz, Karshi, Kokand, Ura-tepe[72] and Tashkent. Turkmen silver jewellery, with red precious stones, coral and glass, attracted attention. Merv was the main centre for its trade.[73] Many nineteenth century gold and silver artefacts, varied in form and function, have survived (Fig. 9). They have been studied by ethnographers as well as art historians and a wide-ranging literature has been devoted to them. In general, the jewellery of the peoples of the settled areas has been studied better and its nomenclature and functions have been established for almost all the major regions of Transoxania and Kazakhstan.[74]

XINJIANG

No information on gold- and silverware in Xinjiang from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century has so far come to light. We may suppose that artefacts and craft workers found their way there from Transoxania and India. A local production may also have existed.

The same uncertainty persists for the nineteenth century. The present author knows of only two silver objects (a teapot and a sugar-basin), which were made by a certain

[65] Mukminova, 1976, pp. 111–12.
[66] Four names are known in connection with Bukhara (see Ivanov, 1954, pp. 95, 115, 120, 123, 199, 209–11) and two with Samarkand (see *Kaziyskie Dokumenty, XVI v*., 1937, pp. 15, 30).
[67] Mukminova, 1976, p. 193.
[68] Ivanov, 1954, pp. 130, 142.
[69] *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisey Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1965, p. 193.
[70] In the early 1860s, there were 12 *zargar*s (goldsmiths) in Khiva (see Dzhabbarov, 1971, pp. 87–9; Stasov, 1886, pp. 405–17).
[71] In the first half of the nineteenth century there were 20 goldsmiths' shops in Samarkand (see Faiziev, 1979, p. 43).
[72] Three goldsmiths worked there at the end of the nineteenth century (see Mukhtorov, 1998, p. 148).
[73] Vasileva, 1973, pp. 90–8; *The Decorative and Applied Arts of Turkmenia*, 1976; Vasileva, 1979, pp. 174–205; D. Schletzer and R. Schletzer, 1984.
[74] Ivanov and Makhova, 1968, Vol. 5, pp. 96–122; Azizova, 1968; Chvyr, 1972, Vol. 1, pp. 39– 51; Borozna, 1974, pp. 32–44; Chvyr, 1979, pp. 103–12; *Etnografiya karakalpakov XIX-nachalo XX v*. (*Materialy i issledovaniya*), 1980; Prokot, 1980; 1981; Sycheva, 1984; *Kazakhskie yuvelirnye ukrasheniya*, 1985; Fakhretdinova, 1986, pp. 168–77, Pls. 100–80; Fakhretdinova, 1988.



Fig. 8. Bukhara. Silver pendant for make-up. Nineteenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

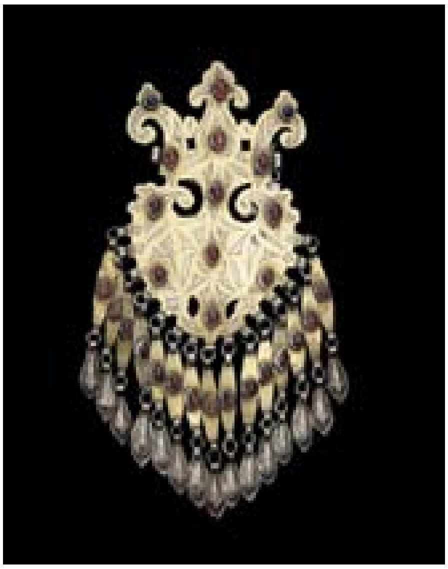


Fig. 9. Turkmenistan. Amulet in silver decorated with glass (Teke Turkmens). Nineteenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

craftsman named ᶜAbdu'l Rahmān b. Khudābirdī- Khwāja, 'a Kashghari silversmith', in 1310/1892–3.[75] Nothing on the life of this craftsman is known. He may even have worked in a city other than Kashghar.

[75] These objects are in the Arts Museum of the Republic of Georgia in Tbilisi.

INDIA

Collectors and researchers have long been attracted to Indian gold- and silverware because of the high quality of the work involved. In the period that concerns us, most of the Indian subcontinent was part of the empire of the Great Mughals. The ancient traditions of gold- and silversmiths of the different Indian peoples were carried over into the late period running from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.[76] On this subject we have information from historical sources (both Asian and European), various objects and, occasionally, the names of the craft workers.

The treasury of the Great Mughals contained vast riches in the form of gold- and silverware of many kinds and precious stones (Fig. 10). Craftsmen from as far afield as Europe worked at the court of the Mughals and had a strong influence on the spread of the technique of enamelwork in that country. Large numbers of precious stones, which were abundant in India, were used to decorate gold objects.

However, most of the riches accumulated at the court at Delhi literally disappeared in the middle of the eighteenth century, after (as mentioned previously) Nādir Shāh sacked the Mughal capital in 1739 and took much of the treasury of the Great Mughals to Persia as booty. After the murder of Nādir Shāh it was all plundered.[77] Relics of this treasure can be found in the collections of the Hermitage in St Petersburg and the Topkapi palace in Istanbul: in 1739, while he was still in India, Nādir Shāh sent an embassy with gifts to Russia[78] and Turkey.[79] Among the objects preserved at the Hermitage a ring deserves attention (Fig. 11) – it bears the title of Shāh Jahān (1628–58): the 'second *sāhib-qirān*' (Second Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction)[80] – and a small table made by a craftsman named Situram.[81]

These artefacts give us a real starting-point from which to identify other seventeenth-century objects scattered among different collections in museums across the world, on the basis both of the techniques used to make them and the style of their decoration. This

[76] Stronge, 1996, pp. 706–8.

[77] The twentieth-century treasury of the shahs contained only one Indian *jiqa* (aigrette), an orb decorated with precious stones, and a number of emeralds and diamonds. See Meen and Tashingham, 1968, pp. 62–5, 68, 81, 95, 123.

[78] Twenty-two objects, 15 rings and 14 elephants were sent to St Petersburg (of which 17 objects and 1 ring remain). See Ivanov et al., 1984, nos. 90–107; A. Ivanov, 1994, pp. 484–93; Zebrowski, 1997, pp. 51–75, Pls. 27, 31–3, 35, 44, 46, 52, 57.

[79] It is not very clear how many items were sent. See Zebrowski, 1997, pp. 59, 71–5.

[80] See Ivanov et al., 1984, no. 96.

[81] Ibid., no. 95. We know nothing of his career.



Fig. 10. India. Bottle decorated with gold, silver, rubies, emeralds and pearls. Seventeenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)



Fig. 11. India. Gold ring (*zehgir*) bearing the name of Shāh Jahān and decorated with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. First half of seventeenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

has been largely achieved by Zebrowski in his book,[82] which includes objects from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[82] There is an extensive bibliography at the end of Zebrowski's book, 1997. Mention should also be made of Untracht, 1997.

Ceramics

The production of ceramics was widespread in all regions of Central Asia. Obviously, cooking-pots were needed by every family and large quantities of unglazed and undecorated ware were commonly made. But it is precisely these objects that have completely escaped attention, though objects from the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century have been studied.

Glazed ware with different kinds of decoration, much sought after by both collectors and museums, was, of course, the ‘art ceramics’ of its time and its manufacture largely depended on patronage by the ruling dynasties.[83] We must assume that it was produced in much smaller quantities than unglazed ware and fetched a high price. Only glazed ware will be discussed here as the common pottery is not represented in museums and private collections.

IRAN

Studies of Timurid pottery have shown that there were two centres in northeastern Iran at the beginning of the sixteenth century, namely Mashhad and Nishapur.[84] They produced beautiful objects with a cobalt glaze. In the later historical sources of the Safavid period, however, Nishapur is not mentioned as a centre of pottery production. There are no objects with inscriptions referring to this town, and no names of craftsmen with the *nisba* ‘Neshāpūrī’.

The evidence is stronger for Mashhad which, according to Jean Chardin, remained a centre of pottery production during the second half of the seventeenth century.[85] However, no objects on which Mashhad is mentioned as the place of manufacture have yet been found. Written sources also mention Mashhad as a centre of production in the seventeenth century.[86] Petrographic analysis used to identify Timurid pottery should also be applied to Mashhad ware for the same purpose (Fig. 12).[87]

Alongside pottery, there existed a highly developed tile-producing industry. Many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century buildings were lavishly decorated with tiles.

[83] This is well demonstrated in the work of Golombek et al., 1996.
[84] See Golombek et al., 1996.
[85] See Lane, 1957, p. 120.
[86] On these sources, see Soustiel, 1985, p. 273, Pls. 304, 307, 325; Lane, 1957, pp. 97–9.
[87] On the identification of Mashhad and Kirman pottery, see Golombek, 2001, pp. 207–36.



Fig. 12. Iran. Dish, faïence. Seventeenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

It is believed that Persian pottery entered a period of decline after 1700 because the domestic market was flooded with Chinese and European products.[88] This may well have been the case, but it needs to be proved.

How this crucial period affected the pottery of Khurasan is still not clear. Mashhad was unknown as a centre of pottery production in the first half of the nineteenth century,[89] although in 1986 a cup with a polychrome lid, made by a certain Ibrāhīm Mashhadī,[90] appeared at an auction. Potters worked in the 1870s (and they still do, according to Adle) at Gonabad, south of Mashhad, and at Shahrud on the western limits of Khurasan;[91] the kind of wares they produced is not known.

AFGHANISTAN

The history of pottery production in this region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remains to be studied. Excavations at Kandahar in 1974 and 1975 yielded specimens of Safavid pottery which we may presume were imported, as was the Chinese ware.[92] In the

88 See Rogers, 1983, p. 125.

89 In the only article we know of on Iranian ceramics of the Qajar period, Mashhad is mentioned once (in a reference to Rochechouart), but it is not clear what was made there. See Scarce, 1991, p. 934.

90 Nothing is known about him. There is no reproduction in the catalogue. The date is given as nineteenth century. See *Islamic and Indian Miniatures*, 21 November 1986, Christie's, Manson and Woods, N. 222.

91 See Ogorodnikov, 1878, p. 176.

92 McNicoll and Ball, 1996, during the first two seasons at Shahr-i Kohna (Old Kandahar) conducted by the British Institute for Afghan Studies.

nineteenth century, Kandahar was considered a centre of pottery production,[93] as well as Kafiristan (Nuristan).[94]

TRANSOXANIA

The pottery of this region from the sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century is also awaiting study.[95] This is quite understandable because a period of decline set in from the sixteenth century. Vessels were then made of clay that produced red or brown earthenware when fired. Various slips were widely used, with decoration both over and under the glaze.[96] The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also saw the manufacture of tiles, which were used to decorate buildings in Bukhara and Samarkand.[97] Bukhara,[98] Ghujduvan[99] (near Bukhara) and Samarkand[100] were major centres of the potter's craft. Names of two masterpotters of the seventeenth century are known: Muhammad Jabbār Samarqandī,[101] who decorated the *madrasa* of Shir-Dor (Fig. 13), and ᶜAvaz Bābā,[102] who embellished the *madrasa* of ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz Khān (1645–80) in 1652.

In the nineteenth century, a well-developed pottery industry existed in Khiva,[103] Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Ura-tepe[104] and other cities. However, much of the information about the craft workers (their names, biographies and so on) relates more to the second half and end of the century (Fig. 14). The basic text on the history and description of the potter's trade in the late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth is by Peshcherova.[105]

[93] See Mendelson, 1983, pp. 71–3.
[94] Ibid., p. 45.
[95] Specialists have focused on the period from the ninth to the fifteenth century; see Tashkhodzhaev, 1974, pp. 93–109.
[96] Kverfeldt, 1947, pp. 133, 135; Soustiel, 1985, pp. 264–7; Shishkina, 1996, pp. 258–9.
[97] Grazhdankina, 1966, pp. 168–75.
[98] Ivanov, 1954, pp. 117, 128, 134, 136, 147, 252. The late archaeologist S. N. Yurenev, who lived in Bukhara for many years, formed a huge collection of sixteenth–seventeenth-century potsherds. He used to formulate very interesting ideas about these sherds, but unfortunately he never wrote anything. After his death, his collection was split up among different museums.
[99] See Ivanov, 1954, pp. 256–7; Mukminova, 1976, p. 135.
[100] See Mukminova, 1976, p. 135.
[101] See Abramov, 1990, p. 206.
[102] The late M. E. Masson read this name as 'Mimhakan ibn Muhammad-Amin' (see Rempel, 1961, p. 357). The signature is on two cartouches, of which the first is heavily damaged and in the second I see: '. . . banda-i dargah (?) ᶜAvaz-Bābā'.
[103] See Keramika Khorezma (a collection of articles) in *Trudy Khorezmskoy arkheologoetnograficheskoy ekspeditsii*, 1959, Vol. 4.
[104] Ten kilns were active there in the middle of the nineteenth century. See Mukhtorov, 1998, pp. 140–2.
[105] Peshcherova, 1959.



Fig. 13. Samarkand. Detail of tile-work of the Shir-Dor *madrasa*. (Photo: Courtesy of Christian Vicenty, Former Co-Director of the National Higher School of Public Administration of Kazakhstan, 1994–8.)



Fig. 14. Transoxania. Dish, faïence. Late nineteenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

INDIA

It is very strange that glazed ware in India – a country with an ancient culture – did not play as important a role in the subcontinent's art as it did in Western Asia, in China or in other Central Asian lands. Clearly, the needs of the ordinary people were satisfied by unglazed ware. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, glazed pottery was produced in various parts of India, although the evidence for it is scanty. In all probability it was

manufactured in Sind and the central areas.[106] What we now consider to be Indian ware is pottery decorated in a range of dark to light blue on a white background. Tilemaking was also carried on in India.[107]

Sculpture

Sculpture as an art form was never widespread in the Islamic countries. It would seem that the Muslim clergy, who regarded sculpture as a potential object of worship (i.e. idols),[108] were influential in this. As a result, there are no sculptures dating from the late period in the Muslim regions of Transoxania (other than simple forms), but there are rock carvings in Shiraz, Isfahan, Taq-i Bustan and Ray in Persia. In India, sculpture is common in the Hindu and Jain temples, however. The emperor Akbar (1556–1605), who was a law unto himself, had life-size elephants sculpted out of stone at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, his two capitals. Some of the fine stonework at the Fatehpur Sikri palace complex, such as the so-called 'Vishnu pillar' (Fig. 15), comes close to sculpture. The Mughal court also indirectly patronized the iconographic sculpture at the Krishna temples of Vrindaban, near Mathura (late sixteenth century): the quality is not high.[109]

[106] See Soustiel, 1985, pp. 238–40.
[107] Gounella, 1996, pp. 686–7.
[108] See Bolshakov, 1969, pp. 142–56.
[109] Goswami, 1996.



Fig. 15. Fatehpur Sikri. Pillar of the Diwān-i Khās. (Photo: © UNESCO/P. Pittet, 1955.)

21

APPLIED ARTS: TEXTILES AND CARPETS

M. Ashrafi, L. Carmel, M. Niyazova and E. Tsareva

Contents

Part One

TEXTILE FABRICS OTHER THAN CARPETS

(*M. Ashrafi*)

From the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, artistic fabrics, one of the oldest art forms of Central Asia, were at the peak of their development. The fabrics of Iran, India and Central Asia enjoyed unprecedented fame. These high-quality fabrics were produced according to a long-standing tradition, and incorporated favourite decorative motifs and distinctive colour schemes. The fabrics were decorated with interwoven threads, printed patterns and embroidery. The ornamental patterns consisted mostly of geometric, floral and epigraphic motifs.

Iran

Iran was famed far and wide for its luxurious silks, satin, velvet, brocade and wool, which were produced during the period in question in Tabriz, Isfahan, Kashan and Yazd. In the sixteenth century, fabric decoration underwent great changes. This was due, above all, to the appearance of the human figure. In addition to floral patterns interwoven with geometric figures alternating with bands of inscriptions, fabrics once more began to depict human figures or complete scenes with a particular theme. They have come to be known as 'theme fabrics'. They depicted court banquets, lovers' meetings and hunting scenes. Nor was it uncommon to encounter illustrations to popular poems by Nizāmī, such as 'Majnūn among the beasts in the desert', 'Majnūn's meeting with Laylāin the desert' and ' Khusrau sees Shīrīn bathing'. In the composition of scenes and the depiction of figures one can clearly detect the influence of the miniature paintings of sixteenth-century Tabriz and Qazvin, seventeenth-century Isfahan, and the style of the great masters, Sultān Muhammad and Rizā-i ᶜAbbāsī (see Chapter 19, Part One). Scholars are probably correct in thinking that the original sketches for the fabrics were done by miniature painters.

One characteristic feature of Iranian weaving is a traditional type of compositionin-volving repetition of the scene along the vertical axis, thereby creating a special recurrent rhythm within the fabric. Invariably a repeated scene would feature two persons facing one another, and between them would be a tree in blossom, a cypress, a bush or simply a flower. Landscapes were also encountered, as they were in miniature paintings. The theme motifs were often separated from each other by subtle borders with delicate geometric ornamental designs.

Besides such theme motifs, floral patterns were also popular. These were repeated all over the area of the fabric. They might be stylized depictions of carnations, tulips, hyacinths, irises, peach blossoms or bouquets of flowers in a vase. All decorative patterns, whether floral, geometric or theme motifs, were characterized by the subtle contours of their lines, for which a special dark base-thread was used. This technique was borrowed from miniatures, in which each silhouette was enclosed by a dark contour.

Characteristic of the sixteenth century was a special technique applied to fabricswhereby a metallic thread ran from edge to edge in the form of a very fine wire wound on a silk thread, giving the appearance of a thread made of pure gold. Seventeenth-century velvet had a cotton thread instead of a metallic one, a technical characteristic of the fabrics of that period. One more difference between sixteenth-century and later fabrics is worth noting: the front of sixteenth-century fabrics usually consisted of thick cloth, while the obverse side involved meticulous finishing processes; seventeenth-century fabrics were usually thinner.

In the seventeenth century, the decorative patterns on fabrics became larger in size. Often the composition of the fabric comprised bands with ornamental floral designs: small decorative patterns on narrow bands and a large separate pattern on wide ones. We see the appearance of satins woven with gold and silver metallic thread and decorated with bouquets of daffodils and stylized, many-petalled flowers arranged all over the fabric area in chessboard fashion. In the early seventeenth century the warm, beige-brown colour range of the fabrics was enriched by pink, green, light blue, dark blue and yellow, while the introduction of metallic threads created a graceful silver-gold shimmering effect.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Iranian artistic fabric weaving began to show traces of European influence in the depiction of figures, as well as in the incorporation of foreign thematic elements. This was connected, above all, with the practice of sending diplomatic gifts to royal personages in Russia and Europe, and with market demand in Europe. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Europeanizing trend continued to develop. This is seen in the adoption of European interpretations of eyelids, eyebrows and hair styles, and the appearance of a small cross on a chain around the neck of human figures, and later in the depiction of slimmer figures dressed in European fashions. There was also sometimes

a wholesale reproduction of European themes, as in the velvet brocade entitled 'The Holy Family' presented as a gift in 1603 by Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629) to the Venetian doge, Marin Grimani.

In articles of this type in the seventeenth century, as in fabrics with purely Iranian themes, human figures began to be portrayed without any connection or contact between one another. Such independent figures, perceived as a separate pattern, are typical of the ornamental designs found in Iranian fabrics of the seventeenth century.

In the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries the production of fabrics became highly developed in Yazd, Isfahan, Kashan and Mashhad. Characteristic of this later period are silk fabrics, brocade and mixed fabrics in which the background consists of brocade, while the floral patterns are in velvet. Patterned silk sashes also became widespread. Other common fabrics from this period have intricate ornamental designs using large patterns which are often set inside rhombuses, medallions, rosettes and rectangles. Embroidered part-silk fabrics made their appearance, sometimes with a metallic gilded thread with a large, chiefly geometric pattern, as did prints on cotton fabrics.

Our period saw a considerable increase in the exports of silk, brocade, velvet and sashes to Central Asia, Russia and European countries. They exercised a perceptible influence on European fabric design and even led to the appearance of workshops producing similar fabrics, such as sashes (in Poland and Russia). The European demand for Iranian fabrics encouraged the expansion of their production inside Iran itself.

India

The establishment in India of the Great Mughal dynasty (1526–1857) in the sixteenth century gave a new impetus to the development of artistic fabrics. New types of fabric appeared, which were to a large extent characterized by new technology, the emergence of new patterns, an expansion of the range of colours and the use of expensive materials. During this period Indian fabrics were extremely diverse.

Fabrics were either plain-weave or patterned. Plain-weave fabrics were decorated with ornamental designs during the final stage of production by dyers, printers or embroiderers. The designs in patterned fabrics were woven in during the production process using a shuttle. During this period, cotton, silk, part-silk and woollen fabrics were produced. Indian plain-weave fabrics were no less celebrated than patterned ones, thanks to their unusually delicate manufacture. The most exquisite cotton fabrics were delicate and elegant muslins, the most famous of which were from Dacca (Dhaka). Testimony to the unsurpassed quality of this fabric is a tale still told today of how the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1659–1707)

became enraged with his daughter for appearing before him 'naked', although she was in fact dressed in seven layers of muslin.

The ornamental design used in fabrics was very diverse. In addition to the aforementioned geometric, floral and epigraphic decorative patterns, Indian fabrics also used theme motifs. By looking at the patterns it is possible to determine where the fabric was produced. In Uttar Pradesh the fabrics were decorated by the use of two techniques: the first involved a fine two-colour pattern, with the tree of life at the centre, and around the edges broad ribbons consisting of garlands of flowers or stylized depictions of architectural details. The second technique consisted of a colourful pattern framed with edging of broad red and dark blue bands with flowers, while the intervals between the bands were filled with black and white epigraphic ornamentation.

Characteristic of Rajasthan and central India were fabrics decorated with fine dot-like specks or a design featuring bouquets of flowers against a white or pale pink background. These decorative patterns were applied to the fabric by printing. The pattern on *jāmdānī* (Hindustani: cloth with woven flowers) fabrics consisted of flowers and branches arranged in strips or scattered all over the material like a net. Fabric of this type was never dyed in a contrasting colour scheme. Sometimes it included gold, silver or silk threads.

The most famous silk items were the so-called *butedār* (Hindustani: 'flowered') fabrics manufactured from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century in Baluchar (in Murshidabad region) (hence called *bālūcharī*), *patola* (with warp and weft pre-dyed) silk from Gujarat and the Benares brocade or *kimkhāb*, manufactured at Varanasi (Benares). Without doubt, the silks from other Indian towns were equally beautiful, yet the fabrics just mentioned were distinguished by their special luminescence, beautiful patterns and harmonious colouring. The colour of the background in *butedār* fabrics was red, dark purple or blue, while the pattern was woven using white, cream, yellow, orange, red or green threads. These fabrics were decorated with floral and geometric patterns and human figures. The ornamental design of Gujarat silks consisted of geometric and floral patterns in white, dark red, dark blue and yellow which stood out clearly against a dark background.

The ancient art of India's gold-weave and silver-weave silks, locally referred to as *kimkhāb* (brocade), was developed between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries in a large number of towns, including Varanasi, Ahmadabad and Hyderabad. However, the most luxurious brocade was woven in Varanasi. Its base was silk, while the pattern was interwoven with gold and silver threads. The manifold patterns consisted of floral shoots, the tree of life, and figures of horsemen and wild animals (tigers, elephants, deer and hares).

The exquisite cashmere fabrics made from the wool of wild goats were particularly famous. They were either pure wool or mixed, in which case the warp consisted of wool

and the weft of silk threads. The numerous patterns, either embroidered or woven, were always made from wool. More often than not the fabric was filled with floral decorations and sometimes stylized architectural designs. Incomparably beautiful shawls and special suit-lengths for clothes were made from cashmere wool.

Embroidery using satin-stitch, feather-stitch, chain-stitch or darning stitch wasparticularly widespread in India. There was a great range of types of embroidery, depending on the place of origin and the product's purpose. The patterns were chiefly based on floral motifs. The embroidery featured silk and woollen threads. Magnificent white embroidery was produced in Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh. The elegant embroidery used on cashmere fabrics for clothes featured soft and gentle tones. Velvet embroidery with interwoven gold thread was popular at the Mughal court in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This was referred to by the Persian word *zardūzī (zardozī* in Hindustani). Such fabrics were used for canopies, awnings and umbrellas. India's luxurious fabrics were exported in large quantities to Central Asia, Russia and Europe, giving rise to a fashion for such fabrics, as well as influencing the textiles manufactured in those countries.

Transoxania

The textiles of Transoxania were particularly distinctive. Even though Iranian, Indian and Chinese fabrics were exported to the region in large quantities and were very popular, the textiles of Transoxania, whose origins go way back to ancient times, never lost their originality or their own traditions.

Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, artistic fabrics in this region, like those of Iran and India, underwent substantial development. In that period, the centres most famous for the production of textiles were Bukhara, Samarkand, Khujand and Ferghana, where various types of cotton, silk and part-silk fabrics were manufactured. Unfortunately, no examples of fabrics from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century have survived: our knowledge of them is derived solely from written sources and their depiction in miniature paintings.

The most famous of all cotton fabrics were *karbās*, *alācha* and *zandān-īchī*, which were much in demand and exported in bulk to Russia. Of the three, the most popular was *karbās* – a smooth fabric of interwoven linen, bleached or dyed black, dark blue, yellow, green or grey (Fig. 1). *Alācha*, a fabric decorated with broad stripes and made from fine yarn, was manufactured in many areas of Central Asia. In Bukhara and Kokand (Khoqand) it was made from cotton, while in Khiva it was woven from cotton and silk. The decorative pattern and the colouring of the stripes varied according to the place of origin. The famous



Fig. 1. Bukhara. Two details from *karbās* (silk on cotton) *sūzanī*s. Mid-nineteenth century. (Photo: Courtesy of Omar Masom, Turkmen Gallery, London.)

Bukhara *alācha* featured well-coordinated multicoloured stripes of varying widths, with a dark, usually blue weft. By the end of the nineteenth century Bukhara *alācha* had ceased to be made. In nineteenth- century Samarkand, however, good-quality striped *alācha* was the main type of woven product. Its pattern consisted of fairly narrow white, red and dark blue stripes called *qaraqāsh* ('black eyebrows' in Uzbek); another pattern consisting of thin alternating stripes forming a chain was known as *gajdumak*, after a locality 40 km from Bukhara. In ancient times the *zandān-īchī* fabric, which originated in the village of Zandana not far from Bukhara, was made from silk, but by the Middle Ages it had begun to be made from cotton, and in the period covered in the present volume it continued to be a cotton-based product.

A number of fabrics had glazed or printed patterns. Glazing gave fabrics a special *moiré* effect. The printed patterns relied on floral motifs. From the sixteenth century onwards Samarkand specialized in the production of printed fabrics. In Bukhara, however, printed goods were never manufactured. This is a typical instance of specialization where textiles are concerned.

Transoxania was best known for its silk and part-silk fabrics. These were *adras*, *be-qasab*, *kanaus*, velvet, satin, brocade and a special fabric for making kerchiefs. *Adras* was a part-silk, heavily glazed fabric of local origin. It was decorated with a pattern called *abr* ('cloud' in Persian), which was obtained by binding together separate warp threads, with

the characteristic effect of making the colours run into each other along the seam. *Adras* was produced in Bukhara, Samarkand, Marghilan, Khujand and Karatagh. The patterns used in Bukhara fabrics were large, multicoloured and bright. In Samarkand and Khujand the patterns were more restrained, often recalling the almond tree (*bādām*), and were known variously as *bādāmcha*, *āftāba* (jug) or simply *darakht* (tree).

The part-silk fabric *be-qasab* was very popular. There were local variations with regard to patterns and colouring. *Be-qasab* had a patterned silk base and a cotton weft. It was decorated using fine narrow stripes that alternated with wider coloured ones. *Be-qasab* could also be glazed, which lent it a characteristic *moiré* incandescence.

Kanaus, or *shāhī*, was a luxury fabric of pure silk. This fabric had a silk warp and weft that were equal in thickness. More than anything else, Bukhara *kanaus* fabrics were valued for their compactness and smoothness.

In Samarkand and Bukhara, a magnificent smoothly woven crimson velvet was made called *bakhmal* or *makhmal*, which was exported to Russia and other countries. In addition to this smooth velvet Bukhara also manufactured a mottled velvet with *abr* drawings. Bukhara velvet featured both silk and cotton weft. Bukhara also manufactured two types of satin, one with a silk weft and the other with a cotton weft. There was a great demand in Bukhara for a fine, transparent fabric for kerchiefs that was decorated with a printed pattern consisting of geometric and floral motifs.

The nineteenth century saw the widespread development of Bukhara's art of gold embroidery (*zardūzī*). A few magnificent examples from the first half of the century have been preserved to this day, as have a rather greater number of items dating from the middle of the century. Our knowledge of the art of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gold embroidery is based exclusively on written sources. Gold embroidery was done chiefly on velvet, silk, *alācha* and satin, using a variety of gold threads. The most widespread ornamental designs were floral and geometric patterns. Predominant until the middle of the nineteenth century were floral compositions with small patterns spread evenly over the entire embroidered area. The overall style was one of simple, clearcut forms. These magnificent products combined the bright lustre of gold and silver patterns with the softly iridescent matt shimmer of the background, and the lively play of light-reflecting surfaces created pieces of great beauty.

Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the centres of Central Asian fabric production that we have examined underwent rapid development and greatly increased their output. They were in contact with and influenced one another, borrowing various motifs, while at the same time preserving their individual traditions and uniqueness. In the period under consideration, there was an increase in the variety of fabrics and in the

diversity of their design and colouring. The market for fabrics expanded, as did the volume of imports and exports, thereby making Transoxanian artistic fabrics celebrated worldwide.

Part Two

TEXTILE ARTS IN TRANSOXANIA[1]

(*L. Carmel and M. Niyazova*)

The physical topography of Transoxania supported a population engaged in three lifestyles: sedentary, semi-sedentary or semi-nomadic, and nomadic.[2] Both in their materials of construction and in the varieties of sizes and shapes, Central Asian textiles are reflective of these lifestyles. They typically share a bold sense of design and a preference for vibrant colours. Silk and cotton textiles were made by the sedentary and semi-sedentary populations, living in the oases and engaged mainly in agriculture. Wool and leather textiles derive primarily from pastoral nomads. The use of silk or cotton, and wool or leather in a single textile product is indicative of the interdependence of the three lifestyles.

Extant Transoxanian textiles made during the period covered by this volume are mostly those attributed to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Surviving textiles display high levels of artistic and technical achievement that suggest a continuum of earlier, well-developed textile traditions. It is usually impossible, however, to date the surviving textiles with a high degree of precision. Dating attributions to the late eighteenth century or early, middle or late nineteenth century are generally possible, with types well identified, but the dates should still be treated as approximate.

Since much work already exists on the textiles of Iran and India, it has seemed to the Editors that a detailed study of the textile arts of Transoxania and adjacent areas could be of special interest to readers. Part Two of this chapter is thus, in effect, a supplement to Part One.

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2 Van Leeuwen et al., 1994, p. 37.

Sources for study

Written sources for Transoxanian textiles before 1850 are scant and our knowledge is based primarily on extant textiles located in museums and private collections.[3] The fieldwork of ethnographers over the last century or so has shed light on textile production after 1850,[4] while historians have generally focused on material prior to 1500.[5] From a study of both the earlier and later material, a picture of aspects of textile production from 1500 to 1850 emerges. In Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, archives may yet yield additional information about the textile traditions of Central Asia.

*Risāla*s (treatises; here, books of regulations of artisans' guilds) preserve information about the late nineteenth century.[6] Travellers' accounts, written mostly in the late nineteenth century but also earlier, are useful for their narratives of visual impressions.[7] Photographs from the late nineteenth century provide excellent visual records of contemporary garments and furnishings.[8] Archaeological excavations in the oases of Transoxania have produced few, if any, textiles made from the period 1500–1850.[9] The excavations at the Chār-Bakr cemetery, on the outskirts of Bukhara, have yielded silk fabrics made in the eighteenth century. These silks were probably imported from Syria.[10]

Craft workers and guilds

Textiles made for sale were produced in workshops by men and boys, often with the assistance of female relatives at home. Men were organized into guilds called *kāsaba*s (from *kasb*, profession). The women's work at home was part of a production system based on family participation.[11] The guilds of textile craftsmen, like other craft guilds in Central Asia, held regular meetings of a quasi-religious and social nature. Each guild had a patron

[3] The majority of textiles held in public institutions are in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Russia. Outside the former Soviet Union, major museum collections are in Germany, the United Kingdom, Israel, Canada and the United States.

[4] These ethnographers include Chepelevetskaya, Goncharova, Makhkamova, Pisarchik and Sukhareva.

[5] See Mukminova, 1992.

[6] Gavrilov, 1928, pp. 223–41; Goncharova, 1986, pp. 9–13; Mukminova, 1976, pp. 25–9, 57, 75; Skallerup, 1990, pp. 86–8; Sukhareva, 1984, pp. 201–15.

[7] There are numerous accounts; see, e.g: Clavijo, 1928; Moser, 1885; Schuyler 1966; Vambéry 1865; Wolff, 1845.

[8] Naumkin, 1993.

[9] For excavations at the Bibi Khanum mausoleum, see Sukhareva, 1954, p. 45; 1962, p. 80; at Gur-i Amir, see Shishkin, 1964, pp. 3–73; at Ishrat-khana, see Kononov, 1958, pp. 139–41; at Shah-i Zinda, see Nemtseva, 1972, pp. 243–51; in the Tashkent region, see Voronets, 1951.

[10] Nekrasova and Levushkina, 1994, pp. 193–207.

[11] Skallerup, 1990, p. 96; Sukhareva, 1966, p. 197.

called *pīr* who was believed to have founded the guild or significantly advanced the craft. At meetings craftsmen venerated their patron and the souls of artisans who had passed before them. Meetings began with a reading of the *risāla*, the guild's book of rules and customs.[12] Studies of *risāla*s of the textile guilds could shed light on the organization of textile production.

The guild members were master craftsmen called *ustād*s (masters), who passed on their expertise to their sons or to hired apprentices.[13] Craftsmen belonging to the same guild typically lived in the same neighbourhood, sometimes with the neighbourhood named after their craft. The Suzangar quarter, as the name implies, was where many *sūzangar*s (needle-makers) lived.[14] In Bukhara, the Jūybār quarter produced *ikat* (dye-resistant textile) fabrics.[15] The Mīr Dostum quarter, called *guzar-i zardūzī* (the gold-embroiderers' passage) by Bukharans, was home to many masters of the so-called Bukharan gold embroidery.[16]

Expertise that was passed on from father to son, and neighbourhoods that were insulated from one another, supported a division of craft labour often along ethnic lines. In Bukhara, the cold dyers were Jewish or former Jews called *chala*s. Evidence suggests that the hot dyers were Tajiks. It should be noted also that Persians from Merv, forced to settle in Bukhara, were involved in the production of silk cloth.[17]

Silk manufacture

The manufacture of silk was concentrated in the cities of Bukhara, Marghilan, Kokand and Khujand.[18] The city or town of manufacture was often a part of the name of silk, or silk-and-cotton, fabrics. For instance, the silk-and-cotton striped fabric known as *alācha* could be *alācha-i bukhārī, alācha-i karshigī* or *alācha-i kitābī*.[19]

The designations of artisans reveal a highly specialized system of silk cloth production.[20] Reelers (*pillakash*s) softened silkworm cocoons, often cultured at home, and wound them onto reels. Spinners (*ashtāb*s or *charkhtāb*s) twisted the silk onto bobbins. *Davragar*s or *tanigachī*s strung the warp yarns on looms. Working on hand looms, weavers specialized

[12] Gavrilov, 1928, pp. 227–8; Mukminova, 1976, pp. 28, 57; Sukhareva, 1984, p. 203; Skallerup, 1990, pp. 84–8.
[13] Goncharova, 1986, p. 11; Skallerup, 1990, pp. 95–6.
[14] Sukhareva, 1958, p. 90.
[15] Gibbon et al., 1988, pp. 11–12; Sukhareva, 1966, pp. 198–9.
[16] Goncharova, 1986, p. 9; Sukhareva, 1958, p. 94.
[17] Gibbon et al., 1988, pp. 10, 12; Sukhareva, 1958, p. 92; 1966, p. 159.
[18] Skallerup, 1990, p. 61; Sukhareva 1954, p. 18.
[19] Mukminova, 1976, p. 51; Niyazova, 1993, pp. 154–6.
[20] Mukminova, 1976, pp. 148–50; Sukhareva, 1966, pp. 197–8.

in a variety of cloths named after materials, weave structures and patterns. The titles of weavers such as *bakhmalbāf*s, *shāhībāf*s or *alāchabāf*s reveal the types of cloth they wove. Silk-and-cotton cloth was given a glossy finish by *pardāzgar*s who applied a starch solution and rubbed it to a shine.

Silk velvet was called *bakhmal*. Structurally a form of weave with pile, the plush surface of velvet is formed by the raised and cut ends of a supplementary set of silk warp yarns. High-grade cloth woven with silk warps and wefts, called *shāhī*, was either monochromatic, usually red or green, or multicoloured. *Kimkhāb* (brocade), also monochromatic or multicoloured, was an all-silk cloth with equally thick warps and wefts. *Atlas*, with silk warps and wefts, was multicoloured and patterned, a resist-dyed *ikat*. Several varieties of cloth were woven in silk and cotton yarns. *Adras* was multicoloured and patterned, resist-dyed *ikat*; *be-qasab* and *alācha* were striped fabrics.[21]

Cotton manufacture

The first stages of cotton-fibre production were performed outside the guild system, by girls and women at home. Women separated the cotton fibres from the bolls by hand and cleaned the fibres of seeds. The cleaned cotton fibres were spun into yarn using spinning-wheels.

A number of cotton cloths were made in Central Asia. The highest grade was *karbās* (or *karpās*, finer cotton) or *bayāz*, which was sometimes bleached by *shustagar*s (washermen) to make cloth called *shusta*. *Khāsa* was a fine grade of white cotton muslin used for shrouds, linings, turbans and women's headwear. *Qalamī* was a coarser variety of cotton cloth made at home in rural areas. *Alācha*, mentioned above as striped cloth of silk and cotton, could also be made entirely from cotton.[22]

Classification of textiles

Textiles may be classified according to a number of criteria. The most common are the region of production, ethnic identity of maker, time of production, function of the textile and material of construction. The remainder of this chapter will present textiles classified according to three main features: resistdyed, embroidered and woven.

[21] Makhkamova, 1983, p. 81; Mukminova, 1976, pp. 69–72; Skallerup, 1990, pp. 62–5; Sukhareva, 1954, pp. 21–33; Zernikel, 1997, p. 214.
[22] Mukminova, 1976, pp. 46–53; Skallerup, 1990, p. 56; Sukhareva, 1954, p. 26; 1966, p. 197.

RESIST-DYED TEXTILES

Ikat

In the West the well-known resist-dyed textiles from Central Asia are called *ikat* (dye-resistant textile). They are made by a technique where sections of yarn or cloth are selectively tied and made to resist dyes. The tied areas do not absorb the dyes and therefore retain their original colour. Successive tying and dyeing produces varied colours so that patterns emerge with a characteristic fuzziness.[23]

Central Asian *ikat* or *abr* is characterized by bold motifs, abstract patterns and brilliant colours. Made in Ferghana and in major cities like Bukhara and Samarkand, *ikat* fabric was made into garments for men, women and children. Wall hangings, room dividers and covers were made up of four to six loom-width panels sewn together. *Ikat* fragments were recycled into parts for quilted and appliqué covers, coats, wall hangings and small storage bags.

Ikat from Central Asia is warp *ikat*. Bundles of warp yarns are resistdyed prior to weaving, creating patterns that have a characteristic blur of colour in the warp. While warp yarns are always of silk in Central Asian *ikat*, silk or cotton is used for the weft. Woven in variations of a plain-weave structure, *ikat* with cotton-weft yarns, or *adras*, is warp-faced, while *ikat* with silkweft yarns, or *atlas*, is a predominant-warp weave. In warp-faced, silk-andcotton *ikat* the thick, white, cotton-weft yarns form parallel ridges in the cloth, but are hidden by the silk warps. Only shiny, multicoloured silk-warp yarns are visible. Both warp and weft yarns are visible in all silk-predominantwarp *ikat*, but the warp yarns predominate (Fig. 2). The red weft yarns, seen with the multicoloured warp yarns, create overall hues of pink and red.

Ikat production required the expertise of highly specialized craftsmen and their assistants and apprentices. The *nishānzan* marked the warp yarns that would be tied into bundles with cotton threads. These bundles were then brought to a dye house where they were immersed in dye baths. The bundles were returned to the *ikat* binding workshop, or *abr-bandī*, and retied. This process was repeated up to three times, creating *ikat* patterns with up to seven colours.[24] Dyers specialized in hot or cold dyeing. Blue was obtained by a cold indigo dye bath. An excessive application of indigo created shades of purple and green. Yellow and red were obtained by hot dye baths made from flowers or insects.[25]

[23] Larsen et al., 1976, p. 129; Sukhareva, 1954, p. 22.
[24] Sukhareva, 1954, p. 22; Zernikel, 1997, p. 224.
[25] Mukminova, 1976, pp. 79–94; Skallerup, 1990, pp. 64–5.



Fig. 2. Uzbekistan. Woven *ikat* (silk warp and cotton weft) *chapan* (coat). Late nineteenth century. (Photo: Courtesy of Omar Masom, Turkmen Gallery, London.)

The multitude of motifs and patterns seen in Central Asian *ikat* textiles suggests different places and times of production. However, the scarcity of bodies of firmly dated materials makes precise attributions difficult.[26] It is generally accepted that *ikat* textiles showing smaller motifs and six or seven colours date to the first half of the nineteenth century, while those showing larger motifs date to the late nineteenth century.[27]

Tie-dye

Central Asian tie-dye (*qalqai*) is distinguished by the quality of exceptionally fine and soft silk used to tie and die,[28] and a range of bold colours and geometric motifs. Tie-dye material was used to make women's garments – head covers, undergarments and dresses. Tie-dye is a resist-dye technique where the dyeing process is carried out after weaving, in contrast to the resist-dyeing for *ikat* which takes place prior to weaving.[29] Jews specialized in the production of *qalqai*.[30]

[26] See Browne, 1989, for the collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, acquired in 1880; Makhkamova, 1983, pp. 69–89.
[27] Gibbon et al., 1988, p. 14; Sukhareva, 1954, p. 23.
[28] Lancet-Muller, 1967, Figs. 4.10 and 4.26; Sukhareva, 1966, p. 197.
[29] Larsen et al., 1976, p. 27.
[30] Lancet-Muller, 1967, p. 3; Sukhareva, 1958, p. 92; 1966, p. 197.

Block-Print

Block-printed textiles (*chīt*) were made in major cities and small towns in Central Asia. Bukhara and the surrounding towns of Jandar, Chitgaran and Rametan were especially well-known for their block-printed textiles. Those made in Bukhara show two colours, red and black. Block-prints made in Tashkent were multicoloured, showing blue, green and yellow in addition to red and black. Used as covers for mattresses and heaters, and linings for clothing and furnishings, block-printed textiles were printed on *karbās*, plain-weave cotton cloth.

Like *ikat* and tie-dye, block-printed textiles were resist-dyed and required a series of processes carried out by specialized craftsmen. Woodworkers carved motifs in wooden blocks, and cold and hot dyers prepared dyes. The textile printers (*chītgar*s) applied mordants to resist dyes where desired, and repeatedly stamped the cotton with blocks. Black contours were made with a block called a *basma*, carved from a hard wood such as pear. The block used for red colour areas, called a *dud*, was carved from a soft wood such as poplar.[31]

EMBROIDERED TEXTILES

Metallic yarn

Metallic-yarn embroidery, or *zardūzī*, is often referred to as Bukharan gold embroidery. Produced in both Samarkand and Bukhara before the nineteenth century, it was made solely in Bukhara from the nineteenth century.[32] Garments such as coats, boots and slippers, and forehead bands for women called *pishānaband*s were embroidered under the auspices of the emir for the ruling class and the privileged of the khanate. Levels of rank, wealth and influence were indicated by the amount of embroidery on a garment. The application of semi-precious stones and metal plaques were further means of displaying wealth.

Metallic-yarn embroideries from Bukhara are broadly classified into two groups: *zamīndūzī*, ‘ground embroidery’, which covers the entire foundation fabric; and *guldūzī*, ‘flowered embroidery’, which partially covers the fabric. Embroidered motifs were often stitched over stencils of kidskin or thick paper. Craft workers producing metallic-yarn embroidery used mostly imported yarns that they secured with a couching stitch of silk or cotton. Foundation fabrics were typically imported or locally produced velvet and fabrics made from silk, cotton or wool.[33]

[31] Perlina, 1984, pp. 77–8; Sukhareva, 1954, pp. 49–50.
[32] Goncharova, 1986, p. 8; Sidorenko et al., 1981, p. 8.
[33] Goncharova, 1986, p. 17; Zernikel, 1997, p. 233.

Sūzanī embroidery

Sūzanī, from *sūzan* for needle, are embroideries made in cities and villages that are recognized by particular floral designs and an abundance of red and dark pink colours of embroidered yarns. Large naturalistic and abstract flowers are the predominant motifs. *Sūzanī* embroideries can be attributed to cities and towns in present-day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan by an analysis of their style.[34]

Sūzanī embroideries were made outside the guild organization, by girls and women for a bride's trousseau in various sizes determined by function. The largest, measuring 2.5 x 2.0 m or more, were used to decorate walls, to partition rooms and to cover beds. A smaller version, serving the same functions, is known as a *nīm-sūzanī* and usually measures 1.5 x 2.0 m. A ceremonial wedding-night sheet, or *rāijā*, is slightly wider than a *nīm-sūzanī*, usually measuring 1.8 x 1.2 m. A prayer cloth, or *jā-namāz*, measures 1.6 x 1.2 m. Embroideries were made and used for numerous household furnishings such as wall-niche covers (*gulkurpa*s), wrapping cloths (*jāypūsh*s) and pillow cases (*bālīnpūsh*s).[35]

Like *ikat* covers and wall hangings, *sūzanī* embroideries are typically made up of four to six narrow loom-width panels sewn together. The embroidery yarn is usually silk, but cotton and wool are also used. The foundation fabric of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *sūzanī* embroideries is plainweave cotton *karbās* (Fig. 3), and reportedly sometimes linen. Motifs were drawn on the narrow panels by a professional or a family member prior to embroidery. The panels were sewn together following embroidery, often in a slightly unmatched manner.

The stitch repertory of *sūzanī* embroideries consists of variations of three basic types of stitches – couching, looping and counted stitch. The couching stitches, Bukharan and rumanian (*basma* and *kanda-khayāl*), fill the spaces of the large flowers that are so characteristic of *sūzanī* embroideries (Fig. 4). Couching is a stitch where a laid yarn is secured to the ground fabric by another yarn. Bukharan and rumanian couching stitches employ the same yarn for both laying down and securing. The looping stitches, called chain (*yarma*) and buttonhole, also fill large floral areas and outline flowers, leaves and stems. The counted stitch is a cross-stitch called *īrāqī*. *Sūzanī* embroideries that display cross-stitches are entirely covered with these stitches, so that their ground fabrics are not visible.[36]

Extant *sūzanī* embroideries are most often attributed to Bukhara, Nurata, Shahr-i Sabz, Samarkand, Ura-tepe, Pskent and Tashkent. There are clear stylistic distinctions between embroideries made in the cities and towns of western and central Uzbekistan,

[34] Chepelevetskaya, 1961, pp. 25, 39.
[35] Tursunaliev, 1976, p. 5; Yanai, 1986, pp. 17–18.
[36] Taube, 1994, pp. 7–15; Thomas, 1954, pp. 21, 33, 55–6, 60–5.





Fig. 3. Bukhara. Embroidered *karbās* (silk on cotton) *sūzanī* and detail. Mid-nineteenth century. (Photo: Courtesy of Omar Masom, Turkmen Gallery, London.)

including Bukhara and Nur-ata, and those made in eastern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, including Tashkent and Pskent. In the broadest sense, embroideries made in western and central Uzbekistan display naturalistic floral forms and those made in eastern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan show repetitions of large disc-like forms. A single *sūzanī* embroidery made in any one of the towns and cities between the eastern and western areas of production

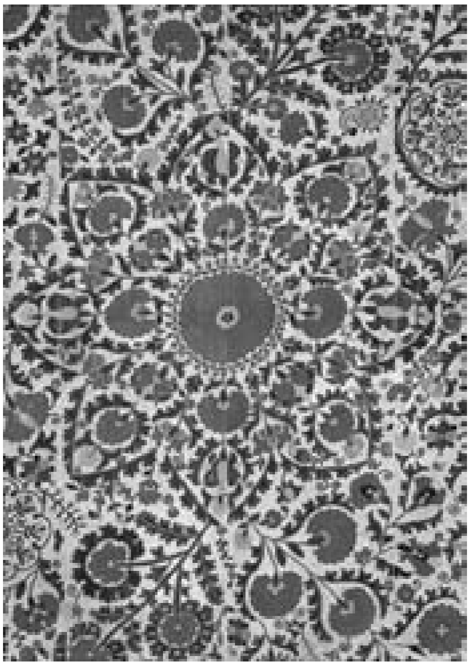


Fig. 4. Bukhara. Detail from *karbās* (silk on cotton) *sūzanī*. Second half of nineteenth century. (Photo: Courtesy of Omar Masom, Turkmen Gallery, London.)

often displays characteristics associated with more than one centre. Attribution to a city or town must therefore be approached with a degree of caution.[37]

Sūzanī embroideries attributed to Nur-ata are easily recognized by their delicate floral forms, rendered in the most naturalistic manner. Rows of large red disc-like shapes cover the cloth's entire surface in embroideries attributed to eastern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Referred to as *palak* in Central Asia, but as *sūzanī* in the West, they may display as few as 6 or more than 60 disc-like shapes.[38]

Lakai embroidery

Abstract curvilinear forms, brilliant colours and particular small-scale formats distinguish embroideries made by the Lakais. Written sources are scanty regarding the history of this Uzbek tribe and the goods they made. The Lakais seem to have been pastoral nomads until the late nineteenth century when they turned to agriculture for their livelihood.[39] The shapes and sizes of Lakai embroideries suggest their origin and use in a nomadic context. These include large rectangular bags for storing mattresses and bedding; V-shaped fringed bands

[37] Lindahl, 1975, pp. 63–5.
[38] Yanai, 1986, pp. 11–13.
[39] Gibbon et al., 1994, p. 69.

to hang between layers of quilts; long narrow bands for securing tent structures; small bags for holding cooking utensils; and trapezoidal covers to place under saddles.

A particular size and two related shapes of embroideries called *iglich* are characteristic of Lakai textile production.[40] One is a simple square shape, often with a triangular flap on one side, measuring approximately 60 cm on each side. The other is a pentagonal, shield-like shape, measuring approximately 60 x 40 cm. Both types were used to decorate tent interiors.

Lakai embroideries may also be recognized by a particular style of motifs and patterns. They are characterized by curvilinear forms surrounded with much visible ground fabric. The curved lines of wave-like and horn-like forms are reinforced by the use of looped embroidery stitches, chain-stitch and blanket stitch, that adapt well to curved forms. Silk embroidery yarn and a variety of foundation fabrics with different weave structures are also typical of extant Lakai embroideries. Wool in plain weave and cotton in twill weave are common. Appliqué is often seen with luxury fabrics, but is used sparingly.

Turkmen embroidery

Turkmen embroideries are characterized by highly organized arrangements of abstract flowers and trees and precisely executed embroidery stitches (Fig. 5). A type of looped stitch, the buttonhole stitch, is the most common. Girls and women used to embroider with silk yarns on locally woven silk fabric.

A type of head cover called *chyrpy* worn by Turkmen women may be identified by its characteristic shape in the form of a coat (Fig. 6). Its narrow, vestigial sleeves are joined together across the back of the garment with a band of fabric, but it was placed over the head rather than worn as a coat. It is usually made from silk woven in a plain weave and embroidered with silk yarn in buttonhole stitch. Abstract floral forms are stitched mostly in dark red, yellow and white. The colour of a *chyrpy* indicated the stage in life of its wearer. Dark blue was for young women, yellow for middle-aged women and white for older women.[41]

Also embroidered in buttonhole stitch, a pentagonal-shaped camel trapping called *asmalyk* was made for use in wedding processions. Typically embroidered with red silk yarns on white foundation fabric, *asmalyk*s were draped on the sides of a camel (Fig. 7).[42]

[40] Ibid., p. 70.
[41] Kalter, 1984, p. 88; Rossi-Osmida (ed.), 1996, pp. 165–7.
[42] Franses, 1996; Pinner and Franses (eds.), 1980, p. 165.



Fig. 5. Extremely rare embroidered silk on red felt *chapan* (coat). Chaudur Turkmen tribe. Mid-nineteenth century. (Photo: Courtesy of Omar Masom, Turkmen Gallery, London.)



Fig. 6. Turkmenistan. Rare embroidered white silk *chyrpy*. Mid-nineteenth century. (Photo: Courtesy of Omar Masom, Turkmen Gallery, London.)

WOVEN TEXTILES

All the textiles discussed above are woven, but their distinctiveness results from resist-dye or embroidery techniques carried out on cloth that was already woven. Central Asia also produced highly valued cloth patterned with woven stripes. There was no further embellishment to the cloth. These striped fabrics, made entirely from silk, or silk and cotton, or only cotton, were made primarily into garments. Weavers produced striped fabrics that were associated with their cities and regions. The Bukhara region was known for the



Fig. 7. Turkmenistan. Turkmen *asmalyk* in woven wool. Late nineteenth century. (Photo: Courtesy of Omar Masom, Turkmen Gallery, London.)

production of *alācha-i gajdumak*, a multicoloured cotton fabric with narrow stripes of yellow or dark red. Samarkand was known for *mushk-i zafar*, a fabric of yellow and blue stripes, and Khwarazm for cotton fabrics of narrow red, green and light purple stripes.[43]

Conclusion

Dazzling colours, swirling motifs and varied textures and shapes characterize the surviving textiles made in Central Asia in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. These textiles, which still today delight the eye, offer material evidence of ways of life shrouded from our understanding by the lack of available written documentation. They may yet yield a wealth of knowledge about the oasis cities inhabited by multiethnic peoples and about the semi-nomadic groups whose pastoral lifestyles have come to an end in more recent times.

[43] Sukhareva, 1954, p. 21; 1982, pp. 28–9.

Part Three

CARPETS

(*E. Tsareva*)

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries constitute a special period in the history of Islamic carpet-making, and it is rightly described as 'classical'. During this time, pile weaving – a craft dating back thousands of years in Central Asia and Khurasan – came to acquire patterns and compositions which greatly enhanced the image of the craft throughout Eurasia, becoming a type of cultural symbol shared by all the civilizations located within this large area. Carpet-making in these territories reveals a unique diversity of techniques, which can nevertheless be divided into three main groups: flat weaving, knotted weaving and felting. While acknowledging the importance of the first and last as major crafts of many countries in the region, our present concern is exclusively with pile weaving.

Like many other arts and crafts that flourished from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, pile weaving in the Islamic East presents an extremely colourful picture. At the same time, there are many aspects of it that frequently make it difficult to provide an exact attribution in terms of date or place. There are a number of explanations for this, but arguably the most important is the practice, typical of the age of empires, of forcing groups of craft workers, the communities of small and large towns and even entire tribes to relocate to alien territories. This inevitably led to a fusion of artistic and technological processes, as well as to the emergence of many marginal variants. The situation was further complicated by the large variety of weaving traditions present among the nomadic and settled populations, as well as by the diversity of local technical and decorative canons, many of which have been insufficiently studied to this day.

Carpet-making in the territory under consideration – an area stretching from north-eastern Iran to western China and from Transoxania and Khurasan to northern India – reveals a knotting technique that was common to the entire region: the asymmetrical (Persian) knot. The dominance of the right-hand open-on-left knot points to the common source

of the local carpet tradition. Exceptions are to be found in the pile weaving of the Turkmen-Saryks (Sāriqs), Yomuts (Yamuts) and Karakalpaks, who used the symmetrical (Turkish) knot, and also in Tibet, which favoured looping techniques. Another feature common to the period in question was the absolute dominance in carpet design of the frame composition, with the decorated surface divided into a central area framed by rows of borders. Exceptions to this rule are extremely rare and, as we shall see later, constitute attempts to imitate archaic patterns of special types.

We shall examine the carpet-producing territories in the following order: Khurasan (north-eastern Iran and Afghanistan); western Turkistan; Transoxania; East Turkistan (Xinjiang); Mongolia and north-western China; and northern India. These regions will be analysed first in terms of urban and rural carpet production, to be followed (where appropriate) by weaving among nomadic tribes.

Khurasan (north-eastern Iran and Afghanistan)

Our knowledge of Persian carpets before the sixteenth century is based largely on writings and depictions in miniature paintings showing geometric-style small rugs. From the sixteenth century onwards the situation changes and we have at our disposal an increasing body of material evidence revealing significant changes in carpet appearance: these include large carpets with floral and medallion motifs, hunting scenes, and depictions of heavenly gardens with intricate multi-layer compositions. Without doubt, these changes were brought about by the interest of the Safavid royal house and later dynasties in pile weaving, and, as a consequence, the craft of carpet design was elevated to the level of court art. Carpets, together with ceramics, calligraphy and miniatures, were created in a style characteristic of each dynasty and named accordingly. Because the patrons were Muslims, the works of the court master craftsman came to be classified as Islamic art in modern studies.

As for the organizational side of the trade, the weaving shops sometimes carried out only orders placed by the court. More often, however, they would combine the manufacture of articles intended for the court with the production of more broadly commercial products, which inevitably came under the influence of ‘high’ style. The phenomenon whereby folk tradition continued to use and develop subjects that had long ceased to be a feature of court fashion was not uncommon.

After the break-up of Timur’s empire, Herat was annexed by the Safavids to Persia. The new dynasty equalled its predecessors in its love of luxury and the decorative arts, and throughout the entire sixteenth century Herat remained a very important cultural centre not only for Khurasan, but also for the country as a whole. Herat and Mashhad also remained

famous as important carpet-making centres, and, as before, their products were rated highly both in Iran and in the neighbouring countries. Adam Olearius, who visited the country in the early seventeenth century, wrote that 'Herat is the biggest and most beautiful provincial town after Mashhad, and it is here that the most beautiful carpets in all Persia are made.'[44] This is also corroborated by Indian sources, which state that the best carpets were produced in Herat in the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.[45]

Like many other pile products of the classical period, the carpets of Khurasan, as we have already seen, can be difficult to categorize. The weaving techniques used in Khurasan carpets remained unchanged for many centuries: a cotton, or occasionally silk, base and weft, pile incorporating wool of the highest quality, and the use of an asymmetrical knot (*juftī*) on four, or sometimes six threads of the base. However, a large number of local products were made using the usual asymmetrical knot, which was brought to this territory by weavers from the western regions of Iran who were forced to settle there by Shāh ᶜAbbās.

One of the most characteristic artistic features of Herat and Mashhad was the domination of floral forms, including the motif of the 'heavenly garden' and palmettes with wide dentate leaves. The latter were combined with arabesques, portrayals of wild animals and birds and the 'cloud bands' motif. Another distinctive feature of the Herat carpets of this time was a wide border with alternating large and small palmettes.[46]

During the rule of Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629), thousands of carpets with large fan-shaped palmettes, lanceolate leaves and arabesques were exported from Herat into Turkey, India and Europe (we often find them in European paintings of the seventeenth century, particularly in the works of Velázquez, Rubens, Van Dyck, Vermeer, Terborch, Metsu and other artists).[47] Thousands more were used in Iran itself. In addition, we know that, in the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth, Herat carpets were copied enthusiastically by weavers in Kurdistan, Azarbaijan and India. As a result, specialists have as yet been unable to identify with certainty the attributive features of Khurasan carpets from the classical period.

Patronized by Shāh ᶜAbbās, the weaving shops of Herat produced large, more or less square-shaped carpets of up to 15 m in length. They are noted for the unusual richness and warmth of their colours. The most common colours used as background are red for the central field and green/cobalt for the main border, although cobalt backgrounds with

[44] Olearius, 1696, p. 288.
[45] See Martin, 1908, p. 69.
[46] Dimand and Mailey, 1973, Figs. 71–6.
[47] See, for example, King and Sylvester, 1983; Mills, 1983.

white bordering are also to be found, as in the large sixteenth-century carpet in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York,[48] and yellow backgrounds with red bordering, as in the 'Potemkin' carpet to be seen in the Musée des Tissus in Lyons (Fig. 8).[49]

From the second half of the seventeenth century, patterns on Herat carpets became smaller and compositions a little simpler.[50] After 1731, following the destruction of the city by Nādir Shāh (1736–47), Herat's weaving shops almost went out of existence and weavers were relocated to the western regions of the country. Some time later the craft revived somewhat, albeit in forms that were a far cry from the classical models: patterns became smaller and smaller, and the range of colours increasingly poor.

Khurasan's suppliers of luxurious carpets to the court and the eastern and European markets worked in a large number of small settlements and villages that catered for the needs of the local market. In the nineteenth century, carpets were produced in Tuna, Turshiz, Kain and Birjand as well as in Herat and Mashhad. There is evidence to suggest that local production had roots going far back into the past. The best products manufactured include the 'basic' latticework carpet of the seventeenth century with its changing background colour and its large number of narrow borders.[51]

We know little about the village carpet industry of this period. We can only assume that many later forms are imitations of earlier prototypes.[52] These imitations have been heavily distorted and are therefore no longer easily identifiable. At the same time, miniature paintings provide evidence of the aristocracy's continuing use of small rugs which were, in all likelihood, produced by nomads. For a number of centuries they comprised part of the local carpet-making tradition and served as prototypes for a series of 'urban' compositions.

For the nomadic inhabitants of the steppes, the carpet was not simply a pleasant artefact with which to furnish the home, but an integral part, since textile coverings and sacks for keeping utensils in were used by the inhabitants of yurts and tents as a substitute for virtually every item of furniture. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the main livestock-breeders in Khurasan and the adjoining territories were Turkmens, Baluchis and a number of other tribes whose products are usually classified as Baluchi.

Turkmen and Baluchi carpets from north-east Iran are in many ways similar to those of western Turkistan. We shall discuss the Turkmens shortly, in the section covering western Turkistan. The Baluchis themselves came to Khurasan from the south-west in the

[48] Dimand and Mailey, 1973, p. 68, Catalogue nos. 30, 33.
[49] Published in Bennet, 1987*a*, Vol. 34, p. 44, Fig. 12.
[50] See Dimand and Mailey, 1973, pp. 70, 71, Catalogue no. 30, 33.
[51] See Sovrani, 1999, Fig. 58.
[52] See Ellis, 1988, Figs. 51, 52.



Fig. 8. The Potemkin ‘Portuguese’ carpet. Khurasan. Late sixteenth century. Photo: © Musée des Tissus et des Arts décoratifs, photo D.R.

fourteenth century and, as certain features of technique and ornamentation suggest, brought with them skills that had been influenced heavily by the Turkmens.

Unlike the Turkmens, whose products are classified by tribal groups, Baluchi carpets incorporate characteristic territorial indicators and divide into the following types: Sistan, Chakhansur, Farah and Shindand, Adraskand and Herat, Afghanistan–Iran border, and Iran. Irrespective of the exact place of production, Baluchi carpets are noted for a strict, somewhat dark colour gamut and compositions with geometric flora and fauna as their



Fig. 9. Baluchi rug. Second half of nineteenth century. 168 x 91 cm. (Photo: © The Hali Archive, A247/5197, Lefevre Archive.)

subjectmatter (Fig. 9). As regards production techniques, the carpets were woven using mostly the asymmetric open-on-left knot, though some groups also used asymmetric open-on-right and symmetric knots. The warp, weft and pile were made from wool of the highest quality; the pile could often include silk, cotton and camel hair.

As well as the Baluchis, this territory was inhabited by such groups as the Timuris, Taimanis, Jamshedis, Bahluris, Tajiks, Pashtoons, Kurds and Arabs. Most of them were active producers of pile carpeting, whereas the Tajiks and Pashtoons, at least in the time known to us, did not produce any pile weavings (they made flat-woven ones). With an appearance similar to that of Baluchi carpets, Kurdish carpets were woven using a symmetrical knot, while the Arab variant had a cotton base and a brighter colour range.[53] Despite the popularity of pile carpets throughout this region, their manufacture was by no means universal, and the territories of Nuristan and Kuhistan, although close to carpetproducing Khurasan and India, did not practise this type of weaving.[54]

[53] For details of Baluchi carpet-making, see Black and Loveless, 1976; Wegner, 1978, p. 287; T. Z. Dhall and D. P. Dhall, 1983, pp. 481–7.

[54] Selandia, 1987, pp. 33–5.

Western Turkistan

During the period in question the territory of western Turkistan (the area between the Amu Darya, or Oxus, and the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea) was settled chiefly by nomadic and semi-nomadic Turkmen tribes: the Sālors (Sālars), Ersaris, Saryks, Tekes, Yomuts, Chaudurs, Arbachis, Igdirs, Goklens and many other small groups. Unlike the towns, where carpet production was commercial in character and was operated by men, weaving among the nomads was the exclusive domain of women.

From the earliest times, the Turkmens were famed as makers of magnificently designed and manufactured pile carpets, and they played a large part in popularizing this type of weaving over the territory of Eurasia. Because of important inter-tribal differences, all the tribes adhered to specific decorative canons, which meant that Turkmen pile carpeting could easily be differentiated from that of other peoples of the steppe.

Turkmen carpet-making is typified by a number of characteristic features. One of these is the use of wool for the base, the weft and the pile. However, cotton and silk (the latter often in very large quantities) are sometimes used for the pile. The robustness of the carpet depended on its purpose, with the number of knots varying from two to five – and in individual models 8,000 and even 10,000 per square decimetre. The specialist Turkmen craftswomen were magnificent dyers, creating deep, bright colours which with time not only did not fade, but even acquired a special depth and a glowing sheen. For all the outer modesty of the palette, the number of colours present in the best old carpets could comprise from 18 to 24 tones.

Another important feature of Turkmen carpet-weaving was the manufacture of a large number of different kinds of items. The majority of them were used for furnishing the yurt: as floor carpets, door hangings, wall bags and bands for tying the yurt. Others were used for decorating riding animals, including camels used for wedding caravans.[55] This was prompted not only by specific features of the Turkmen economy, which was oriented towards seasonal migrations, but also by the special relationship with the carpet as a distinctive narrative source and a bearer of symbols and markers important to the Turkmens.[56]

One such symbol used in the decoration of pile carpets was the *hālī (khālī*) (decorative) system of medallions and *gol*s (tribal designs on rugs), which served, in their own way, as tribal coats of arms, as every tribe had one or two of its 'own' *gol*s, not used by other groups.[57] A second marker was the use by each tribe of strictly regulated techniques:

[55] Moshkova, 1996; Tsareva, 1984*b*.
[56] Tsareva, 1993*a*, pp. 21–4.
[57] For *gol*s, see Moshkova, 1948; 1996, pp. 319–22.



Fig. 10. Chaudur carpet. Early nineteenth century. 3.78 x 2.21 m. (Photo: © The Hali Archive, A152/3914, Lefevre Archive.)

asymmetrical open-on-right and open-on-left knots, as well as symmetric ones sometimes combined with specific methods of irregular weave (offsetting, packing knots, etc.); some groups used wefts of different material and colour, and individual manners of finishing the sides and the ends.[58]

By the sixteenth century the vast majority of tribes were united into two confederations: the Sālors (Soinkhans) and the Chaudurs (Esenkhans). Membership of one or the other union was reflected in a distinctive artistic style characteristic of the carpets of each group. Thus, the tribes of the Sālor confederation used bright and light tones of red for colouring the central field, whereas those groups gravitating towards the Chaudurs preferred dark purple and brown hues (Fig. 10).[59] The former 'narrative' type included cosmogonic and mythological subjects that predominated in early forms of carpet decoration, as well as numerous symbols employed for purposes of protection and self-identification.

Favourite compositions found in the central areas of Turkmen pile carpets (*hālīs*) include rows of *gol* medallions; straight and diamond lattice; and panel compositions. The most intricate variant of the latter is the decoration of *ensi* door curtains, depicting a picture of

[58] Azadi, 1975; Bogolubov, 1973; Tsareva, 1984*b*.
[59] Tsareva, 1993*a*, pp. 15–17; 1993*b*, pp. 77–9.



Fig. 11. Turkmenistan. *Ensi* door rug: Sālor Turkmen. (Photo: © Courtesy of Peter Hoffmeister Coll. Hali 97 fragment.)

the universe from the lower regions of *zamīn* (earth) to the vaults of the heavenly firmament that crown the composition (Fig. 11).[60]

Turkmen carpet design is executed in an expressive, geometric style. However, it is not uncommon also to find elegantly executed floral motifs whose creation was made possible owing to the Turkmen craftswomen's use of offsetting and depression.

By using carbon-dating techniques a whole range of Turkmen pile articles have been dated to the sixteenth and even fifteenth centuries. Comparison with later carpet products

[60] See, for example, Tsareva, 1993*b*, p. 37, Fig. 15.



Fig. 12. Uzbek *julkhyr*. Nineteenth century. 207 x 115 cm, grey wool, mixed with white and brown. (Photo: © The Hali Archive, Leningrad Book 98.)

reveals an unusual constancy in tribal decoration and weaving techniques. Changes were very rare and occurred only when a tribe switched to the mass production of carpets for urban and particularly foreign markets. A typical example of this phenomenon is found in the carpet-making practices of the community of the central Amu Darya, a supplier of floor carpeting to the bazaars of Bukhara, Transoxania and Khurasan, and later to Russia and Western Europe.

Transoxania

In the period under consideration, Transoxania, home to many arts and crafts, was not a large producer of pile carpets. In essence, we can speak only of carpet-making among the Uzbek-Turkomans and among small groups of Uzbeks, Tajiks and Arabs who made long-pile carpets (*julkhyr*s) (Fig. 12).[61]

The Uzbek-Turkomans were the descendants of Turkmen groups of different origins who migrated to the Nur-ata basin between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Their carpet-making differed very little from that of the Turkmens and, as is characteristic of marginal variants, preserved early features. These included the use of archaic-style *gol*s, used to decorate large floor carpets (*gilyam*s), and the use of the asymmetrical

[61] Moshkova, 1996, pp. 83–7, 156.



Fig. 13. Beshir carpet. Second half of the nineteenth century. 3.73 x 1.95 m. (Photo: © The Hali Archive, A188/4297, Lefevre Archive.)

open-on-left knot with a depression (Fig. 13). Living in the Uzbek environment encouraged the emergence of features characteristic of more eastern territories, among which should be mentioned the muted colour palette typical of the Uzbeks and the Kyrgyz-Khydyrshas and a limited number of borders with simple geometric ornaments.[62]

The second group of pile products manufactured in Transoxania are the long-pile *julkhyr* carpets, made of narrow panels sewn together; their name, translated from the Tajik, means 'bearskin'. The single-level knotting used in *julkhyr* carpets is considered an age-old

[62] Moshkova, 1996, pp. 90, 321.

feature of this territory and one of the most ancient forms of pile techniques, whereas the carpets themselves are seen as an imitation of animal skins, which, indeed, is reflected in the name. The compositions of these carpets are simple and comprise one or two recurrent major elements. The colouring is noted for its brightness and the use of a fairly small number of tones. The manufacture of carpets from sewn strips often leads to irregularity in the design, something which does not, however, detract from their own special charm. Carpets of this type are made also by the Tajik and Uzbek populations of Afghanistan.

East Turkistan (Xinjiang)

The division of the population of the Great Eurasian Steppes into inhabitants of clearly designated regions – western and East Turkistan, Transoxania, etc. – is by and large arbitrary because it was these territories in particular that were the scene of numerous migrations of the peoples of Eurasia. These migrations continued almost until the eighteenth century and were accompanied by the wide dispersal of individual groups in different regions. All this led to the blurring and erosion of boundaries between ethno-cultural zones and the peoples who were the bearers of these different cultures. The same fusion and blending of traditions took place in carpet-making and the entire area to the east of Transoxania saw the development of a particular carpet style that bears elements of Central Asian, Chinese and north Indian decorative canons.

East Turkistan carpet production was based in the ancient settled oases of the region, the most famous of which are Yarkand (Yārqand), Kashghar and Khotan, although at an earlier time it is possible that Aksu and Turfan were no less active manufacturing centres. Local weaving was mainly commercial in character: families, of course, made carpets for their own needs, but worked chiefly with a view to selling. The markets could be in very remote areas both to the west and the east of the region; thus the products made in Xinjiang were also oriented towards a variety of customers and, as a result, were highly diverse in shape and design.

From the technical point of view, the carpets demonstrate generally uniform weaving techniques: asymmetric open-on-left knot, cotton warp and weft in the case of a woollen pile. Sometimes silk (in all three components) and metal threads are to be found in carpets with a *sumakh* (plain-weft wrapping structure used for ornamented carpets) background and a pile pattern, usually referred to as 'Kashghar'.[63]

The most widespread form of local carpet products are floor carpets of some considerable length (400 × 200 cm), corresponding to the size of the terraces surrounding interior

[63] Dimand and Mailey, 1973, pp. 297–307.



Fig. 14. East Turkistan, Khotan. *Saf* carpet. First half of nineteenth century. 290 x 100 cm, white cotton. (Photo: © The Hali Archive, Leningrad Book 16.)

courtyards and rooms in Central Asian homes. Quite often one also finds rugs for covering seats, saddle rugs and large square-shaped rugs presumably intended for ritual purposes.[64]

The ornamental designs of East Turkistan carpets can be classified in different groups according to pattern and composition. Possibly the most common was a composition featuring various types of medallions, which numbered from one to five and could be of extremely varied character and origin. Another popular subject was the pomegranate motif, usually depicted in two ways: a vase composition and a slanting lattice. The most popular composition for decorating prayer rugs (*saf*s) was a horizontal row of arcs filled with floral designs (Fig. 14). Quite distinct from these was a straight checked pattern, each compartment containing a stylized rosette.[65]

A number of subjects, for instance the 'Herati' pattern, are considered borrowings from Khurasan, although with substantial changes made in keeping with Khotan taste. In its turn, a local variant of 'Herati' gave rise to the original motif of the 'five rosebuds'. The 'four-leaf clover' is ascribed to Indian influence.[66]

If a number of subjects found as the centrepiece of East Turkistan carpets reveal similarities with Western depictive motifs, the decoration of most borders gravitates towards the East (the swastika, the T-shaped border, the 'sacred mountain'). Certain borders share similarities with the decoration of mosaicpatterned felt rugs, another popular form of local textile. By and large, border decoration in East Turkistan carpets is so highly varied and unusual that it constitutes a unique feature of local pile weaving in its own right.

In the world of the nomads the most consistent and active representatives of the East Turkistan carpet-making tradition were the southern Kyrgyz, who used medallions, pomegranate motifs, lattice compositions, etc., that were traditionally used in East Turkistan to decorate floor carpets (*kilem*s). Besides *kilem*s, the Kyrgyz – a people that lived in

[64] Bidder, 1979, Pl. XI; Dimand and Mailey, 1973, Fig. 297.
[65] Bidder, 1979, Pls. XI–XIII.
[66] *Oasi*, 1999, Pl. 18.



Fig. 15. Kyrgyz rug (*eshik tysh*). Nineteenth century.
162 x 95 cm, brown wool. (Photo: © The Hali Archive, Leningrad Book 32.)

yurts – made large numbers of wall bags and door rugs, whose decoration reveals a more independent character and whose range of colours is characterized by its red and dark blue tones (Fig. 15).[67]

Mongolia and north-western China

On its eastern side, Turkistan is bordered by Mongolia and China. We do not possess information concerning the large-scale production of pile carpets among the Mongols in the period before 1800.[68] As for the Chinese, they were well acquainted with the pile products of their northern neighbours and as part of their everyday life made fairly active use of carpets that were imported from the west and the north.[69] However, they did not show an interest in this form of weaving before the reign of the Qing emperor Kang Xi (1661–1722). In 1696 and 1697 the emperor visited the border town of Ningxia, shortly after its

[67] Moshkova, 1996, pp. 129–52.
[68] Eiland, 1979, pp. 101–7.
[69] Dimand and Mailey, 1973, pp. 297–307.

incorporation into China's dominions. He showed an interest in local carpet-making and decided to bestow on it the royal patronage.[70]

For a long time Ningxia was to be the country's most famous centre of carpet manufacturing. We come across the first references to other centres – Suiyuan, Kweihwa, Paotou – only much later, although certain differences in styles, colouring and quality of materials used in the carpets they produced suggest the existence of a developed local tradition. Like Ningxia, most of these centres are situated in the north-western provinces of China.[71]

Chinese weavers mostly preferred asymmetric open-on-left knot and cotton for warp and weft, though early pieces could also represent woollen foundation. The pile might be derived from sheep, camel, goat or yak hair, or silk. The carpets are noted for their loose weave (400–600 knots per square decimetre) and somewhat long pile. The colour range of Chinese carpets is varied and is based on the use of natural and dyed tones of wool or silk. One feature of early Chinese carpets is the instability of the dyes employed (except indigo), which led to their fading fast and acquiring a highly distinctive and individual appearance.[72]

Early products demonstrate a wide variety of forms, including long rugs for spreading over *kang* trestle beds (150–180 × 240–300 cm); coverings for armchairs; large ceremonial carpets of up to 6 m in length and approximately square in form; pillar rugs for use in temples; prayer mats and runners; and saddle covers.

As a rule, the composition of Chinese pile carpets follows a system that is common to the East as a whole, with the central section surrounded by rows of borders. Clearly, those rather rare items which are without borders copied the designs of silk fabrics.[73] The design of early carpets is noted for its eclecticism and East Turkistan influence. The most popular was a composition that included from one to five large medallions of geometric, or more often curvilinear, form. Other common patterns were diaper or flowing vine-work, often supplemented by small motifs.

Favourite subjects included Manchurian cranes with outspread wings, which could either feature as an element in the decoration of the medallions or as a subject in their own right. Depictions of other birds and animals often adorned carpets from Suiyan, Kweihwa and Paotou, whereas mythical *kilin*s (fantastic animals) such as fo-dogs and dragons with

[70] Franses, 1982, p. 133, with references to Du Hadle. Recent research has brought important changes concerning our knowledge of the period of the rise and development of Chinese carpet weaving: see Franses, 1999.

[71] Eiland, 1979, p. 41.

[72] Ellis, 1988, p. 266; Eiland, 1979, p. 64.

[73] Dimand and Mailey, 1973, Fig. 278.

feng-huang are more characteristic of Ningxia (Fig. 16).[74] The decoration of carpets typical of the Kang Xi period consists of luxuriant flowers with wide leaves on heavy scrolling stems, which we often see in official portraits of that time.[75]

It should be noted that dragons, one of the most important symbols in Chinese art, appear only rarely on royal carpets of the Kang Xi period. According to sinologists, this is because the dragon with five claws, the imperial emblem, was not used to decorate items that were placed on the floor and, hence, liable to be trampled upon.[76]



Fig. 16. The Abadjian Four Lion-Dogs dais cover. Western China, Ming dynasty, Tianqi period (1621–1628). 495 x 490 cm, wool pile on a cotton foundation. Private collection. (Photo: © Longevity, London.)

[74] Some particularly beautiful ancient carpets of these types are shown in Franses, 1982, pp. 135, 137; 1999, Pls. 2, 3 and 4.

[75] See, for example, the *Catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1942.

[76] Dimand and Mailey, 1973, p. 322, Fig. 296.

Simple small rugs were usually adorned with depictions of goldfish, bats, the Five Blessings and Eight Trigrams. Buddhist symbolism was used mainly for decorating pillar rugs[77] and covers for chairs used by the lamas. Saddle cushions – rectangular or, more often, round in form – were the most popular type of Chinese pile product. They were typically decorated with medallion compositions.[78]

Northern India

The warm climate of northern India determined the mode of the local population's way of life and obviated any need for thick floor coverings, at least in the summer, and consequently influenced the development of pile carpet-making in the region. Although modern research points to the existence of this type of weaving in India at a fairly early period,[79] the appearance of large-scale carpet production is connected with the names of the emperors of the Mughal dynasty, such as Akbar (1556–1605) and Shāh Jahān (1628–58).[80]

Founded on the orders of Akbar, the weaving shops worked originally to satisfy the needs of the court and produced designs that followed the Persian model, mainly the Herat and Kirman styles, and employed weavers from Iran. However, already by the seventeenth century in various Indian centres – Lahore, Agra, Cambay and Ellur – distinctive local styles emerged that differed significantly from the original prototypes. Perhaps the most well-known feature of Indian pile weaving is the incredible tightness of the weave, with thousands of knots per square decimetre. Yet another remarkable characteristic is the magnificent wool, which is almost like silk in its decorative quality and lustre.

The characteristic artistic features of Indian carpets are their bright, deep colour range, the realistic representation of floral motifs, birds and animals, and the background devoid of small additional motifs. Another typical feature of Indian carpets is the presence of a 'top' and 'bottom' in a number of compositions (it is quite likely, however, that these were commercial products, as carpets of this type indicate a far cruder technique than those which are associated with products made for the royal court).

Wide diversity in styles was a notable feature of products from Lahore, a centre that produced not only long carpets of huge dimensions used at official functions but also small domestic rugs. Their compositions were often reminiscent of miniature paintings: they included depictions of people and scenes of animals in combat, many floral subjects and

77 See, for example, Franses and Pinner, 1982, pp. 142–8.
78 Eiland, 1979, pp. 46–8.
79 Walker, 1982, pp. 255–6.
80 Dimand and Mailey, 1973, Fig. 134; Denny, 1979, Fig. 25.

rows of plants in bloom. Slanting lattices with the motif of a flower in every cell were popular, as too were compositions with small palmettes based on the Herat pattern.

The weavers of Agra were more inclined to follow Herat prototypes of palmettes and arabesques. However, they interpreted them in a brighter range of colours and on a larger scale. It was these carpets that were long referred to as Indo-Persian, Indo-Isfahan or simply Isfahan. At the present time they are designated as Indian, at least those that date to later than the sixteenth century and are distinguished by their enormous size and bright colour range. Smaller articles of similar design were manufactured on a silk base with interwoven silver thread.[81]

In the north, Kashmir proved to be the most susceptible to Persian influence. It is considered that the patterns of intricately made *sajjāda*s (prayer rugs) produced there were originally devised in the eighteenth century in Shiraz for the court of the Zand dynasty.[82]

The high output of the Indian workshops, and also certain features in the form and design of the carpets they produced, stemmed from the great popularity of their manufactured articles in Europe, particularly in Portugal, Britain and Denmark. In the eighteenth century, with the loss of patronage and changing fashions, the carpet trade practically died out in northern India. However, in the nineteenth century it revived and was actively practised in many centres.

[81] Denny, 1979, Pl. 4.
[82] Ellis, 1988, Pls. 59–63.

22

LITERATURE IN PERSIAN AND OTHER INDO – IRANIAN LANGUAGES

K. Aini, R. Farhadi and Irfan Habib

Contents

Part One

LITERATURE IN PERSIAN

(*K. Aini*)

In Central Asia at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Iran and Transoxania were divided between two opposing forces, the Shaybanids under Shaybānī Khān (1500–10), expanding from the north-east to the west, and the Safavids under Shāh Ismā^{c}īl I (1501–24), expanding from the west to the east. The Shaybanid state in Transoxania, with its capital at Bukhara, and the Safavid state in Khurasan and Iran, with its capital at Tabriz, were established on territory ravaged by war. The third regional state was the Mughal empire, founded by Bābur, a descendant of Timur.

The state language in Safavid Persia, in Transoxania and in India was Persian (with different spoken forms called Farsi, Dari or Tajik, but a single literary idiom). As the Shi^{c}ites predominated in Safavid Persia and the Sunnis among the Shaybanids and in Mughal India, their literature was inevitably influenced by these religious or sectarian orientations. Safavid Persia produced Shi ^{c}ite theological works, and its poetry – *qasīda*s (eulogies) and *masnawī*s (poems in couplets) – glorified the Prophet Muhammad, his cousin ^{c}Alī and his descendants. Safavid poetry became more mystical, and the prose more formal and refined. The imitative and pretentious literature (based on precedents for words and phrases and replete with complex imagery) which emerged in the middle of the seventeenth century was called the 'Indian style' (*sabk-i hindī*) because it had developed in India. The close link with India was typical of that period's literature. The Mughal rulers (1526–1857), especially Bābur, Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, were discriminating patrons of Persian poetry. This is why poets and scholars migrated to India from Iran and Transoxania in large numbers.

Literature played a prominent role in society. The courts of rulers tended to become gathering places for outstanding literary figures, and the rulers and nobles were quite often poets themselves. Literature also developed to some extent among artisans and workers.

Principal prose works

A whole range of literary and historical works produced in the sixteenth– seventeenthcenturies are considered models of contemporary prose and are also the chief source for the study of the region's literary and cultural life. Some of the basic works are Zaynu'ddīn Wāsifī's *Badāyi ᶜal-waqāyiᶜ*[Marvellous Happenings], Sām Mīrzā's *tazkira* (biographical anthology of poets), the *Tuhfa-i Sāmī* [Gift from Sām], Sayyid Hasan Nisārī Bukhārī's *Muzakkir alahbāb* [Remembrance of Friends], two translations into Persian of the *tazkira* entitled the *Majālis al-nafā'is* [Assemblages of Precious Objects] by ᶜAlīshīr Nawā 'ī(ᶜAlīSher Navā'ī), Hāfiz Tanish Bukhārī's *ᶜAbdullāh-nāma*, the *tazkira* entitled *Khayr al-bayān* [Excellence of Narration] by Shāh Husayn b. Malik Ghiyāsu'ddīn Mahmūd, several historical works, and also three translations into Persian of Bābur's memoirs, the *Bābur-nāma*.

Zaynu'ddīn Mahmūd Wāsifī's memoirs (*Badāyi ᶜal-waqāyi ᶜ*) are an outstanding source of information about the cultural and political life of the period. This prose work skilfully unveils details of life in Khurasan and Transoxania. Wāsifī was from an educated Herat family close to literary circles. By the age of 16 he had met ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī (1441–1501). Soon afterwards, because of the war between Ismāᶜīl I and Shaybānī Khān and the fall of Herat to the Safavids in 1510, Wāsifīmade his way from Herat into Transoxania. In 1513–14 he was in Samarkand, then he wandered among the cities of the region and in 1518 settled in Tashkent. Wāsifī's legacy consists of a series of verses of great poetic skill, *ghazal*s (odes), *qasīda*s and versified *nazīra*s (responses) to the verses of Kātibī and Kamālu'ddīn Ismāᶜīl Isfahānī; his verses were composed in the formal and very complex style that was fashionable at the time.

The *Badāyiᶜ al-waqāyiᶜ* consists, as far as we can tell from surviving manuscripts, of between 46 and 54 parts. The first part contains a description of events in Samarkand, while the second is about life in Shahrukhiyya and Tashkent, and includes recollections of bygone times in Herat. Besides Wāsifī's own works, verses and narratives, there are stories by other writers and information about them, and several stories about Abū ᶜAlīb. Sīnā (Avicenna) and Kamālu'ddīn Bihzād. This is what Wāsifī usually talked about during audiences with the then ruler of Tashkent, Keldī Muhammad. He also recorded events in the lives of the *habitués* of the *madrasa*s, the traders and inhabitants of the town's old quarters, interesting information about talented artisans who were also poets and artists, and so on.[1] Boldyrev has argued that Wāsifī's memoirs differed greatly from the predominant upper-class tendency in literature, and that he created a new literary style to meet the needs of the

[1] S. Aini, 1977, Vol. 13; Boldyrev, 1989; Wāsifī, 1971–2.

growing urban public.[2] The particular features of this style are a tendency towards realism, the rejection of rhetoric and a simplicity of language.

*TAZKIRA*S (BIOGRAPHICAL ANTHOLOGIES OF POETS)

The *tazkira* entitled the *Majālis al-nafā'is* by ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī, written in Turkish, was translated into Persian in 1521–2. It provides details about 459 poets.[3] The translation was by Fakhrī Herātī, who provided supplementary information about 189 literary figures. He entitled his translation the *Latā'if-nāma* [Narratives of Pleasant Anecdotes]. In 1522–3 Muhammad Mubārak Qazvīnī, known as Hakīm Shāh, completed a second translation of the anthology of ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī in Istanbul.[4] These translations contain much new information supplementing that of Nawā'ī. Fakhrī Herātī also wrote two *tazkira*s of his own. One of them, completed in 1540–1, was dedicated to the women poets of Khurasan and Transoxania, and thus provides evidence of women's role in literary life.

Sām Mīrzā Safavī's *tazkira*, entitled the *Tuhfa-i Sāmī*, completed around 1550, is one of the main sources on the literature and culture of the first half of the sixteenth century. In it, Sām Mīrzā records information about 703 literary figures. The *tazkira* is divided into 8 sections compiled according to the authors' social background (rulers, officials, religious leaders, and so on). In adhering to this principle, Sām Mīrzā embraces literary figures from all levels of society. Chapter 5 provides information about such popular sixteenth-century poets as Hilālī, Hātifī, Binā'ī, Gulkhānī, Haydar Qulchapaz, Āgāhī and Haydar Kaukabī. The next section is devoted to ordinary people, including 62 literary figures, of whom 21 poets are artisans (a weaver, silk-spinner, blacksmith, barber, knife-maker, arrow-maker, and so on). Chapter 6 is devoted to 29 poets who wrote in Turkish, beginning with Nawā'ī. The last chapter is devoted to literary figures from Khurasan and Iran.[5]

The *tazkira* entitled the *Muzakkir al-ahbāb* [Remembrance of Friends] by Sayyid Hasan Nisārī Bukhārī continues the tradition and is a valuable source for the study of sixteenth-century literature and culture in Transoxania.[6] Completed in Bukhara in 1566, Nisārī's anthology contains information about 250 literary and cultural figures of the region. Some of them are representatives of the authorities and grandees, including some religious leaders. Another group comprises those coming from the middle classes, among whom Nisārīnames 12 artisans, including Kasirī Bukhārī, Hāshim Samarqandī, Nawīdī Tūnī,

[2] Boldyrev, 1989, p. 306.
[3] ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī, 1961.
[4] Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr Nawā'ī, 1945.
[5] Safavī, 1347/1968; Sattarav, 1972; Karimov, 1985, pp. 54–77.
[6] Boldyrev, 1956; Maᶜānī, 1350/1971, pp. 219–329; Karimov, 1985, pp. 77–84.

Mīrak Sayyid Ghiyās Herātī, Baqā'ī Herātī, Kamī, Sayfī Kirmānīand ᶜAbdu'l Rahmān Mushfiqī. Nisārī's anthology consists of an introduction, 4 chapters and a conclusion.[7]

Sultān Muhammad Mutribī Samarqandī, author of the *Tazkirat al-shuᶜarā*, was a pupil of Hājī Hasan Nisārī. He was born in Samarkand in 1558 into an educated family and was educated in Samarkand and Bukhara. He completed his anthology around 1605 and dedicated it to the new ruler of Transoxania, Walī Muhammad Bahādur Khān (1605–11). Unlike previous anthologies, which were compiled according to the authors' social background, Mutribī's *tazkira* followed the alphabetical order under the *abjad* system. This method was adopted subsequently by the seventeenth–eighteenth-century *tazkira* authors Malīhā Samarqandīand Walī Dāghistānī. Mutribī's works mention 16 poets who were nobles, and give details of 317 literary figures who were the author's contemporaries as well as rare data about 244 Transoxanian writers and 70 artisans engaged in writing poetry. After completing this work, Mutribīset off for India, where he visited the court of Jahāngīr. In India, Mutribī added a large supplement to his anthology that mentioned 81 poets active during the rule of Akbar.[8] Mutribīdied in India in 1630–1. An annotated text of Mutribī's *Tazkirat al-shuᶜarā* was published in 1998 in Tehran.[9]

Malīhā Samarqandī's *tazkira* entitled the *Muzakkir al-ashāb* [Remembrance of Masters], completed in 1691, is a splendid source on seventeenth-century literature in Iran and Transoxania. The author was born in Samarkand in 1641 into the family of an educated *mufti* (expert in religious law). From childhood he amused himself with poetry, studied the sciences and travelled in Persia, mixing with poets, scholars and artists. While in Isfahan he had meetings with a famous literary figure, the *tazkira* author Mīrzā Tāhir Nasrābādī. In 1690 Malīhā returned to Bukhara, before going to Samarkand to complete his *tazkira*, which he supplemented with impressions of his travels and his meetings with the most interesting people. He modelled his anthology on Mutribī's *tazkira*, arranging the notices in alphabetical order. The contents of the supplement are ordered in chronological sequence. In the basic part of his anthology, Malīhādescribes 165 poets from Transoxania and 56 poets from Iran.[10]

[7] Khwāja Bahā'u'ddīn Hasan Nisārī Bukhārī, 1969.

[8] ᶜAbdu'l Ghānī Mirzoev published this part of the *tazkira* of Mutribīas a separate book: *Tazkirat al-shuᶜarā* by Emperor Jahāngīr, see Mirzoev, 1976. The tract is actually lifted from Nizāmu'ddīn Ahmad's *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, written in 1593, which, apparently by some misunderstanding, Mutribī thought Jahāngīr himself had written.

[9] The *tazkira* of Mutribīwas published from the text prepared from copies of the manuscript from the present author's own personal collection, see *Tazkirat al-shuᶜarā*, *Sultān Muhammad Mutribī Samarqandī*, 1998.

[10] Mirzoev, 1960; Maᶜānī, 1350/1971, pp. 236–41; Saᶜdiyev, 1985, pp. 77–103.

Mīrzā Tāhir Nasrābādī's *tazkira* is also a fine example of prose and a source on seventeenth-century literature. The author was born in 1617 at Nasrabad near Isfahan. He did not attend the court and did not praise or write odes to the ruler, but lived modestly on the income from his garden. He was a well-known literary figure and visiting intellectuals sought him out. In 1679, as already mentioned, Nasrābādī became acquainted with Malīhā Samarqandī, who had arrived in Isfahan with the envoy of the ruler of Bukhara. The information that they exchanged during their meetings subsequently became part of their anthologies of poetry. Nasrābādī's *tazkira*, in contrast to Malīhā's anthology, was compiled in the traditional way. The most valuable section of the anthology contains information about 1,000 literary figures from Safavid times, as well as poets from Iraq, Khurasan, Transoxania and India. The material in the second part of the fourth section was borrowed from Malīhā. This gives details of 55 poets from Transoxania. The penultimate part is devoted to his relatives and their creative work. Finally, there are snippets of historical information about *mu*ᶜ*ammā*s (poetry puzzles). Nasrābādī completed his *tazkira* in 1703.[11]

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL PROSE

Fazlullāh Ruzbihān Isfahānī's *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā* [The Guest Book of Bukhara] is a good example of sixteenth-century historical biography. It was begun in Bukhara and completed in Herat in 1509. The author spent many years at the court of Shaybānī Khān. In beautiful Persian, Ruzbihān details his impressions of daily life in Transoxania and western Turkistan, town and village, and the customs and clothing of the people living there. His language is noted for its simplicity and lack of pretension. His descriptions of nature are particularly attractive.[12]

Khwānd Amīr's historical work the *Habīb al-sīyar* [Friend of the Virtuous] was written in Herat between 1521 and 1524. The value of this work lies not only in the establishment of historical facts, but also in the multitude of reports about sixteenth-century cultural, scientific, literary and artistic figures who were the author's contemporaries.[13] He writes about

[11] Maᶜānī, 1350/1971, pp. 391–404; see also list of authors' names from four *tazkira*s, see *Tazkira*s, 1926, pp. 27–70; in addition to the *Tazkira-yi Nasrābādī*, containing details of almost 1,000 poets of the Safavid period, mention should be made of a number of other highly important anthologies by Mullā ᶜAbdu'l Nabī Farrukhzamānī Qazvīnī, 1340/1961; Sabā, 1343/1964, which contains data on 2,410 poets who wrote in Persian, the majority of whom are not included in other anthologies (*Dībācha*, '*h*'); Aslah Mīrzā, 1967, listing authors of Persian poetry, mainly from Shiraz, Bukhara, Isfahan, Samarkand, Mashhad, Yazd, Tehran, Kashghar, Tabriz, Tus, Kashan, Ardabil, Herat, etc. There are also supplements in four volumes, see Rashdi, 1969, Vols. 1–4.

[12] Ruzbihān Khunjī, 1962.

[13] *Habīb al-sīyar*, 1874; K. Aini, 1957, p. 28; Karimov, 1985, pp. 40–53.

Binā'ī, ᶜĀsafī, Hilālī, Darwīsh Dihakī, Hājī Muhammad Naqqāsh, Hājī Mīrak Naqqāsh, Maulānā Qāsim ᶜAlī, Sultān Mashhadī, Kamālu'ddīn Bihzād and others.

Maulānā Fakhru'ddīn ᶜAlī Safīwas a splendid prose writer of the first half of the sixteenth century and is of great importance to the history of Persian literature. He wrote 6 works, including the *Latāᶜif al-tawā'if* [Elegances of Peoples] completed in 1533. Its 14 chapters are written in a simple and rather laconic style. It contains legends from the past and stories about his contemporaries from various levels of society and includes depictions of ignoble deeds, ignorance and stupidity. Thus the author continues the tradition of the satirical works of writers such as ᶜAufī Bukhārī (thirteenth century) and ᶜUbayd Zākānī (fourteenth century).[14]

The 12-volume chronicle *Ahsan al-tawārīkh* [Excellent among Histories] by Hasan Rūmlū, the court historian of Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76), is a fine example of the best prose of Safavid times. The last volume details year-by-year events during the reign of the first three rulers of the Safavid dynasty. The chronicle ends with a *mutawaffiyāt* (obituaries) section containing details about famous people, including figures of literature, culture and science, who died in those years. The account breaks off in 1577–8. The work is written in clear and precise language, avoiding the complex Arabic forms and pretentious or veiled references typical of Persian chronicles.[15]

Hāfiz Tanish b. Muhammad Bukhārī's *Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī* [Book of Royal Glory], written in Bukhara in 1584, is an important historical work. The author, a historian, singer and poet, writing under the pseudonym Nakhlī, served at the court of the Bukharan ruler ᶜAbdullāh Khān II (1557–98). It describes ᶜAbdullāh Khān's victorious campaigns, which is why it is sometimes called the *ᶜAbdullāh-nāma*. Hāfiz Tanish provides information about nine Bukharan literary figures, including Mushfiqī, Nizām Muᶜammā'ī, Wafā'ī and Hazīrī.[16]

Amīn Ahmad Rāzī's *Haft iqlīm* [The Seven Climes], written in 1594, is a geographic and biographic encyclopaedia. The author's information about literary and cultural figures in many ways repeats that of his predecessors Khwānd Amīr and Sām Mīrzā. The influence of the urban culture developing at that time is clearly visible.

One splendid example of the huge number of historical biographies must be mentioned – Darwīsh ᶜAlī Changī's *Tuhfat al-surūr* [Gift of Pleasure], also called the *Risāla-i mūsīqī* [Treatise on Music], dedicated to the 12 *maqām*s (musical modes). It contains little-known

[14] Maulānā, 1346/1957.
[15] Rūmlū, 1970.
[16] Saifiyev, 1969; 1973; Karimov, 1985, pp. 114–21.

and valuable information about 96 famous cultural figures from Khurasan and Transoxania – poets, musicians, scholars, and others of various periods.[17]

Hājī Samandar Tirmizī, mentioned in Mahilā's *tazkira*, wrote the *Dastūr al-mulūk* [Rules for Kings] in 1688–9; it is an interesting example of didactic ethical literature. There is also valuable information about historical events in Transoxania and famous people from the region.[18]

The Mughal rulers of India also attached much importance to historiography. Many such works were written there, including translations of the above-mentioned *Bābur-nāma* of Zahīru'ddīn Bābur (1483–1530). The *Tārīkh-i Alfī* [History of the Millennium], a history of the Islamic world, and the *Akbar-nāma* [The History of Akbar] of Abū'l Fazl were completed at the court of Akbar (1556–1605). The *Tārīkh-i Farishta* (1606) is an important fullscale history of India.

The way in which the *Bābur-nāma* was translated is of some interest. First, Bābur's own secretary, Shaykh Zaynu'ddīn, rendered it into ornate prose. Then Mīrzā Payanda Ghaznavī (1586) made a partial translation. Finally, Mīrzā ᶜAbdu'l Rahīm Khān-i Khānān's highly accurate and literal translation of the Turkish text was made in 1589–90, and it is this that commands the most authority.[19] It was part of Akbar's great project of promoting translations into Persian, which also included those of a number of Sanskrit works, from the great Indian epic the *Mahābhārata* to the famous collection of didactic tales, the *Pañchatantra*.

Major poets of Transoxania, Khurasan, Iran and India

Sayfī Bukhārī (d. 1503–4), also known as Sayfī ᶜArūzī, was a skilled theorist of the *ᶜarūz*, or classical verse metre. He was raised in the cultural milieu of Bukhara and Herat and was influenced by the works of Jāmī and Nawā'ī. He lived in Bukhara from 1487 until the end of his life. His works greatly influenced the literary training of the following generations. Sayfīwas the author of two *dīwān*s (collections of poems) singing the praises of artisans and other representatives of the urban classes: plasterers, blacksmiths, shoe-makers, bakers, etc. He was also the author of three treatises: the *Risāla-i mūsīqī* [Treatise on Music], the *Risāla-i muᶜammā* [Treatise on Poetry Puzzles] and the *Risāla-i ᶜarūz* [Treatise on Classical Metre]. Sayfīis considered a founder of the urban (artisan) poetry movement.[20]

[17] The first reference to the treatise of Darwīsh ᶜAlī comes from Fitrat in 1927; Darwīsh ᶜAlī's work was translated by Semionov, 1940; Karimov, 1985, pp. 107–14.

[18] *Dastūr al-mulūk* was published in a Russian translation in 1971.

[19] ᶜAbdu'l Rahīm, 1890.

[20] Blochmann, 1872; Dānesh-Pajūh, 1962, pp. 3515–17 (*Sanā'i' al-badā'ī'*); Mirzoev, 1955, pp. 3–18; Maᶜānī, 1346/1967, pp. 26–8.

Bābā Fighānī Shīrāzī (d. 1519, Mashhad) was the author of tender lyrical verses, *ghazal*s and *rubā^c^iyyāt* (quatrains, sing. *rubā^c^ī*). Jāmīconsiders the content and exposition of his lyricism to be unequalled by his contemporaries. Bābā Fighānī's lyricism is imbued with sincere emotion, reflecting the aspirations and pain of the human soul, which is why his contemporaries called him 'Hāfiz-i sānī' (the second Hāfiz). The language of his poetry is extremely melodious, full of popular expressions, proverbs and sayings.

^c^Abdullāh Hātifī (d. 1520), a nephew of Jāmī, was the author of several *nazīra*s on the poems of Nizāmī (1141–1209, the Sufi poet, and author of *Laylā o Majnūn* and other classics); a *masnawī* devoted to Timur; and an unfinished poem called the *Sharaf-nāma* [Record of Glory], which he had begun at the suggestion of Shāh Ismā^c^īl I, whom Hātifī had met in Khurasan.This poem was devoted to the campaigns and deeds of the shah.[21]

Hājī ^c^Āsafī Herawī (d. 1517) was Jāmī's best pupil in the science of versification. Only his *dīwān* has been preserved. It contains *ghazal*s, strophic poetry and *rubā'iyyāt*. He is perhaps the only poet of his times who devoted not a single line to the rulers, officials and nobles. His poetry, according to *tazkira* authors, is unusually refined, elegant and powerful in style.[22]

Kamālu'ddīn Binā'īwas a talented poet and wit, the author of two *dīwān*s of verses, two histories of the campaigns of Shaybānī Khān, two treatises on music and the poem *Bihrūz o Bahrām*. The *dīwān*s of Binā'ī contain examples of all styles of classical Persian poetry – *masnawī*s, *qasīda*s, *ghazal*s, *rubā^c^iyyāt* and *qit^c^a*s (short poems). He spent most of his life travelling ceaselessly back and forth between Herat, Shiraz and Tabriz, was in the service of Shaybānī Khān in Samarkand, and then, after Shaybānī Khān's death, returned to Herat and finally went to Qarshi (Nasaf), where he was executed by the Safavids in 1510 at the age of 59.[23]

Badru'ddīn Hilālī (excuted in Herat in 1529) was a lyrical poet, an acknowledged master of the *ghazal*. His poetry is full of sharp social criticism. Three poems (*masnawī*s) came from his pen – *Shāh o Darwīsh*, the *Sifāt al^c^āshiqīn* and *Layla o Majnūn*. In the first two the author develops Sufi ethical themes. In *Layla o Majnūn* Hilālī presents a quite original version of a wellknown classical subject, for the first time suggesting the heroine's independent resolution of her fate against her parents' will.[24]

[21] Hātifī, 1788; 1976; Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 4, pp. 438–48.

[22] *Dīwān-i ^c^Āsafī Harawī* (A.H. 853–923), 1963; Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 4, pp. 369–74.

[23] Mirzoev, 1976; an autograph of K. Binā'ī's treatise on music, previously thought not to have survived, has been published in facsimile: *Risāla dar mūsīqī*, 1367/1988.

[24] The long poem *Shāh o Darwīsh*, 1896, has been translated into German by Ethe, p. 302. The only manuscript of Hilālī's *Layla o Majnūn*, British Museum, London (No. 319), was published with notes by K. Aini, 1952; 1957; Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 4, pp. 428–32; Nafīsī, 1337/1958.

Ahlī Shīrāzī (d. 1535, Shiraz), one of the major poets of the sixteenth century, was the author of numerous *ghazal*s, *qasīda*s and *rubā*ᶜ*iyyāt*. His *rubā*ᶜ*iyyāt* were essentially of an edifying and ethical nature. His *Sāqī-nāma* [The Cup-bearer's Book] is composed in quatrains (*rubā*ᶜ*iyyāt*). Ahlī Shīrāzīwrote the Sufi ethical poems, the *Sham*ᶜ *o parwāna* [The Candle and the Moth] and the *Zubdat al-akhlāq* [Essence of Ethics]. To Ahlī Shīrāzīis attributed the'Iraqi style' of poetry (*sabk-i* ᶜ*irāqī*).[25]

ᶜAbdu'l Rahmān Mushfiqī Bukhārī (Marwīor Marwazī) (1522–88) is famous as a satirical poet. Educated in Bukhara, from 1564 he was a keeper at the Samarkand library of Sultān Saᶜīd. In 1577 he travelled to India for a year. On his return to Bukhara, Mushfiqī occupied the post of *malik al-shu*ᶜ*arā* (chief poet) at the court of the Bukharan ruler ᶜAbdullāh Khān. He has left behind *ghazal*s, *rubā*ᶜ*iyyāt*, *qasīda*s, *qit*ᶜ*a*s, *mu*ᶜ*ammā*s and long poems. He was a renowned master of *ghazal*s and the creator of the style of poetry called *musallas* (triplet). Mushfiqī's two *dīwān*s, compiled in 1565–6 and 1577–8, consist of 4,100 *bayt*s (couplets). They also contain prose works and three poems, the *Sāqī-nāma*, the *Gulzār-i Iram* [Garden of Paradise] and the *Jahānnāma* [Book of the World]. Mushfiqī's poetry combines the classical literary style with a popular manner of expression. It should be mentioned that his verse often records particular events taking place in Bukhara as well as the dates of construction of new buildings.[26]

Muhtasham Kāshānī (d. 1587–8) was the court poet of the Safavid ruler Shāh Tahmāsp I. He specialized in the composition of *ghazal*s and *marsiya*s (elegies). Muhtasham's chief work is the *Haft band* [Seven Stanzas], which recounts tragic events from the lives of followers of the Prophet Muhammad.[27]

Maulānā Shamsu'ddīn Kamālu'ddīn Muhammad (b. 1532–3; d. 1583–4), known as Wahshī Bāfqī, who came from Bāfq, a small town near Yazd, was the author of some splendid *ghazal*s, *musammat*s (stanzaic form of poetry), *qasīda*s, seven short *masnawī*s, and also the long poems the *Khuld-i barīn* [High Heaven] and the *Nāzir o Manzūr* [The Observer and the Seen], as well as the unfinished poem *Farhād o Shīrīn*. His poetry was particularly popular in India.[28]

Jamālu'ddīn Muhammad b. Badru'ddīn, known as ᶜUrfī Shīrāzī (d. 1590, Lahore), was an outstanding poet of the Indo-Iranian style (*sabk-i hindī*), otherwise known as the *sabk-i isfahānī*, or the Isfahan style. He spent a considerable part of his short life in India. His

25 Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 4, pp. 447–53. Iraq during the period signified Iran or, more narrowly, western Iran.

26 S. Aini, 1926, pp. 121–42; 1940, pp. 169–74; K. Aini (ed.), 1978.

27 Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 792–8; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 172–7.

28 Bāfqī's *dīwān* has been published several times. See Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 760–77; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 238–40, 181–2; Dihkhudā, 1993–4, Vol. 14, pp. 20, 455–6.

poetry, often embodying very bold ideas, had admirers not only in India and Iran but also in Transoxania and Turkey. He wrote two poems in the form of *nazīra*s to Nizāmī's poems the *Makhzan al-asrār* [Treasurer of Secrets] and *Khusrau o Shīrīn*, and a *dīwān* entitled the *Gulshan-i rāz* [Garden of Secrets], containing 26 *qasīda*s, 270 *ghazal*s and 400 *rubā*ᶜ*iyyāt*. His works are distinguished by subtle similes and an elegance of style.[29]

Sā'ib Isfahānī (1601–77) was a famous poet, an outstanding practitioner of the Indo-Iranian style (*sabk-i hindī*). Educated in Iran, he spent six years in India where he gained access to Shāh Jahān (1628–58) and received the honorary title Mustaᶜid Khān. He returned to Isfahan, to the court of Shāh ᶜAbbās II (1642–66), and became the chief poet (*malik al-shu*ᶜ*arā*), but later, after Shāh Sulaymān came to the throne in 1667, he left the court for good. Sā'ib was the author of several *dīwān*s consisting of *qasīda*s and *rubā*ᶜ*iyyāt*, and the *masnawī* entitled the *Qandahār-nāma*. He also wrote poetry in Azeri-Turkish. His poetry is full of didactic, ethical and moral issues, encouraging the powers that be somehow to lighten the burdens of the people's life in this world. In his *ghazal*s he develops the theme of love and human relationships, emphasizing the fateful misfortunes and injustices of the times, as well as the degradation and pain of the people. The works of Sā'ib were widely admired. His verses are sung in Persian *maqām*s and in Tajik *shash maqām*s (six modes).[30]

Mirzā Abū Tālib Kalīm Kāshānī (d. 1651, Lahore) was one of the most important and original poets of the Indo-Iranian style. He was born in Hamadan and educated in Kashan and Shiraz. He travelled widely and then lived for some time at the court of Jahāngīr (1605–27). In 1619 Kalīm returned briefly to Isfahan before setting off for India. Under Shāh Jahān he was accorded the position of *malik al-shu*ᶜ*arā*. He spent the last years of his life in Kashmir. Kalīm cultivated all genres of poetry in Persian and left a legacy of *qasīda*s, *ghazal*s, *qit*ᶜ*a*s and *masnawī*s. Primarily he was a master of *ghazal*s which, besides the traditional extolling of love, contain social themes, motifs of protest against violence and descriptions of the people's poverty. His fine sketches are rich in allusions to India

[29] ᶜUrfī Shīrāzī's *dīwān* has been published in Bombay and Iran. See Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 799–814; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 241–9. The Indian style of literature, a brilliant continuation and creative renewal of the traditions of Persian classical literature, is discussed in greater detail in Prigarina, 1999.

[30] The author of the Indian anthology *Sham*ᶜ*-i anjuman* calls Sā'ib 'the imam of the masters of the elegant word, the most learned of the poets'. Azād Bilgramīin *Khazāna-yi* ᶜ*Amira* places him fourth after the three poet-prophets (Firdausi, Anwarī and Saᶜdī). The most important publications are *Dīwān-i Sā'ib bāhavāshīwa tashīh ba khatt-i khwud-i ān ustād* [The *Dīwān* of Sā'ib with Notes and Corrections in the Master's Own Hand], see *Dīwān-i Sā'ib bāhavāshī*..., 1977, No. 52; *Dīwān-i Sā'ib*, 1357/1978; Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 1271–84.

and its people. A series of Kalīm's verses are in *qit^c a*s praising the artistic skill of Indian handicraft workers. His poetry also contains Hindi words and expressions.[31]

Nāzim Herawī (1601–71) was a seventeenth-century Herat poet whose works reflect the influence of the artisan classes. This is particularly expressed in his *ghazal*s, stanzas and *rubā^c iyyāt*. On the orders of ^cAbbās Qulī Khān, the ruler of Herat, Nāzim completed in 1662 the *masnawī* entitled *Yūsuf o Zulaykhā*, which is considered one of the best poems on this theme in Iran and Transoxania. Nāzim's *ghazal*s are sung in the Tajik musical cycle, the *shash maqām*.[32]

Known as Shaukat Bukhārī, Hājī Muhammad b. Is'hāq (d. between 1695 and 1699 in Isfahan) is one of the main representatives of the *sabk-i hindī* style and made a notable contribution to its development and improvement. Originally from Bukhara, Shaukat spent his life in endless travels across Persia and India, always on the road, rejecting all intercourse with rulers and the authorities. His *dīwān* consists mainly of *ghazal*s, *qasīda*s, *qit^c a*s and *rubā^c iyyāt*, in whose composition he displayed great skill, protesting against the mendacity, envy and ignorance of the world's powers and extolling friendship, fraternity and true love.[33]

Mīrzā ^cAbdu'l Qādir Bedil (1644–1720), a great representative of the *sabk-i hindī* style in India, was the creator of a whole literary trend, the *sabki Bedil* (the Bedil style), which had a profound impact on Persian literature in Central Asia. He was educated in the town of his birth, Patna, and took up poetry there. At the age of 40 he moved to Delhi, where he founded his own literary school. Bedil left behind almost 100,000 lines of poetry. His basic works are: two poems on Sufi philosophical themes, the *Tilism-i hairat* [Magic of Wonder] (1668) and the *Muhīt-i a^c zam* [The Great Ocean] (1681), the poem the *Tūr-i ma^c rifat* [The Attainment of Gnosis, an allusion to Moses at Sinai] (1687) on the application of Sufi philosophy to life, and the poem *^c Irfān* [Gnosis] (1712) expounding his basic philosophical and ethical views of life and the state. The latter consists of 10 separate *masnawī*s, one of which is the well-known poem *Kamda o Madan*. Bedil wrote a whole cycle of Sufi philosophical lyrics – *ghazal*s, *rubā^c iyyāt*, *qasīda*s and *qit^c a*s. He also left an enormous

[31] The fullest collection of Kalīm's works, containing 15,000 *bayt*s (couplets), has been published in Iran: *Dīwān-i qasā'id, ghazaliyyāt, masnawīyyāt, muqatta'āt-i Abū Tālib Kalīm-i Kāshāni* [Collection of *Qasīda*s, *Ghazal*s, *Masnawī*s, *Muqatta*s by Abū Tālib Kalīm Kāshānī], see *Dīwān-i quasā'id*., 1336/1957; Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 1170–80; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4.

[32] Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 1266–70; Khayyāmpūr, 1340/1961, p. 591; Mirzoev, 1955, p. 180.

[33] Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 1333–9; Dihkhudā, 1993–4, Vol. 9, pp. 12, 849; Rypka, 1968, p. 302; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, p. 265.

body of prose work, packed with original verses and numerous pieces of information about people and events and his life. His epistolary legacy is also considerable.[34]

Fitrat Zardūz Samarqandī (born in 1657 and died at the beginning of the eighteenth century) was a prominent seventeenth-century Transoxanian poet. He was born into an artisan family in Samarkand and studied in Bukhara, where he spent the rest of his life. Fitrat displayed high skill, in Malīhā's words, in both poetry and prose. He composed in all styles of Persian poetry. His most popular work is the poem the *Tālib o matlūb* [The Seeker and the Sought], also sometimes called the *Gāzur pisar* [The Young Laundryman]. The poem is dedicated to the tragic love of a laundryman and a young beauty, the ruler's daughter. In Fitrat's poems classical Persian literary language is combined with popular speech. In this sense they are close to the poetry of Saida Nasafī and are on similar themes.[35]

Saida Mīr ᶜĀbid Nasafī was the most outstanding seventeenth-century Transoxanian poet. He was born at the end of the first half of the seventeenth century at Nasaf (modern Qarshi), lived in Bukhara and died there between 1707 and 1711. He was a true singer of the artisans and other representatives of the middle classes, and a defender of their interests. His poetic work amounts to more than 18,000 couplets. Malīhāsaid of Saida that:

> his superb *ghazal*s are a model for literary figures, and his elegant *mukhammas* [verse of five lines] are roses in a basket, and his *shahr-āshub*s ['upsetting the town' – short love poems involving young craftsmen] caused commotion in the bazaars.[36]

Saida embraced all styles of poetry and he introduced many novelties. To this should be added his allegorical *dāstān* [epic], the *Bahārīyāt* [Spring-time Verses], in which he developed the style of the allegorical story, and also his verses about handicrafts, in which he widely used artisanal terminology and expressions.[37]

In Transoxania after the seventeenth century, as a result of the increased frequency of internecine wars, growing economic difficulties and the domination of ignorant rulers, court literature went into sharp decline and the people generally became subject to a decadent form of mysticism. The very lack of *tazkira* literature from the second half of the

[34] The twentieth-century discoverers of Bedil's creative work were Sadriddin (Sadru'ddīn) Aini (1912), ᶜAbdu'l Ra'ūf Fitrat and E. Bertels, see S. Aini et al., 1945, pp. 117–22; the Introduction to S. Aini, 1954, pp. 5–8; K. Aini, 1992, pp. 112–26; Braginsky, 1975, p. 333; I. Muminov, A. Bausani (Italy), J. Rypka (Czech Republic), Z. Safā, A. Zarrinkūb, Muhammad Shāfī' Kadkanī (Iran) participated in an edition of the collected works of Bedil, first published in the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1997 (see *Kullīyāt-i Bedil*, 1376/1997); Habib, 1363/1984; Nur al-Hasan, 1363/1984; articles by experts on Bedil and odes in praise of Bedil published in a special issue of the bimonthly journal on language and literature, *Khurāsān*, 1985, Vol. 7, Nos. 4–5, pp. 1–217.

[35] S. Aini, 1926, pp. 171–5; Mirzoev, 1954, p. 186; Saᶜdiyev, 1985, pp. 123–42; Rypka, 1968, pp. 506–7.

[36] Mirzoev, 1954, p. 100.

[37] S. Aini, 1926, pp. 176–81; Ptitsyn, 1940, Vol. 2, pp. 275–83; Mirzoev, 1954; Saᶜdiyev, 1985, pp. 159–259.

eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth is evidence of this process. It is only in small collections of verses (variously known as *bayāz*, *jung* and *kashkūl*) that a few verses by local poets are to be found. The most noticeable feature of the Persian poetry of Transoxania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the penetration and growing influence of the works of Mīrzā^{c}Abdu'l Qādir Bedil. The poets of the period include Mīrzā Sādiq Munshī, Rāsikh, Hāziq, Muhammad Sharīf ^{c}Ārif and Makhzūn Samarqandī.[38]

In his poetry, MīrzāSādiq Munshī (d. 1819) raises acute problems of the times, criticizing social injustice and poverty. In three poems and a *dīwān* of lyrical poetry he follows the style of Bedil and also continues the traditions of Amīr Khusrau and Mīr Hasan of Delhi, Hāfiz of Shiraz, and Kamāl Khujandī. One of his three poems, the *Dakhma-i shāhān* [The Rulers' Tomb], is considered in both content and style to be the exposition of a completely new form.[39]

Junaydullāh Hāziq (killed in Shahr-i Sabz in 1843), a poet and physician, was born near Herat and studied in Bukhara. While there, he was drawn to the court and in 1805 was appointed imam (prayer leader) of the ^{c}Alī *madrasa* in Bukhara. Avoiding court intrigues, he dedicated himself to poetry and composed the poem *Yūsuf o Zulaykhā* in which he shames court panegyrists and versifiers. Then he began his wanderings (Khwarazm, Kokand, Bukhara, Shahr-i Sabz). He also wrote over 800 *ghazal*s and a historical biography, the *Wāqi ^{c}āt-i islāmī* [Episodes of Islam], in which he champions the cause of the lower classes, opposing their oppression and humiliation and, for the edification of the emir of Bukhara, appeals for justice on their behalf.[40]

In Persia in the middle of the seventeenth century a literary movement began against the domination of the *sabk-i hindī* and in favour of a renaissance of the classical *sabk-i ^{c}irāqī* and the *sabk-i khurāsānī* (Khurasan style). In the eighteenth century the *sabk-i hindī* gradually gave way to the new literary movement. The chief representatives of this movement were Mushtāq, Nishāt, Mijmar, Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, Furūghī and Sabā.

Mushtāq (d. 1757) founded a new literary movement called Bāzgasht (Return). His *dīwān* of *ghazal*s, compiled by his pupils, comprises 6,000 *bayt*s. Mushtāq's *ghazal*s were written in the tradition of the Sufi verses of Sa^{c}dī, Hāfiz and Khayyām.[41]

38 Karimov, 1974, Part 1, pp. 34–40. Concerning major authors of this period see Karimov, 1989, Part 2. See also Habibov (ed.), 1984; Habibzada, 1995; Habibov, 1971.

39 Karimov, 1972.

40 S. Aini, 1926, pp. 257–9; Mirzoev, 1948, pp. 141–6; Amirqulov, 1969.

41 Aryanpur, 1350/1971; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 283–4; Rypka, 1968, pp. 307–8; Zarrinkub, 1375/1996, pp. 459, 471; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, p. 22 (the section on Bāzgasht is written by M. Mulla Ahmedov); Makki (ed.), n.d.

Hātif Isfahānī (d. 1783) was a brilliant representative of eighteenth-century literature. The influence of Sa^c^dī and Hāfiz may be sensed in his poetry too. Hātif was a master of the *tarkīb-i band* – a particular style of poetry with a refrain at the end of a stanza of two rhyming half-lines. He used it as a vehicle for the expression of Sufi ideas.[42]

Mīrzā ^c^Abdu'l Wahhāb Isfahānī, known as Nishāt (1761–1828), was a champion of literary renaissance and set up a circle of poets aimed at developing this trend. He gathered around him poets, singers, musicians, artists and calligraphers. In 1804 Nishāt moved to Tehran and became the chancellor of Fath ^c^Alī Shāh (1796–1834), in whose reign poets and artists occupied state posts. Nishāt's best works were written in the style of classical poetry and prose and were copied by many contemporaries. They were included in the *Ganjīna-i dīwān* [The Treasure of the Poetry Collection], written in his own splendid hand.[43]

Mijmar (Sayyid Husayn Tabātabā'ī, 1776–1810) was an active member of the Bāzgasht movement, grew close to Nishāt and, with his help, gained access to the Qajar court, where he became an adviser to the shah and received the title *mujtahid al-shu^c^arā* (chief consultant on matters of literature). He was a splendid poet who wrote *qasīda*s reflecting historical events and lyrical poetry about love with a Sufi flavour in the tradition of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century poets.[44]

Qā'ānī Shīrāzī (1808–53) was one of Persia's leading poets in the first half of the nineteenth century and one of the chief leaders of the Bāzgasht movement. He was educated in Shiraz and Isfahan and lived in various Iranian towns before settling in Tehran, where he entered the service of Nāsiru'ddīn Shāh (1848–96). As a result of court intrigues he was deprived of his salary and he died from a psychiatric disorder. The poetic legacy of Qā'ānīcomprises a large number of *qasīda*s, *ghazal*s, two *masnawī*s, *rubā^c^iyyāt* and *qit^c^a*s, as well as a prose work, *Parīshān* [Melancholy], written in the tradition of the *Golestān* of Sa^c^dī.[45]

Mīrzā ^c^Abbās Bastāmī, known as Furūghī (1799–1858), was a leading representative of the Bāzgasht movement. He wrote 25,000 *bayt*s of lyrical poetry in the tradition of Sa^c^dī and Hāfiz. The language of his poetry is unusually smooth and elegant, distinguished by its great eloquence. Following Qā'ānī, Furūghī strove to achieve simplicity in expressing

[42] Zarrinkub, 1375/1996, p. 462; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, p. 22.

[43] Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, p. 311; Rypka, 1968, pp. 327–8; Zarrinkub, 1375/1996, p. 222; Aryanpur, 1350/1971, pp. 14–15, 29–35, 206; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, pp. 24–5; Nakh^c^ī (ed.), 1337/1959.

[44] Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 307–8; Rypka, 1968, p. 328; Aryanpur, 1350/1971, p. 206; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, pp. 26–7; Tabātabā'ī (ed.), 1345/1966.

[45] Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 177–81, 326–35; Rypka, 1968, pp. 329–31; Aryanpur, 1350/1971, pp. 93–109, 210–11; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, pp. 27–9; *Dīwān-i Hakīm Qā'ānī bā inzimām-i 'Hadā'iq ash-she^c^r-parīshān-dīwān-i Furūghī'*, 1277/1860.

thoughts and feelings, a distinguishing feature of the Bāzgasht style.[46] Furūghī's *ghazal*s are sung in Persian and Tajik *maqām*s.

Sabā Kāshānī was an important poet who made a great contribution to the birth of the Bāzgasht movement. He was *malik al-shu*ᶜ*arā* at the court of Fath ᶜAlī Shāh. Having tested his poetical gifts in all styles of Persian poetry, Sabā was mostly famous for his *masnawī* entitled the *Shāhanshāh-nāma* [Book of Emperors]. This poem was a brave attempt to resurrect the epic traditions of the classical period.[47]

In Persia the new Bāzgasht movement established a firm position in both poetry and prose. It is important to mention that at the time when the Bāzgasht style was coming into being, the leading style in Persian poetry was lyricism (in other words, the *ghazal*), which now tended to be displaced by the eulogistic *qasīda*.[48]

Lexicography

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, India made a very distinct contribution toPersian lexicography. In 1608–9 Jamāl'uddīn Husayn Injū completed his great dictionary, the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, drawing upon 'Parsi, Pahlavi and Dari' words culled directly from a large number of poets' compositions, existing dictionaries and ordinary speech. His introduction contained an account of Iranian dialects and he identified certain important rules of language shift in Persian. Muhammad Qāsim'Surūrī' in Persia (1628–9) was more critical in accepting diverse senses for words, but made extensive use of the *Jahāngīrī*. In the eighteenth century, Siraju'ddīn ᶜAlī ᶜArzu' at Delhi established a high level of lexicographic criticism in his *Chirāgh-i hidāyat* (*c*. 1740). His friend Tek Chand'Bahār' produced in the *Bahār-i* ᶜ*ajam* (1739–40) a comprehensive dictionary based on citations that covered not only words, but also idiomatic expressions.[49]

[46] Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 336–7; Rypka, 1968, p. 332; Aryanpur, 1350/1971, pp. 82–6; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, p. 30; Mushfiq (ed.), 1342/1963; Browne et al. (eds.), 1334/1955.

[47] Fath ᶜAlī Khān Kāshī, known as Sabā, Malik al-Shuᶜarā [King of Poets] of Fath ᶜAlī Shāh. See Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 309–10; Rypka, 1968, pp. 326–7; Aryanpur, 1350/1971, pp. 20– 8, 205–6; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, pp. 30–1.

[48] Zarrinkub, 1375/1996, pp. 463–4; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, p. 31.

[49] Cf. Rypka, 1968, pp. 430–2.

Part Two

LITERATURE IN PASHTO

(*R. Farhadi*)

The earliest known work in Pashto ('Afghani') is the *Khayru'l bayān* [The Goodness of Narration] of Bāyazīd Ansārī (d. 1572–3), whose family came from Jalandhar in Punjab to Kaniguram in Waziristan. The *Khayru'l bayān* is written in both prose and verse and contains a call to high ethical standards in life. Bāyazīd proclaimed his own high spiritual status by saying: 'People are like fish and I am the water. Wherever the fish look, they look to water.' While using the Persian alphabet, Bāyazīd invented signs for writing particular Pashto sounds. Manuscripts of his work are now very rare, but the fact that he spread his message in his people's own language was perhaps one factor for winning him many followers; they called him Pīr-i Raushan (The Luminous Master) and both during and after his lifetime carried on a valiant war against the Mughals.

An orthodox author, ᶜAbdu'l Karīm, known as Akhūnd Darweza, wrote the *Makhzanal-Islām* [Treasure of Islam] or the *Makhzan-i Afghānī* [Treasure in the Afghani (Language)], a prose manual in Pashto on the principles and ritual of the Hanafi school. In his manual, Akhūnd Darweza attacked the claims of Bāyazīd Ansārī. The *Makhzan* is a work that shows great clarity of exposition. Undoubtedly the Pashto language benefited greatly from the controversy between Bāyazīd and his orthodox opponents. Akhūnd Darweza issued the final version of the *Makhzan* in 1605; he died some time after 1612, the year in which he compiled the *Tazkirat al-abrār* [Notices of the Pious] in Persian.

Khushhāl Khān Khatak (1613–89), a warrior, is recognized as the national poet of the Pashtoons. Son of Shahbāz Khān, a chief of the Khatak tribe, the young Khushhāl accompanied his father in tribal wars. After his father's death in battle, Khushhāl succeeded him as khan. Thereafter he served in the Mughal campaigns in Balkh and Badakhshan in 1645–6. Later, in the time of the emperor Aurangzeb (1659–1707), the Mughal governor of Kabul aligned himself, along with some of Khushhāl's uncles and cousins, against Khushhāl. In 1664 Khushhāl, then 51 years old, was summoned by the governor to Peshawar, where he was arrested and sent in chains to a fortress. His poems written in prison are famous. He was released two years later, but was not allowed to return home until 1669. For the rest of his life, his sympathies rested with the rebel Pashtoon tribes who constantly

challenged the Mughal domination. Accompanied by one of his loyal sons, ᶜAbdu'l Qādir Khatak, Khushhāl fought and defeated the people of the Kurram valley known as the Bangash, who were partisans of the Mughal cause. He also had to fight his third son, Bahrām, whom the Mughals sponsored in attempts to replace him as khan.

In 1674 Khushhāl voluntarily relinquished his khanship to his eldest son, Ashraf, also a poet, who was later (in 1683) put in jail by the Mughals. Khushhāl declared himself a rebel and spent the rest of his life with the Afridi tribe in the inaccessible hills of Tirah. He travelled from one tribal area to another, seeking assistance and refuge, and died in the Afridi country in 1689.

Khushhāl constantly sang of his love of beauty, honour and justice. As part of his opposition to the Mughal forces, Khushhāl preached the union of all the Afghan tribes and encouraged revolt against Mughal rule:

> All the Pashtoons, from Kandahar to Attock,
> All together are to support [their union] secretly or openly!

In a famous poem he declares:

> My sword I gird upon my thigh
> To guard Afghan honour and fame:
> Its champion in this age I am,
> The Khatak Khān, Khushhāl is my name.

In his verses Khushhāl celebrates his successes and laments his misfortunes. Hecensures those Pashtoons who accept gold rather than fight the Mughals.

Along with poetry, Khushhāl wrote other works in Pashto such as manuals on falconry and folk medicine, a dialogue between the pen and the sword, an account of his imprisonment and exile, and a geography of Swat. 'His lyrics and epics alike present his religious devotion, occasionally in mystic terms, his patriotic feelings, his moral code, his many loves in abject or joyful mood, and many other subjects.'[50] Khushhāl rightly claimed to be the originator of Pashto poetic form and metre. Like his predecessor, Afzal Ansārī, Khushhāl used the Persian poetic form, but instead of strictly applying its classical rules of prosody to Pashto, both poets adopted the metres of popular Pashto songs. 'This metre [i.e. the Pashtoon] is syllabic in nature, but the pattern is made by the stress usually recurring on every fourth syllable.'[51]

Khushhāl also left many *ghazal*s in Persian under the pen-name Rūhī, and a Persian *qasīda* on the futility of this world in the same metre as the *Bahr alahrār* [Ocean of the

[50] MacKenzie, 1965.
[51] MacKenzie, 1965.

Free] of Amīr Khusrau of Delhi. His Persian poetry is among the best of that written in the complex style known as *sabk-i hindī*.

Khushhāl's sons Sikandar and Ashraf (under the pen-name Hijrī) and his daughter Halīma were also poets in the Pashto language. The Khatak tribe also provided two other writers and poets: ᶜAbdu'l Qādir Khatak and Kāmgār Khatak (d. 1693). Afzal Khatak (d. 1735), the grandson of Khushhāl Khatak, wrote in Pashto the *Tārīkh-i murassaᶜ* [History Adorned with Jewels], a history of the Pashtoons.

The poet ᶜAbdu'l Rahmān, popularly called Rahmān Bābā (*c*. 1633–1706), has a sizeable Pashto *diwān*. The *ghazal*s follow the traditions of the two famous Persian poets Saᶜdī and Hāfiz. The Sufi impact of the Persian poems of Amīr Khusrau of Delhi is also discernible.

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (1747–72), the founder of the Afghan state, was a poet himself and composed a *diwān*. There is, however, a suspicion that the monarch had no time for poetry and that an anonymous poet may have composed the *diwān* with lyrical *ghazal*s in the name of Ahmad Shāh and then discreetly offered and dedicated it to him.

The popular legend of the lovers Bahrām and Gul-Andām was written in Pashto by Fayyāz of Peshawar. Popular legends, some dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were not often recorded. A poet by the name of Masᶜūd b. ᶜAbdullāh (d. *c*. 1786) put into writing the songs of the popular legend of the lovers, Ādam Khān and Dor Khānay. Ādam Khān was the leader of a group of 'soldiers of fortune' called *yārān* (pl. of *yār* in Arabic). The group was engaged, so the story goes, in battles and intrigues in India.

ᶜAbdu'l Hamīd Mahmand (d. 1688) of the Mashu-Khel clan is the author of a Pashto *masnawī* entitled the *Nayrang-i ᶜishq* [Fascination of Love]. He also has a Pashto *dīwān* where fine images are admired. Pīr Muhammad Kakar's (d. 1782) *diwān* is also well known. He was interested in Pashto linguistics and was the author of the *Maᶜrifatu'l afghānī* [Knowledge of the Afghan Language (i.e. Pashto)], a manual of Pashto grammar (1772). Kāzim Khān Shaydā's (d. 1777) poetry has some very fine lyrical expressions of *sabk-i hindī* in the Pashto language.

Rahmat Dāwī, from Kandahar, was the author of the Pashto poetical work *Laylā o Majnūn* (1795), a legend based on an old Arabic folk song, and retold in Persian *masnawī* by classical poets. In 1841 Muᶜīn'uddīn of Peshawar put the Arabic legend of Wāmiq and ᶜAzrā, already composed in Persian, into Pashto verse.

The attention of Western scholars was first attracted to the large body of Pashto popular poetry by the publication in 1890, by James Darmesteter, of a collection and a French translation of Pashto folk poetry.[52]

Part Three

LITERATURE IN THE INDIC LANGUAGES OF PAKISTAN AND NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

(*Irfan Habib*)

Besides Pashto and Baluchi, which belong to the Iranian subfamily of languages, the major literary Indic languages of Pakistan and such areas of northern India as are included in Central Asia under the definition adopted for this *History* are Kashmiri, Panjabi, Sindhi and Hindustani (Urdu and Hindi).

Kashmiri

Kashmiri (‘Kashiru’) belongs to the Dardic group of languages, which comprises a very archaic branch of the Indo-Iranian family. It naturally absorbed a considerable amount of Sanskrit vocabulary since the latter was the literary language of Kashmir until the fourteenth century. Yet Kalhana’s famous history of Kashmir, the *Rājatarangini* (1151), already contained three words quoted from Kashmiri; and these are still in use today. Literature in Kashmiri began to take shape before our period, Lallā Ded in the fourteenth century being its first celebrated figure. She was a poetess, whose devotional verses addressed to the Hindu god Shiva were later gathered into a collection called the *Lallavākyānī*.

With Shaykh Nuru’ddīn’s verses (early fifteenth century), Persian influence begins to appear in Kashmiri poetry. The poetess Habba Khātūn, reputedly the wife of the last independent ruler of Kashmir in the sixteenth century, introduced the *lol*-lyric (*lol* meaning ‘a complex of love and tugging at the heart’). Both Sanskrit and Persian continued to exert an influence: Rūpā Bhawānī (d. 1720), a poetess, composed devotional verses in the *bhakti* (devotional) tradition, while Mahmūd Gāmī (d. 1855) composed a *khamsa* (five tales) in

[52] Darmester, 1888–90.

verse on the lines of the famous Persian poet Nizāmī. The prominence of women in Kashmiri literature is a remarkable feature of its history.[53]

Panjabi

Panjabi is a language mainly spoken in Punjab, now divided between India and Pakistan. While some scholars tend to treat the Panjabi verses attributed to the Sufi saint Shaykh Farīd (d. 1265) of Ajodhan (Pakpattan, west Punjab) as the earliest examples of literary compositions in Panjabi, the truth seems to be that these are much later, possibly of the sixteenth century, composed not much before their incorporation in the Sikh scripture, the *Ādi Granth* (1603–4). The *Ādi Granth* contains the verses of Gurū Nānak (1469–1539) and his four spiri-tual successors (*gurū*s), which preach the message of the love of God and the rejection of caste and ritual. Much of the Panjabi literature of our period revolves around Sikh religious lore, notably the *janam-sākhī*s (hagiological biographies) of the Sikh *gurū*s. The *wār* (epic, funeral dirge) of Bhāi Gurudās (*c*. 1600) is a very widely respected collection of religious verses. The *Dasam Granth* of Gurū Gobind Singh (d. 1708) is only partly in Panjabi, much of it being in the Braj dialect of Hindi and of a diverse character. Sikh compositions were written in the Gurmukhi script, a variant of the Nagari script, in which Sanskrit and Hindi are written.[54]

Outside Sikh religious compositions, Panjabi literature seems to have developed mainly in the eighteenth century. The famous romance of Hir and Ranjha, written in Panjabi by Damodar (*c*. 1600), was rendered into Persian verse by Āfarīn in 1730. But the tale was given its most popular version in Panjabi, *c*. 1766, by Wāris Shāh. A senior contemporary of his, and an equally popular poet in Panjabi, was Bulhe Shāh (1680–1757), a Sufi poet of great power, who could say in the strain of Kabīr:

> The *hājī*s [pilgrims] go to Mecca; but in my house [heart] are both the Beloved and Mecca –
> In which there are *hājī*s and *ghāzī*s [religious warriors] and all the thieves and ruffians.[55]

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Hāshim Shāh composed a celebrated poem called *Sassī Punnūn*, the love story of Sassī and Punnūn.[56]

[53] The history of the Kashmiri literature of our period is treated at some length in Sufī, 1974, pp. 398–46; also Grierson, 1990, Vol. 8, Part 2, pp. 233–40; Chatterji (ed.), 1978, pp. 524–9.

[54] On the development of Sikh literature, there is much in McLeod, 1975; for extensive translations, see Macauliffe, 1909.

[55] Sharda, 1974, pp. 148–71. The verse quoted is given on p. 161, but the rendering is ours.

[56] Cf. Grierson, 1990, Vol. 9, Part 1, pp. 607–23.

Sindhi

Sindhi, the language of the province of Sind (Sindh), is, like Panjabi, a language of the 'Indo-Aryan' subfamily, but it is far more distant from Hindustani and shows more influence received from Arabic than any other Indic language. Though Sindhi words occur in as early a work as the *Chāch-nāma*, which received its Persian garb in 1216–17 (and in its Arabic original, not extant, could be much older), the history of Sindhi literature seems to begin with Shāh ᶜAbdu'l Latīf, who flourished around 1700. His long poem the *Shāh-jo Risālo* [Account of the Saint] is a Sufi work, which illustrates the doctrine with a series of tales. In the early nineteenth century, verses under *bhakti* and Vedantic influences were composed by Sachal (d. 1829) and Samī (d. 1850). The tale of Saswi and Punhu (the Sassīand Punnūn of Panjabi) was also composed in Sindhi, and was translated into English in 1863 by F. J. Goldsmid.[57]

Hindustani (Urdu and Hindi)

The term 'Hindawī' came into use as early as the fourteenth century for the language of ordinary speech used in towns in different parts of northern India; it probably varied with local dialects, but its base was Prakrit (not Sanskrit) and it began to absorb Persian and Arabic words. By the seventeenth century it seems to have assumed a form similar to the Khari Boli dialect of the area around Delhi, while it increasingly came under the influence of the wordorder found in Persian. In the later years of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign (1659–1707), Jaᶜfar Zatallī used Khari Boli effectively in the deliberately vulgar humour he gave vent to in his prose and verse.

By this time Awadhi (in eastern Uttar Pradesh) and Braj (in western Uttar Pradesh, eastern Rajasthan and Haryana), which are today considered Hindi dialects, had fairly rich literatures of their own. Kabīr (*c*. 1500) composed his monotheistic verses in Awadhi, in which too Malik Muhammad Jāisī (*c*. 1550) wrote his tragic romance the *Padmāvat*, and, finally, Tulsīdās wrote his great epic, the *Rāmcharitmānas* (story of the *Rāmāyana*). The Mughal noble, ᶜAbdu'r Rahīm Khān-i Khānan (d. 1627), the translator of Bābur's memoirs into Persian, composed devotional verses in both Braj and Awadhi. But in *bhakti*, the greatest poet in Braj was undoubtedly Sūrdās (d. 1563), who sang of the great love between Krishna and Radha. A notable prose work in Braj is Banārasīdās's secular autobiography, the *Ardhkathānak* [Half a Tale], written in the first part of the seventeenth century.[58] These

[57] Grierson, 1990, Vol. 8, Part 1, pp. 5–14.
[58] Cf. H. P. Dwivedi in Chatterji (ed.), 1978, pp. 492–500.

trends had only a limited influence, however, in shaping the new literary languages, Urdu and literary Hindi.

The conventional historiography of Urdu literature traces its origins to the *rekhta* ('mixed') poetry patronized at the courts of Hyderabad and Bijapur in the Deccan in the seventeenth century and brought to Delhi by the poet Walī (his grave was levelled in Gujarat in 2001) early in the eighteenth century. Every cannon of Persian poetry, of technique, imagery and tradition, was applied to the poetry that was now produced in a refined form of Khari Boli. Written in the Arabic script, it soon received the name Urdu, from *ordu*, the Turkish word for camp or court.

Our period produced two very great Urdu poets: Mīr Taqī 'Mīr' (d. 1810), master of *ghazal*s and singer of sadness and separation, and Mīrzā Ghālib (d. 1869), a poet of scepticism and reflection with an unrivalled command of the language. Urdu, however, lagged behind in prose, in which realm Persian still dominated.[59]

What is now called Hindi, or rather literary Hindi, written in the Nagari script, began to take shape around 1800, its major exponents being Sadāsukh Lāl (d. 1824) and Insha Allāh Khān (d. 1818), both of whom composed Khari Boli texts from which Arabic and Persian words were excluded. Sadāsukh Lāl, himself a poet in Urdu and Persian, turned to the extensive use of Sanskrit vocabulary when he wrote in Hindi. Thus, though the spoken language remained the same (Hindustani), two separate literary traditions, Urdu and Hindi, were now firmly established.[60]

[59] For the classical (nineteenth-century) history of Urdu literature (mainly of poetry), see Azād, n.d. See also M. Hasan in Chatterji (ed.), 1978, pp. 644–50.

[60] Grierson, 1990, Vol. 9, Part 1, pp. 42–56; King, 1994, pp. 1–52.

Appendix

THE LANGUAGES OF AFGHANISTAN

(*R. Farhadi*)

When Bābur captured Kabul in 1504 he found that '11 or 12 tongues [were] spoken in Kabul: Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Mongol ('Mughūli'), Hindi, Afghani [Pashto], Pashāi, Parāchi, Gabri, Birki and Lamghani'.[61] 'If there be any country', he adds, 'with so many differing tribes and such a diversity of tongues, it is not known to me.'[62] Afghanistan remains to this day a country of immense linguistic diversity. Table 1 below lists the various languages and dialects, along with some relict languages that are dying out (marked 'R'), duly classified linguistically.[63]

It will be seen from the table that there are many dialects of Persian (which is called Dari in Afghanistan and Tajik in areas further north), just as there are in Iran. But literary Persian is the same whether written in Persia or Afghanistan. Similarly, the literary form of Pashto coexists with its many dialects, which vary according to district and even according to tribe. The literatures in both these languages have been discussed in the main text of this chapter, while the history of literature in Chaghatay Turki (now designated Uzbek) is treated in Chapter 23. In addition, Baluchi is spoken in the south of Afghanistan. The following notes are essentially on the languages as spoken.

Pashto is an Indo-European language belonging to the Indo-Iranic subgroup, and therefore has common roots with the old Avestan language. All the spoken forms of Pashto, as well as its literary form, contain some striking archaisms.

[61] Bābur, 1995, p. 203. Afghani was the earlier name of the Pashto language; both names were used in the seventeenth century and later.
[62] Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 207.
[63] The table was prepared by Ch. M. Kieffer (CNRS, Paris), for whose assistance the Editors are extremely grateful.

TABLE 1. The languages of Afghanistan

Status Typology	Official	National	Regional	Local
1. W. Iranian	Darī (Persian)		Kābolī	many Persian dialects
		Balučī	Hazāragī	
2. N.E. Iranian	Paštō			many Paštō dialects; the Pāmīr dialects:
				Shughnī
				Rōshānī
				Ishkāshmī
				Sanglēchī
				Munjī
				Wākhī
3. S.E. Iranian				Ōrmūrī R
				Parāčī R
4. Indo-Aryan		‘Nuristānī’, i.e. Katī		Katī
				Waigalī
				Ashkūn
				Prasūn
5. Dardic		Pashaī		Gawarbātī
				Tirō R
6. New Indian			Panjābī	Sindhī
				Gojrī
				Inku (Lahndā)
7. Turkic		Ozbēkī	Qirghizī	Uighur R
		Torkmanī		
8. Mongolic				Mogholī R
9. Semitic				Arabic R
10. Dravidian			Brāhuī	

Source: Ch. M. Kieffer. See also Kieffer, 1981*a*.

Notes to Table 1

1. The official languages Darī (Persian) and Pawtō are taught all over Afghanistan as first (mother tongue) or second languages: Darī is spoken by about 80% and Pawtō by about 50% of the population,[64] many people being completely bilingual.

2. The national languages that have had an official status since 1988 are in principle taught only in the concerned regions.[65]

3. The difference between regional and local languages (subdialects) is somewhat subjective and is subject to revision.

4. R = Relict-language which seems to be dying out.

5. The use nowadays of a Mongolic dialect is very doubtful: Mogholī is almost extinct.[66]

6. There are also some special languages spoken by itinerant groups; Ādurgarī by the Shekh-Mohamadī; Ghōrbatī, Qazilagī and Magadīby the Ghorbat; and Magatibay by the Jogī.[67]

7. Some professional groups have their own jargon: the Zargarī of the gold and silversmiths (*zargarān*, sing. *zargar*), the Qaābī of the butchers (*qaṣṣābān*, sing. *qaṣṣāb*), etc. And, at last, there is a kind of 'lingua franca': Lāzemī from *lāzim*'[it is] necessary', spoken in the bazaars by foreigners and the Afghans who come into contact with them.[68]

The dialects of Pashto may be divided into two groups, hard (*kh*, *g*) called Pakhto and soft (*ah*, *zh*) called Pashto. The line of division between the two dialects cuts right across the Durand line (the frontier between Afghanistan and Pakistan): the hard dialect is spoken in the north (Kabul province, Nangarhar, Peshawar, etc.) while the soft one is spoken in the south (Kandahar, Quetta, Waziristan, etc.)

The Dari dialects spoken in Afghanistan belong to the eastern sub-branch of Tajik-i Khurasani, while the dialects of the western regions of Iran belong to the western dialect groups.

[64] See Farhadi, 1955; 1975.
[65] See Kieffer, 1983*a*.
[66] See Kieffer, 1983*b*, p. 514.
[67] See Rao, 1982.
[68] See Kieffer, 1983*a*, pp. 502, 515.

In Afghanistan, Dari (Persian) dialects are spoken not only by the Tajiks but also by the Hazaras, the Aimaks and many others in the Ghur, Herat, Farah, Badghis and Laghman regions. Dari is therefore spoken by a numerical majority of the population of Afghanistan.

Uzbek is spoken in the north of the country by a fairly large number of people, who also generally understand Dari (Persian).

Baluchi, with its many dialects, is spoken in the south and south-west of the country, and belongs to the same language family as Persian.

Pashai, spoken in many valleys in Laghman, Kunar and Kapisa provinces in the form of many dialects, has a rich heritage of folklore and songs, preserved by oral tradition. Pashai belongs to the Indo-Aryan subgroup of the Indo-Iranic group of languages.

Among other Iranic (Avestic) languages are Ormuri (still spoken by a few families in Baraki-Barak in Logar) and Parachi (used in some villages of the Pachaghan valley in Nijraw in Kapisa province and the Shutul valley in Parwan province). To the same Avestic group belong the four languages spoken in the valleys of the Pamirs situated within Afghanistan (see table).

The Indic group is represented not only by Pashai, but also by Gawarbati (spoken in a few villages of the Kunar valley), Sawi (spoken in Saw in Kunar) and Tirahi (in a village of Nangarhar). Some Indian languages were subsequently brought into the country: for example, Gujuri is spoken by Gujur nomads travelling in the summer in the valleys of eastern Afghanistan. The Jats (gypsies of Afghanistan) are a sedentary people who speak Jati. The Bangliwals have their own language belonging to the Indic group. Almost 50,000 Hindus and Sikhs who immigrated from India to Afghanistan in the nineteenth century are citizens and merchants and speak Panjabi (in Kabul, Jalalabad, etc.) and Sindhi (in Kandahar).

One of the world's most interesting archaic groups of languages is found in Nuristan, formerly Kafiristan. They belong to the Indo-Iranic branch of Indo-European languages, but it is not certain whether they belong to the Indic or the Iranic branch. Professor George Morgenstierne of Norway concludes that these are the most archaic forms of the Indic branch (pre-Vedic, as he says, in which vestiges of the remnants of the original proto-Indo-Iranic can still be detected). The four languages of Nuristan thus represent a third subgroup or, more accurately, an archaic branch of the Indic subgroup of the Indo-Iranic group.

As to the non-Indo-European languages of the country, an archaic Mongolian is still spoken in three villages near Herat, viz. Kundur, Karez Mulla and Du-Rudi to the south-east of Herat. (A Mongolian-Persian glossary in verse has been discovered in the village of Zirni and was published by Iwamura in Japan in 1974. The Mongol-speaking village population is not characterized by any salient Mongoloid features.) The Hazaras of Afghanistan,

who claim a Mongol origin, do not speak Mongolian, but Hazaragi, a rather deviant dialect of Khurasani Persian. In the vocabulary of their spoken Dari, more than 1,000 words are remnants of their earlier language which is mainly Eastern Turkic (and not Mongolian).

Turkic languages are represented by Uzbek and small groups of other eastern subgroups of languages, such as Kazakhi (transplanted in Herat and other north-western parts of the country); Uighur (in a few villages in Badakhshan: Argu village of Utranchi and Ab-i Barik); and Kyrgyz (in the Pamirs). The Western Turkic languages are represented by Turkmeni (spoken by a fairly large number of people in several communities in the north-west of Afghanistan and also around Balkh) and Afshari (a variant of Azarbaijani still spoken by the Afshars in a village that is now part of a northern suburb of Kabul).

Arabic, spoken in many towns of Khurasan in the early centuries of Islam, is still heard in a few villages (Khoshal-Abad, west of Daulatabad district of Balkh province, Sultan Aregh near Aq-cha and Hasan-Abad near Shiberghan). They seem, like the Arabs of the Bukhara region, to be the remnants of the Arabs who were brought by Amīr Timur (Tamerlane) at the end of the fourteenth century. Brahui, a Dravidian language, has maintained itself as the only vestige of pre-Aryan times among a few thousand tribal shepherds living together with Baluchis from Shorawak to Chakhansoor.

23

TURKIC AND MONGOLIAN LITERATURE

A. Kayumov, İ. Togan, G. Kara and Sh. Bira

Contents

Part One

TURKIC LITERATURE

(*A. Kayumov*)

Chaghatay/Uzbek literature

By the year 1500 it is probable that the expansion of the Turkic languages had reached the geographic limits that exist today; and within the Turkic zone too, the major language territories of today had been established. Bābur (see below) tells us that within Ferghana around Andijan, the people were 'all Turks: not a man in town or bazaar but knows Turki'.[1] But in the district of Isfara, comprising four subdivisions, the 'people are all Sārts [settled agriculturists], and Persian-speaking'.[2] This linguistic division is reflected in the drawing of boundaries between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in Soviet times, when Ferghana was shared out between the two republics. Andijan, as we might expect, went to Uzbekistan, and Isfara to Tajikistan.

Of the Turkic spoken around Andijan, Bābur says, 'the spoken words are correct according to the literary language; the writings of Mīr ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī, though he was brought up in Herat, are in the same language'.[3] It is to be assumed, then, that what now became the literary language was spoken over an area extending from Ferghana into Khurasan.

While Chaghatay Turki is sometimes assumed to be identical with modern Uzbek, the latter in its literary form shows considerable influence of Kipchak (Qipchāq), Turkmen and Iranian idioms,[4] and it is perhaps safer to maintain a distinction between the two, confining the name Uzbek to a relatively recent period, and using the name Turki or Chaghatay Turki for its precursor. ('Turkish' is now reserved in English for Ottoman Turkish and its Republican successor with a Latinized script.)

1 Bābur, 1995, p. 5; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 4.
2 Bābur, 1995, p. 7; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 7.
3 Bābur, 1995; 1922, Vol. 1, p. 4.
4 *EI*^{2}, art. 'Turks: Languages' (G. Hazai), p. 713.

The rise of Chaghatay literature, and its splendid flowering in the late fifteenth century with ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī (1441–1501) as the major figure, was dealt with in the previous volume.[5] But soon thereafter came Bābur's memoirs, the *Bābur-nāma*, a work that can also rightfully claim a place in world literature.

Zahīru'ddīn Muhammad Bābur (1483–1530) occupied the throne of Ferghana at the age of 12. Driven from his homeland in Transoxania and losing both Ferghana and Samarkand, he ultimately built an empire for himself: king in Kabul in 1504, he went on to forge the great Mughal empire in India in 1526. Bābur took the unusual decision to keep a record of his adventures, observations and opinions. His memoirs constitute the first true autobiography ever written in the Islamic lands. The decision to write the record in Chaghatay Turki and not in Persian, the universal language of culture and literature at that time, is even more extraordinary. Perhaps the decision was a logical consequence of the fact that for Bābur these diaries were a mirror of his own intimate personal life, which he could best express in his native tongue; the pages were written for himself and an intimate circle, and perhaps for his descendants. He therefore made no attempt at ornateness or rhetoric, which a more literary or pompous audience would have expected. Indeed, Bābur's Chaghatay is fluid, idiomatic and colloquial. It is 'written in a simple, unaffected and yet very pure style',[6] which is devoid of the sumptuous Persian arti- fice and literary contrivance, with its fondness for rhyming synonyms and seemingly endless parallel constructions, that, indeed, characterize the Chaghatay prose of Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā and ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī.[7] It should be noted that the *Bābur-nāma* also contains a wealth of information on the history, literature, language and ethnography of various peoples of Central Asia, and on the plants, animals and scenery of a vast area extending from Ferghana to India.

Bābur's poetry, too, is an outstanding example of the Chaghatay literary output in the sixteenth century. His *ghazal*s (odes), *rubāᶜiyyāt* (rhymed quatrains, sing. *rubā ᶜī*) and verse epistles are full of tender love; they reveal sincere, truly human feelings – the joy of meeting, longing for the beloved and belief in infinite faithfulness and love. The theme of the homeland is also dear to Bābur's heart:

> Lack of happiness caused me much suffering.

[5] See *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. 4, Part 2, pp. 381–2.

[6] A judgement of Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt, his contemporary and the author of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (see Haydar Dughlat, 1898, p. 14).

[7] [Matter up to this point has been added by the Editors.] The memoirs have been translated into English, notably by Beveridge (Bābur, 1922), with extensive annotation. A recent more idiomatic translation is by Thackston, 1996, accompanied by a very useful introduction, but lacking detailed annotation. For a French translation, see Bacqué-Grammont, 1985. A critical edition of the original text prepared by Mano (Bābur, 1995) is also now available. For Bābur's expression of feelings related to the arts, see Adle, 2000, pp. 184–6.

All I attempted ended in failure.
Having forsaken my native land, I went to India.
Alas, what a dark fate has befallen me!

Bābur carried Chaghatay Turki to India, where he carved out an extensive dominion. His son Kāmrān (d. 1557) and his grandson Akbar's regent, Bayram Khān (d. 1561), have both left *dīwān*s in Turki, which have been retrieved and published. In the Transoxania that Bābur left behind him, Turki poetry was patronized by ^{c}Ubaydullāh Khān (1533–9), the Uzbek khan of Bukhara, who himself composed verses under the pen-name ^{c}Ubaydī; these are extant and have been published.

Among the significant works of Turki literature in the first half of the sixteenth century mention should be made of the poet Muhammad Sālih (1455–1535), who produced the *Shaybānī-nāma*, a versified account of the events of the period 1485–1506, connected with the life and travels of the Uzbek ruler Shaybānī Khān (1500–10). In the sixteenth century historical literature in the language was further reinforced by translations of Sharaf ^{c}Alī Yazdī's history of Timur, the *Zafar-nāma*, and of the Persian version of Tabarī's world history, the *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*. Among other sixteenth-century works mention should also be made of the poem the *Qissa-i Sayfu'l Mulūk* [Story of Sayfu'l-Mulūk] by Majlisī; and a collection of philosophical, instructive and religious tales, the *Gulzār* [The Flower Garden] as well as the *Miftāh ul-^{c}adl* [The Key of Justice], both by ^{c}Abdu'l Wahāb Khwāja.

The most important historical work in Turki after Bābur's memoirs was almost certainly the *Shajara-i Turk* [The Turks' Genealogy], written by Abū'l Ghāzī Bahādur Khān, ruler of Khiva (1643–63). The work gives a history of Chinggis Khan, his ancestors and descendants, especially the Shaybanids, bringing it down to 1644. From that year onwards, the narrative was supplied by Abū'l Ghāzī Khān's son and successor Anūsha Muhammad (1663–87); he completed and closed the work in 1665.

Endless wars between local lords struggling for power, and the ruin of the country as a result of these internecine conflicts, naturally aroused popular protest. It was as an expression of such protest that the seventeenth-century Uzbek poet Turdī Farrukhī (*c*. 1700) produced his critical verses. Addressing the elders of the clans and tribal groupings, Turdī wrote:

> Raise your heads from a common collar, and clothe yourselves in a common garment, So that outwardly and inwardly you shall have a single collar, one and the same sleeves.

The verses of Bābā Rahīm Mashrab (executed in Balkh in 1711) were enormously popular among his compatriots. He used the latitude allowed to love poetry (*^{c}ashqiya*) to challenge existing traditions. His verses also convey gloomy meditations on his people's condition and a protest against oppression and injustice. The same sentiments are echoed in

the writings of his younger contemporary, Huwayda of Chimian (d. 1798). The religious tradition in poetry was simultaneously carried on by Sufi Allāh Yār (*c*. 1700) from Yangi Kurgan, who wrote *masnawī*s (poems in couplets) on religious themes.

The poem *Husn o dil* [Beauty and the Heart] (1778) by Nishātī, a poet from Khwarazm, sings the praises of the beloved and elevates heroes who are devoted to the ideals of love, goodness and nobility. The poets Sayqalī of Hisar, Sayyadī and Nādir celebrated similar qualities. Their respective poems *Bahrām o Gulandām, Tāhir o Zuhrā* and *Haft gulshan* [Seven Flower Gardens], composed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, are significant contributions to Uzbek epic verse.

Uzbek poets of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries continued faithfully along the path traced out by ᶜAlīshīr Nawā'ī. The *masnawī* was the dominant form in epic verse. Prose passages were sometimes included in poems. The dominant forms of lyric poetry were the *ghazal*, the *rubāᶜī* and the *mukhammas* (pentameter). Literary prose also abounded with verses and *sajᶜ* (rhymed prose). The literary language differed from common speech and written literature was mainly intended for the highly educated reader. Popular adaptations of works of literature had, therefore, to be produced for a wider readership. Bilingualism prevailed in literature. Almost all the poets wrote in both Chaghatay Turki and Persian; and many of them also had an excellent knowledge of Arabic.

Some widely appreciated poets such as Rāqim (*c*. 1800), Mu'nis, Firūz, Āgāhī, ᶜAvaz Otār-oghli, Bayānīand Kāmil lived and worked in Khiva. Information on 52 Khivan poets is given in the *Anthology of Poets of Khwarazm* compiled by the poet Laffasī (twentieth century). An important figure on the literary scene in Khwarazm in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was Mu'nis (d. 1829), who besides being a poet wrote a historical work, the *Firdaus al-iqbāl* [Heavenly Garden of Glory], finished by his nephew, Āgāhī (1809–74). Muhammad Āgāhī was also the author of a 5-volume history of Khwarazm and he translated many literary and historical works into Turki. He is the author of a compilation of poems entitled the *Taᶜwīzu'l āshiqīn* [Talisman of Lovers] in which he complains about the difficult lives of worthy people and the unfairness they have to face.

An important literary centre developed in Kokand (Khoqand) in the first half of the nineteenth century and many lyrical and epic works were produced there. One may mention Amīr (the pen-name of ᶜUmar Khān, ruler of Kokand, 1812–22), Adā, Makhmur (d. 1844), Gulkhānī, Hāziq, Nādir, Akmal and Ghāzī, and the poetesses Nadira (1793–1842), wife of ᶜUmar Khān, Uvaysī, Mahzuna and Dilshād. An anthology of the Kokand poets (*Tazkira Majmūᶜa-i shāᶜirān*) compiled by Fazlīin 1821 contains examples of the work of more than 70 poets.

Chaghatay Turki in Xinjiang

The Uighur language spoken in Xinjiang belongs to the Eastern Turkic family and is, therefore, close to Uzbek. This explains why Chaghatay Turki could enjoy, along with Persian, the status of the literary language of that area throughout our period.[8]

Unfortunately, no work in Chaghatay Turki written in Xinjiang in the sixteenth century is known to have survived, but manuscripts from the seventeenth century have been preserved. Some lyrics of Muhammad Amīn Khiraqatī ‘Gumnām’ (1634–*c*. 1724) show the influence of the Uzbek poet Mashrab; and he also left a *masnawī* called the *Muhabbat-nāma o mahnat-kāma* [Book of Love and Object of Labour]. In the eighteenth century Muhammad Abū Salāhī from Kashghar wrote the *Gul o bulbul* [Flower and Nightingale], also a *masnawī*.

The increasing influence of the *khwāja*s (mystics) who came from Transoxania was another factor behind the writing of works in Chaghatay Turki. Muhammad Sādiq Zalīlī, a poet, wrote the *Tazkira Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf Buzurgwār*. Khwāja Jahān ᶜArshī, ruler of Yarkand (1736–56), patronized translations into Turki from Persian, including Firdausi’s *Shāh-nāma*, while he wrote a *dīwān* himself, which has been published. Muhammad Sādiq Kashgharī (*fl*. 1768–9), a disciple of the *khwāja*, translated Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt’s *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turki. Mahmūd Churās’ famous *Tārīkh*, a history of the khans of Kashghar (written *c*. 1670), was also translated into Turki late in the eighteenth century under the title *Alti Shahar khanlarinin tarikhi* [History of the Khans of Alti Shahar].

Kazakh literature

The *akin* (poet) has always had a place in the literature of the Kazakh people, a place that became ever more prominent in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries with the emergence of the Kazakh khanates. The songs of Bukhār Jirau (*c*. 1693–*c*. 1787), an adviser to Ablai Khan (1771–81), were especially popular. He was a vocal opponent of internal wars and appealed to the people to maintain peace and concord. The verses of the poets Tājiqāra, Shālāqin and Jānkisī, who propounded the same ideas, were widely popular in the eighteenth century.

In the first half of the nineteenth century Mahambet Utimisuf (1804–46) occupied a prominent position on the political and literary scene. He was the hero of a popular uprising

[8] It may be of some interest to note that when the ruler of Kashghar in 1712 sent an embassy to the Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh (1707–12), the letter accompanying it was probably in Uighur: Bahādur Shāh, who knew Chaghatay Turki well, read it aloud, but remarked that its language was a little different from the Turki he knew (Hādī Kāmwar Khān, 1980, p. 131).

against the oppression and despotism of those in power. An important feature of his poetry was that it was both sung out and written and so bridged the gap between oral poetry and written verse.

Karakalpak (Qara-Qālpāq) literature

Although Karakalpak literature is rooted in an age-old oral tradition, it was only quite recently that a written literature came into being. The main Karakalpak writers are Jian Jirau, Kun Khwāja, Ajiniyaz (Hājī Niyāz) and Berdakh (Birdāq). Ajiniyaz (1824–78) wrote both in the Karakalpak language and in Kazakh. His lyrics combine civic themes with the theme of love and are of a high artistic level. Berdakh (1827–1900) is the most important representative of Karakalpak literature, but belongs essentially to the period after 1850. His verses contain sentiments of affection for the homeland. He freely acknowledges his debt to masters in other Turkic languages:

> I ran away from jingles,
> I learnt grammar from Nawā'ī,
> Fuzūlī helped me to string words like pearls.
> I searched for eloquence and I found
> No defects in the words of Makhtumkuli [Makhdum Qulī].

Kyrgyz literature[9]

The Kyrgyz oral folk tradition is many centuries old. The poets expressed the thoughts and aspirations of the people in their tales (*dāstān*s). Few of these folk poets set down their compositions in written form.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the folk poet Kalygul (1785–1855) composed *Akyr zamān* [Doomsday] and Arystanbek (1824–78) wrote the *Tār zamān* [Time of Suffering]. Both lived in the Issyk-kul region. Their works, devoted to a description of the harsh life of their compatriots, were highly popular. Folk poets of later times, Qilich Shimirkanov or Molda Qilich (1875–1917) and Is'hak *akin* (Is'hāq, b. 1880), continued these traditions.

[9] Some facts have been incorporated here on the basis of a note from Dr Anara Tabyshalieva. It should be noted that the description of the history of literature in all languages in this volume has 1850 as its rough terminal point – Eds.

Turkmen literature

Turkmen literature is best reflected in its poetry. Dovletmammet (Daulat Muhammad) ‘Azadi’ (1700–60) composed didactic verses in Turkmen, but Turkmen poetry reached its high point with his son Makhtumkuli (Makhdum Qulī) ‘Piraqi’ (Firāqī) (1733–83). Exaltation of and love of humanity and a whole-hearted commitment to its wellbeing are the leitmotifs of Makhtumkuli’s lyrics:

Whoever is known to the people for his goodness
Will be thanked and raised high.
He who does evil, who has forgotten what is good,
Loses respect, and shall be held as lower than a dog.

Makhtumkuli sings the praises of his homeland. The poet teaches that the loss of one’s country is the greatest of misfortunes:

O heart, I exhort you,
Forsake not your motherland,
Serve not an alien,
One who is beneath you and unworthy.

The main representatives of Turkmen literature of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century are the poets Mamedvali (Muhammad Walī), ‘Kamina’ (1770–1840), Seyyidnazar Seyyidi (Sayyid Nazar Sayyidī) (1775– 1836), Kurbandurdy (Qurbān Durdy), Zelili (1785–1846), Mullā Nepes (Nafas) (1810–62) and Murād Tālibī (1766–1848). All of them were influenced by the poetry of Makhtumkuli. They continued his tradition in Turkmen literature, the essence of which was the praise of goodness and justice, truth and beauty.[10]

Turkic epic poetry

Much literature in the Turkic languages was orally transmitted, and in such literature epic tales occupied a special place. The Kyrgyz epic poem *Manas* is one of the major works of oral folk poetry (see Volume IV, Part Two, pp. 403–10, for a detailed study). The warrior Manas unites all the Kyrgyz clans under his leadership and revives the Kyrgyz state in the Talas region. He then carries out the Great March, which ends in victory. The warrior Almambet shows himself to be a true comrade-in-arms of Manas in all his campaigns and battles. Kanukai, the daughter of the ruler of Bukhara, is faithful to her lifelong friend

[10] See Gulī, 1366/1988. This book contains unpublished documents and extracts from poems.

Manas and exemplifies loyalty, faithfulness and courage. The task begun by Manas is continued by his descendants. Semetei, the son of Kanukai and Manas, and their grandson Seitek are shown as uniting the Kyrgyz under their leadership and guidance to act successfully against all opponents. The *Manaschi*s, *Manas* story-tellers, keep in their memory more than 250,000 verses of this epic.

The epic poem *Alpamysh* is very popular among the Uzbeks. It is in two parts, the first of which is devoted to the love of the warrior Alpamysh for the beautiful Barchin. This love withstands many trials and tribulations and is ultimately triumphant. The first part of the poem ends with the marriage of the lovers. The second part deals with the evil deeds of Kalmuk (Qalmāq) invaders in the land of Barchin's parents. Alpamysh struggles heroically against the Kalmuk khans, defeats the self-styled ruler Ultan and proceeds to unify the dispersed Kongrat (Qonqrāt) tribes. Alpamysh is no conqueror. He unites his people and establishes peace and order in the land. The love of Alpamysh and Barchin forms a thread running through the entire poem, giving it a special fascination and charm.

The Kazakh epic poem *Koblandy batir* deals with the great deeds of the warrior Qoblandī against foreign invaders. The tale relates how Toqtar Bī and Anāluq of the Kipchak clan are overjoyed at the birth of a son in their old age. The child, whom they call Qoblandī, grows into a bold and fearless youth famed for his skill as a hunter and as a champion in martial contests. He wins the hand of the beautiful Kortkā, daughter of Khān Koktim. When the Qizilbāsh begin to lay waste to the Kipchak lands, Qoblandī leads the struggle against them. Following a number of victories and misfortunes, Qoblandībeats ᶜĀlamgīr, the enemy leader, in single-handed combat and saves his clan from the yoke of the aggressors.

The Karakalpak epic the *Kirk kiz* [The Forty Maidens] creates images of heroic defenders of their native lands. The events of the poem are set in Karakalpak country in the Aral Sea area. The Forty Maidens, headed by the beautiful and intrepid heroine Gulaim, wage war against the enemy hordes that have attacked their land, with the support of their fellow countrymen. Gulaim, leader of the Forty Maidens, is portrayed as a patriot and a fearless leader. There is also an amorous strain in the poem, expressed in a somewhat humorous tone (e.g. scenes of the passage of the herdsman Zarintāj, Gulaim's fiancé, and other scenes). The scenery of the Karakalpak country is described in *The Forty Maidens*, which dwells on the beauty of its steppes, rivers, lakes and flower gardens. There are also passages that reflect conditions of the day-to-day existence, family life and occupations of the people.

The epic of Korkut is a Turkmen creation. The Turkmen tribe of Bayundur is at the centre of attention in the Oghuz epic poem the *Kitāb-i Dedem Korkut*, which contains

many legends. The events relate to the period between the middle of the fourteenth century and the middle of the fifteenth century. The Bayundur tribesmen are depicted in the poem as leaders of the Oghuz. The songs of which the poem consists deal with a number of subjects. *The Song of the Bold Domrul* tells the story of a youth who raises his sword against Azrail, the angel of death. Nobody goes to the assistance of the youth. Only his young wife is prepared to sacrifice herself for Domrul. Tales of the blinding of the Cyclops Denegez by the young Oghuz warrior Bisat are also popular.

The epic tale of Sālors of Kazan tells the story of how the entire Kazan family is seized by *giaour*s (infidels), who prepare a savage punishment for the captives. Aided only by a herdsman, Kazan and his men rescue the captives. The infidels are harshly punished for their evil deeds. Korkut himself was a wise patriarch, an adviser to the khan. His sayings are set down in the book as a separate collection of aphorisms.

The *dāstān*s (tales), songs, proverbs, riddles and other forms of Turkic folklore, first transmitted orally and now in written form, have greatly enriched the literature of the Turkic peoples.

Part Two

THE EPIC TRADITION AND HISTORICAL LITERATURE IN TURKIC

(*İ. Togan*)

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, an Egyptian historical source tells us of:

> a book called the *Oghuz-nāma* which goes from hand to hand among the Oghuz Turks. In this book occurs the story of a person named Dabakuz [Tebeköz, Tepegöz] who ravaged the lands of the early Turks and killed their great men. They say he was an ugly and loathsome man with a single eye on the top of his head. . . They have many well-known tales and stories about him, which circulate among them to this day and are learned by heart by their sagacious men who are skilled in the playing of their lute [*kopuz*].[11]

The cycle of legends of Oghuz Khan, the legendary ruler of the Oghuz, consists of the different versions of the history of Oghuz Khan as well as offshoots of this cycle, such

[11] Lewis, 1982.

as *Köroğlu* or *Guroglu*. Many different legends are found within the *Oghuz-nāma* texts. Even the well-known account of the conversion to Islam of the Karakhanid ruler Satuq Bughra Khan has aspects that tie it to the *Oghuz-nāma* lore.[12] Some scholars see a relationship between Alp Bamsy (Bamsy Beyrek) of the *Kitāb-i Dedem Korkut* and Alpamsha (Alpamysh); others emphasize that 'its plot is connected with heroic folk-tales sung among the people of the Altai'.[13] A similar connection to the *Oghuz-nāma* is visualized for the epic of *Manas*. The hero's magic horse (the winged *tulpar*, the *kirat*, the *akkula*) are motifs that can be found in *Guroglu* (*Köroğlu*), *Alpamysh* and *Manas*; whereas the hero's miraculous birth, his magic invulnerability, his sleep of death are what bring *Alpamysh* and *Manas* together.

The *Oghuz-nāma* legends describe the struggle between Oghuz and Turk, at the end of which the Oghuz people came to be known as Turks. But in legend and lore it is Oghuz Khan who survives the struggle. In offshoots of the *Oghuz-nāma* such as *Guroglu (Köroğlu)*, *Alpamysh* and *Manas*, a great variety of Turkic peoples seek their heritage.

While the *Oghuz-nāma* tradition with its variants is shared throughout Central Asia and Anatolia, the Chinggisid tradition exemplified in the *Chinggis-nāma* is particular to Central Asia and the Volga-Ural region. Works that used the Chinggisid tradition as their starting-point were known as *Chinggis-nāma*s or *Khān-nāma*s.

There are different versions of works known as *Chinggis-nāma* which were extant both in the Volga-Ural region and in the Tarim basin. The Volga-Ural version known as the *Daftar-i Chinggisnama* survives in more than 40 manuscripts. The *Chinggis-nāma*s traditionally start by focusing on Chinggis Khan but are often extended to recount the deeds of non-Chinggisid figures such as Edigü Beg in the tales of *Edige* and *Temür* in the *Timur-nāma*s. The popularity of Edige, the hero who did not subordinate himself either to a khan (Toqtamysh) or to a *beg* (Temür), is shown by the number of *Edige* editions published in many of the former Soviet republics.

The *Chinggis-nāma* literature portrays the struggles between the two brothers, Tatar (some of the pre-thirteenth-century Turks as well as later Turkic people are still known as Tatars) and Moghul. Out of this struggle emerged the Turco-Mongol people in history, Turkic in speech but with traditions of their rulers going back to Chinggis Khan. It is of great interest to see how these two developing traditions, conveyed orally but written down from time to time, continuously went on being incorporated in what may be called the more formal historiography of the Turkic peoples.

12 Togan, 1930, pp. 3–53.
13 Giffen, 1999, p. 92.

This historiography was initially heir to the universalistic approach that had been derived in Persian from the historiographical method adopted in the Arabic annals of Yaᶜqūbī and Tabarī.[14] During the Mongol period (thirteenth– fourteenth centuries) this framework was expanded with the addition of a new component, the Turco-Mongol one. In Iran, the Ilkhānid vizier Rashīdu'ddīn's work the *Jāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh* [Collection of Histories] (in Arabic and Persian, early fourteenth century)[15] is the best illustration of this new trend. The Turkic and Mongolian annals incorporated into the *Jāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh* make us aware of the rich repertoire of formerly untapped information that existed in the form of oral traditions. *The Secret History of the Mongols*[16] and the *Shengwu qinzhenglu*,[17] two real histories written in the thirteenth century for the Mongols in Inner Asia and China, were the forerunners of the *Jāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh* in the conversion of Mongolian oral tradition into written history.

This trend of incorporating oral traditions into historiography continued well into the nineteenth century. What was mainly new was that, although the starting-point of the histories remained Adam and, then, Noah in accordance with the Islamic tradition, the emphasis shifted to the genealogies of Turco-Mongol lore. The universalistic trend was thus narrowed down, though the methodology itself remained unchanged.

There were two aspects to this methodology: one was the need for contextualization;[18] the second, the use of oral traditions. To meet the need for contextualization, histories either started with the Islamic or the Chinggisid framework or both. When they were used together, the latter, at least in theory, stood in contradiction to the former, because the latter emphasized dynastic rule, whereas the former emphasized religion. But for the people who wrote their own histories this theoretical contradiction did not present any problems. From the nineteenth century onwards, on the other hand, as assertions of identity and the desire to be known as separate peoples on particular territories grew and the concept of nation took root, the Islamic framework began to be discarded.

The second aspect of the methodology is that when the past of a given group was increasingly emphasized, oral accounts provided the writer with much of the information (real or imaginary) that he needed. In this case the Chinggisid tradition at hand provided a

[14] *EI*², art. 'Yakubī' (C. Brockelman); Frye, 2000, p. 154.
[15] Bosworth, 2000, pp. 148–50.
[16] Bira, 2000, pp. 156–8.
[17] Pelliot and Hambis, 1951.
[18] Strictly speaking, writing the history of nation states does not require contextualization; nation states are regarded as given. Among the Turco-Mongol peoples, with their nomadic background, the need for context seems to be associated with their need to define themselves in cosmological terms. What was cosmological at the beginning evolved later into religious and tribal contexts which we today call ethnic history.

convenient framework, especially since all rulers of Turkic peoples in Central Asia directly or indirectly claimed a Chinggisid lineage. Modern historiography, on the other hand, struggled for a long time to liberate history from elements of legend and lore. Accordingly, while the historiographical works from Central Asia of our period show how particular traditions perceived the past, modern criticism of these works is directed to discover and expunge what had only been imagined. Today, however, there is an increasing concern with the perceptions these works display and the material and social context in which they need to be placed. Thus works which had earlier been discounted as factually unreliable are now often being restudied from this point of view.[19]

A modification of the universalist approach of Rashīdu'ddīn, by narrowing it down to the Turco-Mongol world and thus providing a context, was a process that had already started in Timurid times.[20] This localization should be understood in terms of peoples rather than geographic regions. The Turco-Mongol people at this time were to be found in the Tarim basin, in Transoxania, Khurasan, the Kazakh steppes, the Volga-Ural region and the (former) Dasht-i Qipchaq (Kipchak steppe, modern western Kazakhstan).

By the sixteenth century, histories of the Turco-Mongol world were being woven around stories of the *Chinggis-nāma* and *Oghuz-nāma*. A chronological look at historiographical works from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century shows how they sometimes incorporate both the *Oghuz-nāma* and the *Chinggis-nāma* traditions, and sometimes treat them separately. We can see many examples of Turco-Mongol historiography in the Turkic languages. One of the earliest examples is the *Tawārīkh-i Guzīda-i Nusrat-nāma* [Selected Histories of the Book of Victory], which covers the period up to the year 1505 during the reign of Shaybānī Khān. The material for the first part of this work of disputed authorship draws on both the *Oghuz-nāma* and *Chinggis-nāma* texts. Earlier, under the Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg (1394–1449), a historical work, the *Shajaratu'l Atrāk* [Genealogy of the Turks], had been written in Persian by making use of the Islamic framework interwoven with the *Oghuznāma* and *Chinggis-nāma* traditions. The *Tawārīkh-i Guzīda-i Nusrat-nāma* does not dwell on the Islamic framework, but uses the *Oghuz-nāma* and *Chinggis-nāma* to connect the Chinggisid Shaybānī Khān to earlier ethnic traditions and history.

Another work from the sixteenth century is that of Ötemish Hājī, written in Eastern Turki in the middle of the sixteenth century and known as the *Tārīkh-i Dust Sultan* or simply the *Chinggis-nāma*. This work starts with the history of Chinggis Khan and deals with Ulus Jöchi of the Golden Horde; as Hoffman notes, it considers Khwarazm, Astarkhan and

[19] As, for example, in Penrose, 1975, and DeWeese, 1994. Philology is also a great source of insights here, as Penrose, 1975, pp. 4–5, points out.

[20] Bosworth, 2000, pp. 150–2.

Tuva as one country.[21] The work is a mine of information on the Noghays in the Dasht-i Qipchaq, and on Crimea. For this reason it was incorporated into the work of the Crimean ᶜAbdu'l Ghaffār, which is how it became known to modern scholarship. In terms of language, it incorporates both Kipchak and Oghuz elements, a characteristic of Khwarazm. Only a very few copies exist. One incomplete version was published as the *Chingiz-name* by Abuseidova.[22] The complete Istanbul manuscript is being prepared for publication.[23] Besides the legend and lore, the work is rich in its use of such political and cultural terminology as 'partner to rule' for power-sharing in tribal sovereignty.

In the seventeenth century the Khivan ruler Abū'l Ghāzī Bahādur Khān wrote two works: the *Shajara-i Turk*, which is based on the *Chinggis-nāma*, and the *Shajara-i Tarākima* which incorporates the *Oghuz-nāma*. The former work, a general history of the Turco-Mongol peoples written in Chaghatay, is available in a French translation.[24] It is an example of how the Islamic tradition that started with Noah's son Yafeth became linked first with the *Oghuz-nāma* tradition, and then with the Mongol tradition which goes back to the Mongol ancestress Alan Goa. Among the works consulted by Abū'l Ghāzīwere the *Jāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh* and many *Oghuz-nāma*s as well as *Chinggis-nāma*s. He speaks of 17 different *Chinggis-nāma*s. The *Shajara-i Tarākima* [Genealogy of the Turkmens] is a history of the Turkmens who are also Oghuz. This work of Abū'l Ghāzī is a good illustration of how written materials, such as the *Oghuz-nāma* of Rashīdu'ddīn[25] and others, could be used as sources of information alongside oral traditions, such as those known from the *Kitāb-i Dedem Korkut*.[26] The use of the Oghuz or Chinggisid framework facilitated the shift from an Islamic to a Turco-Mongol context, while providing an opening for increasingly localized histories. Such tribal histories, or histories of small groups, continued to be written among the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz and Bashkirs where tribal ties and memories were strong.

In addition to universalist history and the history of certain peoples (local annals), we also find historical accounts centred around single persons. The unique example of an autobiography is furnished by the famous memoirs of Bābur in Chaghatay; his daughter Gulbadan Begum also left her memoirs, though in Persian. Bābur's contemporary, Shaybānī Khān, on the other hand, made himself known through literary works which

[21] Hoffman, 1969, Vol. 6, pp. 72–4.
[22] Yudin et al., 1992.
[23] See DeWeese, 1994.
[24] Desmaisons, 1871.
[25] For which, see Jahn, 1969.
[26] Lewis, 1982.

make the reader aware of the mentality of that time.[27] Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt of Kashghar (1499–1551) is another statesman who wrote a history of the Turks, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, in Persian in the mid-sixteenth century. Haydar Dughlāt made use of earlier historical works and appended to it an eye-witness account of his own time. It was a model followed by Abū'l Ghāzī, writing a century later.

In other cases the accounts were written by a third person. One of the earliest examples of such works is Muhammad Sālih's *Shaybānī-nāma*, composed in verse in Chaghatay Turki. It followed the model of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdausi, a style much in vogue among the descendants of Shaybānī Khān, who also had their histories written in this form, e.g. the *ᶜUbaydullāh-nāma* and the *ᶜAbdullāh-nāma*.

Trends similar to those in historiography can also be seen in hagiography. Writing history that focuses on one person was a well-established tradition within hagiography, where the context was provided by the *silsila*, the chain of preceptors going back mostly to ᶜAlī, but in the case of the Naqshbandis, to Abū Bakr. Some of these hagiographies had a structure similar to historical works such as Haydar Dughlāt's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, where the past was written using historical works and the contemporary circumstances were described on the basis of the author's own observations. Some were accounts of a specific saintly line, like the *Tazkira-i ᶜAzīzān* [Notices of Friends] (1768–9) by Muhammad Sādiq Kāshgharī; others were translations of earlier works with additions of accounts of that time. Examples of such hagiographical works include the *Majmu'at al-Muhaqqiqīn* (1793–4) by Sādiq Yārqandī[28] and the *Tazkirat al-Hidāyat bi'l Hayriyat*, both of which were written in praise of a saint in the eighteenth-century Tarim basin.

Together with all these works seeking for context and containing oral traditions, we become aware of yet another trend which paved the way for the changes in the nineteenth century. In this new trend, existing oral accounts were disregarded. One of the earliest such works is the *Tārīkh* [History] (in Persian) of Shāh Mahmūd Churās (*fl.* 1670), which is very different from his own hagiographical work, the *Anīs al-Tālibīn* [Friend of the Seekers]. Churās' *History* presents detailed annals of the Chaghatayid dynasty of khans in the Tarim basin. He includes oral traditions in his hagiographical work, but excludes them from his *History*. Although we do not know why he did so, we can see him and contemporaneous

[27] See Bodrogligeti, 1993–4, pp. 85–100; 1994, pp. 41–57.

[28] This work was written in Persian, but was subsequently translated into Eastern Turki by Mulla Muhammad Satqin (Storey, 1953, Vol. 1, p. 1035).

authors in the Ottoman empire as forerunners of a new trend in which historians dealt with facts rather than traditions and myths.

Part Three

MONGOLIAN LITERATURE

(*G. Kara*)

The late sixteenth century saw the adoption of Buddhism and the renewal of the cult of Chinggis Khan among the Mongols. Both had as their context the contemporary attempts to restore the unity of Mongolia as a political entity. Through his alliance of 1578 with the Dalai Lama, Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho, the Altan Khan of the Southern Mongol Tümed opened the way for Tibetan spiritual influence to penetrate Mongolia. Mongolia now received not only Buddhist but also other ancient Indian literary works. Other princes of the Northern and Western Mongols joined his cause. New monasteries, settled centres of religious and cultural life, were founded in the Blue City (Hohhot), the Altan Khan's capital and elsewhere, for instance, in the Orkhon valley near the ruins of Karakorum, where Erdeni Dzuu, the 'Jewel Shrine', was built.

In distant corners of the Mongol world many learned monks and literate laymen were eager to find and copy the extant old Buddhist writings, to prepare translations into Mongolian and to write new works. To mention only two of them, the medieval version of the *Eulogy of Manjushri's Names* was re-edited in 1592 and Shirab Sengge's early thirteenth-century translation of the *Golden Beam Sutra* was reprinted. Ayushi Güüshi, a disciple of the third Dalai Lama, not only created an extended alphabet for the exact rendering of Indian names and words but also developed a new style and rewrote several old translations, including Shirab Sengge's version of the magic *Books of the Five Guardians* (Sanskrit: *Pancharaksha*).

Shire'etu Güüshi Chorji (*fl.* early sixteenth century) is the translator of the stories of *The Wise and the Fool* (also known as the *Ocean of Parables*). He also translated the *Hundred Thousand Songs* of the Tibetan hermit poet, the 'Cotton-Clad Mila', and his Vita (at the request of Prince Tsoktu of Khalkha), and the 12-volume *Yum* section of the Buddhist canon (the stanzas of a long postscript exalt the Altan Khan and the Golden Clan of

Chinggis, 'reincarnation of Indra, the king of gods'). Shire'etu put the moving story of the generous Prince Immaculate All-Perfect (Dri-med Kun-ldan) into good Mongolian verse. This is akin to the Indian Buddhist *Vessantara Jataka*, which too was very popular among the Mongols. 'If you like to cry, read Ushaandar, if you like to laugh, read Iladandi,' they say; the latter name refers to the tragicomic Brahman Niladanda in a tale of the *Ocean of Parables*. Shire'etu's and others' Mongolian version of the non-canonical story of Monk Molon, who saves her sinful mother from the bottom of hell, was the source of popular hand-painted picture books, some simply and others lavishly illustrated.

Another favoured narrative of Tibetan origin was *Lady Choijid's Travels in and Return from the Underworld*, where all sins are duly punished. Real travel accounts follow later; among these are the itinerary of the Khalkha monk Jibdzundamba's journey to Erdeni Dzuu in the late eighteenth century, the account by the Tsongol abbot Dambadarjaa, Dzaya's son, of his Tibetan journey in 1734–41, the Oirat Baaza Bakshi's pilgrimage, etc. See also the Zaya Pandita's travels in his Vita.

By order of the Chahar Ligdan Khan, the last ruler who tried to revive the Mongol empire, a great number of men of letters took part in the compilation of the Mongolian *Kanjur* (1629), the core part of the Buddhist scriptures. Many works in it received versified postscripts glorifying the sponsor, the 'Holy Emperor', as Chinggis Khan's avatar. Many of these verses are repeated in the Manchu (Qing) imperial edition of the Mongolian *Kanjur*. Some large books are known in several independent versions; for instance, the canonical *Ocean of Parables* was also translated in the seventeenth century by Toyin Güüshi, the Abaga Tsulrimloroi, the Oirat Zaya Pandita, etc. Gunggaa Odser, Dayun Darkhan Siku Güüshi and Samdan Sengge are the most frequently mentioned Mongol translators in the *Kanjur*. They contributed much to creating standard forms of literary expression in Mongolian.

Some of the finest monuments of Mongolian verse are preserved in the Chinggisid Prince Tsoktu's rock inscriptions (1624) in west-central Mongolia. In the first of these inscriptions, which is a religio-political text, the prince pays homage to Buddhist deities and the 'Holy Emperor', his ally, the Chahar ruler. The second inscription from the same year contains a song of 1621, in the quatrains of which the warrior prince confesses his longing for his beloved aunt and in colourful images suggests that feelings can unite gods in heaven and rulers on earth, bodhisattvas in the Akanishta paradise and the enlightened ones among people, custodians in hell and officials of the rulers, poor and hungry humans and beasts as well as aunt and nephew despite all the distance and differences. The last quatrain is the benediction:

> If we cannot meet again in this life,

Let it be so that we care and help each other
By all means in all our future lives
Like a mother loves her only little child.

The date of the first inscription is also given in the years of Chinggis Khan, who had now become a symbol of Mongol unity. A fragmentary manuscript of a poem entitled *The Prince's Worry* (found in 1950 in central Mongolia) is thought to be by Tsoktu.

Chinggis Khan's glorious figure and his sayings reappear in seventeenth century writings in verse and prose such as the *Great Confession*, the *Key for the Mind* (a rather didactic Buddhist poem) and in the witty *Orphan Boy's Dispute*, in which Chinggis Khan's Nine Great Knights are engaged in a discussion with the Orphan Boy about drinking. The Orphan (and the text) argues in favour of moderation. The *Story of the Two Grey Steeds* of Chinggis Khan, known in both verse and prose versions, relates how Chinggis' two favourite horses feel neglected and flee from their lord, how he grieves, how his men try in vain to catch the fugitives and how the elder horse longs for Chinggis and finally how, the elder persuading the younger, they themselves return to him.

The tragic story of *Prince Ubashi* (in prose with dialogues in verse) is a literary echo of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century wars between the Eastern and Western Mongols. Unable to find the Oirat army, the Khalkha prince's warriors capture a brave Oirat boy. Interrogated by the prince, he defies torture and death and does not reveal his people's hiding place. His heart is sacrificed to the Khalkha standard, but he turns out to be the guardian spirit of the Oirats and leads them to victory. The Khalkha forces perish in the battle.

The writing of histories of the country, its noble families and their faith, starts in this period. The *White History* (1578) of the Khutughtu Chogchasun Jiruken Daiching Sechen Khongtaiji, or the Holy Wise Prince of the Ordos, has come down to us in several later copies. Piously ascribed to Emperor Qubilay, this compilation preaches the Two Principles, i.e. the equality of religious and secular rule where the latter should be the generous donor. A most original work in verse is the history of the Altan Khan's deeds, the *Jewel Translucent Sutra* (1607?). The *Yellow History* was one of the sources of the classical *Jewel Summary* (1662) of the Ordos Prince Sagang the Sage, who, following its Tibetan models, begins with the Indian myth of cosmogony and connects the lineages of the Indian rulers and the Buddha's clan with that of the Tibetan emperors and the ancestors of Chinggis Khan. It abounds in historical legends (for instance, the anecdote as to how the khan takes the form of a grey-haired old commoner and artfully suppresses his boastful brothers' pride; and the story of the courageous Lady Mandukhai, who fought for the cause of Dayan Khan, her ruler, who was still a child but already her husband). It is adorned with

numerous poetical passages both of Sagang's own inspiration (for instance, with philosophical stanzas) and of oral or written tradition (see, for instance, the long funeral song that accompanies the starting of the cart with Chinggis' corpse, or the lament of Toghon Temür, the last Yüan emperor). In the eighteenth century, Sagang's *Summary* was printed in Manchu and Chinese translations. Similar histories with common passages are the *Shorter (Anonymous) Golden Summary* and Lubsangdandzin's *Longer Golden Summary*. The latter author still had access to a version of the thirteenth-century *Secret History* and copied long passages of it into his work.

Oktorguin Dalai, the Oirat Zaya Pandita (1599–1662), studied in Tibet and travelled between his homeland and the Volga to disseminate the Buddha's Law among Eastern and Western Mongols. To eliminate the ambiguities of the Uighur letters in which Mongolian was written, he created the Clear Script (1648) and established a new literary language to bridge the gap between that of the old books and the living tongue. He translated many works from Tibetan and wrote ornate colophons in verse. A long translation of his is that of the Tibetan apocryphal *Mani bka'-'bum* [Pearl, the Hundred Thousand Words], which he finished for the Oirats in a monastery on the upper Irtysh, under the 'western side of the Altai bearing various berries' (1644). Its two heavy volumes were printed in the Uighur script in 1735 in Beijing, the Qing capital. This Pandita's life is known from his faithful disciple Ratnabhadra's *Moonlight* (1690s), which is full of reliable information about his teacher's deeds, his contemporaries and the tempestuous times in which they lived. In Biligun Dalai's *Wish-fulfilling Gem Rosary* (1679), the Vita of Monk Neichi, we learn about the life of another famous Oirat who worked among the Eastern Mongols.

Agwaangchoidan Shirabdarjai's *Pearl Rosary* (1729), written first in Mongolian and then in Tibetan, is a voluminous biography of the first Jangjaa/ Lcang-skya Khutughtu, the influential Buddhist high priest and a prolific Tibetan writer in Beijing, which was the main centre for the block-printing of Mongolian and Tibetan books in the Chinese part of the Qing empire. Head of the Beijing Tibetan school in the early eighteenth century, the 'tetraglot' Chinggisid nobleman Gombojab compiled the short genealogical history of Chinggis Khan's Golden Clan called the *Flow of the Ganges*. He also authored a Tibetan history of Chinese Buddhism, published a Mongolian textbook, *Easy Learning Tibetan*, for his compatriots, and took an important part in the preparations of the Qing imperial edition of the 333-volume print of the Mongolian Buddhist scriptures that included not only the *Kanjur* (1717–20) and the *Tanjur* (1742–49), but also the huge literary *oeuvre* of Blo-bzang grags-pa Tsong-kha-pa, the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, as well as the collected works of the first Jangjaa Khutughtu. Among other Indian literary works, the

Tanjur transmitted to the Mongols Kalidasa's *Cloud Messenger*, Dandin's *Mirror of Verse* and Panini's *Grammar*.

Religious and secular history and genealogies intertwine in the Jarut monk Ulemji Biligtu Erdeni Güüshi Dharma's *Thousand-Spoked Golden Wheel* (1739), the Ordos Güüshi Lubsanglhungrub's *Lamp of Wisdom* (1757) and the Baarin nobleman Rashipungsug's *Crystal Rosary* (1774–5). A much later work in the same tradition is Jimbadorji's *Crystal Mirror* (1837). Fewer Oirat histories were written or have survived: two such are the eighteenthcentury lama-physician Gabang Sharab's work and the *History of the Four Oirats* (1819) by the Khoshot prince Ba'atur Ubashi Tümen. The first Buriat histories appeared only in the late nineteenth century, except for the *Khori Buriat Chronicles* by D. Darbaayin (1830s). According to the myth preserved in the *Khori Buriat Chronicles*, their Eleven Forefathers descended from the union of their ancestor with a swan-maiden, captured while bathing in a lake. Buriat chronicles and a ballad preserve the memory of Shildei Janggi, who transgressed the Russo-Chinese frontier, then newly established across his pastures; he was sentenced and beheaded. (A song similar to the Buriat ballad but altered and attached to another event is known from Ordos.) The first Selenga Buriat (= Northern Khalkha) history was written by D. D. Gempilon in 1833.

Parallel to the revival of Buddhist literature, the shamans' invocations and rituals as well as prayers and benedictions of folk religion – for instance, the cult of fire and wedding ceremonies – were written down in verse and prose and copied in numerous manuscripts.

A prose and verse block-printed version of the Mongolian *Geser* epic appeared in Beijing in 1716. The narrative came from eastern Tibet, presumably in the late sixteenth and during the seventeenth centuries; making its way from oral tradition to writing and back to oral tradition in the next centuries, it fell on fertile soil in the Mongol pastures, and its influence is felt up to the far northern Buriat folklore in the epics, *Abai Geser Khubuun* and *Alamzhi Mergen and His Little Sister Aguu the Fair*. It became as indigenous as the *Khan Kharangui* epic of the Khalkhas, the *Jangar* of the Kalmuks and many other sagas of the Eastern and Western Mongols. The Indo-Tibetan tales of the *Bewitched Corpse* reached the Mongols and engendered similar collections in the seventeenth century. Tradition holds that Indian refugees brought the tales of the *Thirty-two Wooden Men* to the Mongols at about the same time.

A Buddhist priest and versatile writer, Mergen Gegen of Hohhot, Lubsangdambiijalsan by name and Urat by origin (1717–66), has left a huge *oeuvre* consisting of religious lyrics, songs, prayers, benedictions, hymns, eulogies, didactic poems and versified dialogues as well as vivid scholastic debates, competitions in question-and-answer form, verses for rituals and an *Altan Tobchi* [Golden History] (1765). In addition, he compiled a new translation

of the Saskya Pandita's *Treasury of Good Sayings*, in Tibetan-style isosyllabic Mongolian verses with a strong beat:

Let us rejoice here in health for ever
In this great and marvellous country
By the merit that the precious lord
The holy Chinggis gathered in the past.

With these lines he begins a feasting song of seven strophes. In a prayer he writes:

I am silly to keep silk and cloth like vows,
O Teacher, lead me to salvation.
Your country where you live, ah ah oh
Is on the bank of the Shindang river, oh oh ah…

He then starts a playful song which turns into pious advice. Such strophes already occur in the Sa-skya Pandita's *Sayings*. In a long debate with the Kalachakra priest of the White Lotus Shrine (Badgar), he answers the first question:

That what is higher than anything
Means heaven, the sky,
And the one called 'a mirror with no cracks'
Means the sun and the moon,
O skilful priest of charms.

The poet converses with birds about the *samsara* (universe) in a dialogue (15 stanzas). In a drinking song (7 stanzas) he offers his fellow priests brandy that he calls the gift or the ambrosia of Tantric deities; in another song he presents the mutton brought in 'by the merit of the wide land of Mongolia' for the banquet of friends bound by 'immaculate blessing' and 'all buddhas' grace'.

Already an old lama, Agwaangdampil (1700–80), who had also participated in the Mongolian edition of the Buddhist canon, put Blo-bzang bstanpa'i rgyal-mtshan's (1708–64) Tibetan novel of the *Moon Cuckoo* into Mongolian verse and prose. This is the story of a young king whose human body and throne are stolen by his treacherous minister while the king takes the body of a dead bird. The king in the bird's body reaches enlightenment and preaches the Buddha's teaching for the benefit of all sentient beings.

The Chahar Gebshi Lubsangtsulrim (1740–1810), monk, translator, founder of the Monastery on the White Mountain in Chahar, printer, writer and poet, wrote a Mongolian biography of Tsong-kha-pa (*Source of All Happiness*, 1791) and presented one more version of the Sa-skya Pandita's aphorisms in sophisticated Mongolian verse with a commentary. He also composed an elegant version of the Arthasiddhi story and translated *The*

Pearl Rosary: Teaching on the Two Principles of Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, the fifth Dalai Lama (1787). In his admonitions he ridicules superstition and hypocrisy:

Not the bark of dogs at dawn in front of a door is an evil omen,
But the cry of a drunken monk at dawn is indeed an evil omen.
Not an evening cock-a-doodle-do is an evil omen,
But the evening wail of a drunken monk is indeed an evil omen.

He also enjoys parallels like the following:

Bitter is the smoke of the bad grass and the bad wood smoke.
Bitter is [to hear] what the bad men utter.
Bitter is [to see] what the bad monks do.
Bitter is [to feel the heat of] the sun in a bad summer.

In his ritual for the cult of fire he says:

It is a pleasure to the playful lover to enjoy the union
With the lovely, delightful playmate, pleasant to mind,
But grief seizes him when he thinks about separation and lonely death
Like that of a little lark struggling in a hawk's talons.

He composed a verse on *Gratefulness for the Parents' Grace* and wrote *The Story of Seven Maidens*. He deals with literary theory in the *Source of All Prosperity* (1786). He also wrote in Tibetan; his collected Tibetan works in 10 volumes contain many rituals, prayers, hymns to be pronounced at incense offerings for the God of the Fireplace (its Mongolian original printed in Chahar was widely known), for the White Old Man of the mountains and for the Chinese god of war Guanlaoye (often identified with Geser Khan, the divine epic hero), and rituals involving mare's-milk libations, etc. His life, *The One that Makes the Lotus of the Faith Smile* (1817), was written by his disciple Lubsangsamrubnima.

Chinese popular novels and short stories in both written and oral form, in the original and in Manchu translations, then in Mongolian, began to attract Mongol audiences, especially in the south-eastern communities in the late eighteenth century. Storytellers retold in prose, or sang in Mongolian, verses of some of these narratives translated into Mongolian and copied in Chinese-style double-leaved notebooks. In the early nineteenth century, Kasbuu, a Tümed or Harchin Mongol, presented an abridged Mongolian version of Cao Xueqin's famous novel in Chinese, *The Dream in the Red Chamber*, along with a critical essay on the work.

An Urga abbot, Agwaangkhaidub (1779–1838), chastises the misdeeds of his fellow-monks who do not obey the Buddha's Law. In his short allegoric *Talk of the Sheep, the Goat and the Ox* he condemns killing.

A great figure of lyric and didactic poetry and a pioneer of the Mongol theatre was Rabjai, the Fifth Noble Saint of the Eastern Gobi (Dulduit's son Dandzinrabjai, 1803–56). He studied in several monasteries and travelled extensively in his homeland and on the other side of the Great Gobi up to eastern Tibet. He composed religious hymns and worldly songs in Mongolian and Tibetan. In one of his famous poems in the form of a conversation of an *Old Man with the Birds*, he too, like the Chahar Gebshi, deals with the question of eternal change and the ephemeral nature of existence. In a religious song he prays:

Deign to give us the grace of food that we do not starve.
Deign to give us the grace of friends that we do not become orphans.
Deign to give us the grace of a body that does not get old.
Deign to give us the grace of vigour that does not know affliction.

In the five-times-five alliterative verses, parallel strophes of his *Five Offerings*, he extols the beauty carried by the sense organs and fields of sensation (sight, voice, fragrance, flavour and touch). This poem, born out of Tantric gnostics, has remained very popular in Mongolia. Its tone and content may be illustrated by the following quotation:

When the deed is done that we wanted to do
In *this* life-time in the human world
Let us rejoice and float together
In the bottomless sea of joy which is like
The pleasures of the wishful gods.

The Two, another song with Tantric ideas, is built on the principle of duality:

Father and Mother are the Means and the Wisdom.
The Buddha and the Devil are the Superior and the Inferior.
Pleasure and Pain are the Wish and the Strife *(küsel kisal qoyar*).

In the song *The Lucid Blue Sky* we read about the emptiness of all phenomena (8 quatrains). Rabjai's long poem *The Four Seasons* symbolizes the periods of human life: childhood, adulthood, old age and death. He describes the summer festivities in some 100 lines and sings songs about graceful teachers, magnifi- cent horses and unforgettable lovers.

Rabjai's large moralistic work, the *Paper Bird* (i.e. the kite), written in verse in 1825, is preserved in several manuscript copies. It is not his only contribution to the didactic genres of Mongol literature. A similar work is his *Comfort for the Heart* (maxims in some 370 lines). In a verse where he bitterly condemns the evil deeds of the world, he goes on to repeat:

Be ashamed! Be ashamed!

Rabjai also composed a musical drama in verse: rewriting the *Moon Cuckoo* story, he himself arranged its performance (in the summer of 1831) on a twolevel stage to show parallel acts. He personally selected and trained the singers from among the people and designed their costumes.

Sandag the Fable-Teller (1825–60), Rabjai's compatriot and contemporary, master of improvised rhymes and the genre of the allegorical monologue, served in the suite of a local nobleman. His bright alliterative soliloquies speak of transitoriness and mortality, the vanity of pride (*The Words of the Melting Snow* and *Thus Spoke the Thistle Blown Away by the Wind*) and servility (*Thus Spoke the Dog Abused but Fed*); in *The Lament of the Wolf Encircled by the Hunters* the desperate beast remembers his better days. Injustice is ridiculed in Sandag's *Words about the Good and the Bad Dignitaries*.

The lyric verses of Jirgal Onchikhonov, who fell in the war against Napoleon, may be considered the beginning of a new Kalmuk literature.

Although nearer to the main Mongol territories than the Kalmuks, the small Mongol-speaking nation of the Daurs in Manchuria developed their own literature in the Manchu script in the eighteenth century. Examples of their rich and unusual poetry are Chintungpu's *Drinking Song*, his *Song of the Sower* (48 quatrains) and the *Song of Fishing*, Amgulang's poem about his visit to the Russo-Chinese border and Maamagchi's song about the hardships he met on his journey to the Ganjuur Sume fair.

Wangchingbala (1794–1877), an Eastern Tümed nobleman, high official and soldier, who worried about his nation's fate in the decaying Qing empire, began (1830) to write a historical novel, the *Blue Book of How the Great Yüan Empire Rose*. He wrote the first 8 chapters himself; his seventh son Injannashi (1837–92) continued this first and largest novel of pre-modern Mongolian literature (in the extant versions only 69 of the supposedly 120 chapters are found; 60 chapters deal with Chinggis Khan's life, the rest with Ögedey's reign). In his substantial introductory essay (*Summing Up*), Wangchingbala expounds the aims of his writing, explains his view of history and gives the reasons behind the fall of the empire.

Wangchingbala's brothers wrote fine poems and prose. In his verses, the eldest brother Gularansa (1820–51) comments on the uselessness of the Great Wall ('Ridiculous are you, Great Wall...'). Concerned for his father's life, he blames the British who started the Opium War. And he wonders why people trust this vain world, which he compares to a

children's game. The diary of Gungnechuge (1832–66) keeps alive the memory of the earlier days of the family. Sungweidanjung (1834–98) mourned his brothers in moving verses.

Part Four

MONGOLIAN LEXICOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

(*Sh. Bira*)

The new cultural and literary requirements during our period encouraged innovations and reforms that took place both in the Mongolian language and in its writing system. From the end of the sixteenth century, a new period in the history of the Mongolian language began: it is called classical Mongolian by linguists. This classical language was used until recently as a vehicle for the development of literature and learning in Mongolia, and its literary norms were adopted everywhere in the Mongolian-language world.

With extensive translation work, linguistics and lexicography made good progress. Various kinds of dictionaries were compiled, including explanatory dictionaries of the Mongolian language, and bilingual and multilingual dictionaries. To mention but a few of them: the *Mongγol-un üsüqun quriyaγ san bičiq* [The Concise Mongolian Dictionary], the *Manju, Mongγol, Tübed, Nangkiγad dörben jüγil-ün üsüq qabsurγ aγ san toli* [The Four-Language (Manchu-Mongolian-Tibetan-Chinese) Dictionary], the *Manju, Tübed, Mongγol, Uyiγur, Nangkiyad tabun jüγil-ün üsüq-yer qabsurγa san toli* [The Five-Language (Manchu, Tibetan, Mongolian, Uighur and Chinese) Dictionary] and many others. Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries, like those by Güngγajamtso, gün Gombojab, Alasha Dandar lharamba, Choyibel toyin and many others, were also composed. Special mention must be made of the large comparative lexicon of Tibetan and Mongolian called the *Merged qarqu-yin orun*, which was compiled by a team of learned translators. It was an excellent terminological dictionary which worked out all of the terms drawn not just from purely religious literature, but from all types of writings, including scientific, linguistic, mathematical, astronomical and medical texts. This lexicon played a major role in the systematization of terminology in the Mongolian language and enriched it with sophisticated technical terms many of which are, even now, not obsolete.

Historiography serves to illustrate the unusual surge in literary creativity among the Mongols since the end of the sixteenth century. History writing began gradually to develop on the basis of the rebirth of early Mongol historical traditions and under the ever-increasing influence of Indo-Tibetan religious, hagiographical and historical literature. As a result there emerged a new type of historiography which may be called a genealogical Buddhist historiography of the Mongols.

Out of the earliest known historical writings that have survived from the period of the 'Mongol renaissance' one must mention the anonymous *White History*,[29] revised and edited by Khutughtu Setsen Khongtaiji at the end of the sixteenth century; *The History of Altan Khan*,[30] supposedly composed by Uran Tang?ari?tayun Kiya Sariman (or Sriman); and the *Čiqula kereglegeči*[31] by Manjushri güüshi Shiregetü Tsorji. Characteristically, their authors were prominent representatives of the 'Mongol renaissance' who distinguished themselves not only by their literary talents, but also by their political and religious activities. Their works are important because they laid down the methodological and philosophical basis of a new type of Mongol historiography. It was in the *White History* that the scheme of the three Buddhist monarchies, India, Tibet and Mongolia, was first expounded. This scheme was later borrowed by Mongol historians. In the same book the conception of a Buddhist state philosophy, according to which the cornerstone of the state administration is a close alliance of the khan's power and the Buddhist Church, the so-called Two Orders, was suggested. The following is taken from this book:

> The core of holy religion is the Lama, the ruler of Dharma, and the head of the state is the khan, the possessor of earthly authority. The laws of the true Dharma, similar to a sacred silken cord, are unabated, and the laws of the mighty khan, like a golden yoke, are invincible.[32]

The author of the *Čiqula kereglegeči*, Manjushri güüshi Shiregetü Tsorji, elaborated mainly philosophical problems of Mongol historiography on the basis of the sutra, the *Abhidhannakosa*. The author's main point is that history is not just the history of humankind, but the history of the universe. The history of a particular country, in this case, of Mongolia, is merely part of worldwide history in its Buddhist sense. This is why, according to his theory, history begins with the genesis of the universe.

The seventeenth–nineteenth centuries are characterized by the further formation and development of the genealogical and Buddhist type of historiography. Of the historical works that appeared during this period, the following books should be mentioned: the

[29] The full Mongolian name is *Arban Buyantu Nom-un Cagan Teüke*.

[30] This history is called by different names. In its published edition it is entitled *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur*.

[31] Its full title is *Čiqula kereglegeči tegüs udq-a-tu neretü sasdir*.

[32] *Cagan teüke*, 1981, p. 72.

anonymous *Sira Tuγuji* [The Yellow History], the *Altan Tobči* [The Golden Button] by Lubsandanjin, the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* [The Precious Button] by Sayan Setsen, the *Asara? ci neretüyin teüke* [The History by Asaraγci], the *Altan Kürdün Mingγ an Kigesütü* [The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes] by Dharma güüshi, the *Bolor Erike* [The Crystal Rosary] by Rashipuntsaq, the *Bolor Toli* [The Crystal Mirror] by Jimbadorji, the *Erdeni-yin Erike* [The Precious Rosary] by Galdan and others.

Alongside these works Mongol historians, mainly lamas, wrote histories in the Tibetan language. It is an interesting fact that in the period under discussion the Mongols created a large corpus of literature in Tibetan which may be truly called the Tibetan-language literature of the Mongols.[33] This literature occupies a prominent place in Mongol history. It is sufficient to mention such works as: the *gSalba'i me-long* [The Clear Mirror] by Zaya bandid Lubsanprenlei; *The History of Buddhism in India, Tibet, China and Mongolia*, the so-called *aPag bsam lJon bZang*, by Sumpa kampo Eshibaljir; *The History of Buddhism in China* by Güng Gombojab; *The Biography of Tsonkoba* by Lubsanchultum; *The History of Buddhism in Mongolia* by Tsembel Güüshi; and *The History of Buddhism in Mongolia* by Darmatala, among others.

Mongol historiography developed not only quantitatively over time, but grew richer in terms of content as well. It should be noted that Buddhism greatly broadened the Mongols' outlook on history. Regarding the history of their own country as an integral part of universal history, Mongol chroniclers dedicated a special introduction to Buddhist cosmology in their histories. Their basic philosophical concept was that the inorganic and organic worlds constitute an indissoluble unity in the process of universal cosmic evolution. According to this concept, there first appeared an inorganic world, the socalled *saba yirtinčü*, and subsequently everything that is animate, the so-called *sime yirtinčü*, came into being. The cosmic evolutionary theory of Buddhists was also applied to social history.

The overwhelming interest of the Mongols in Buddhism eventually led them to an Indo-centric interpretation of history. They believed that India, the birthplace of Buddhism, was the *primo locus*, the original home, of humankind. They also believed that social history began with the appearance of the first legendary king of the Buddhists, Mahasammata (Mong. Mahasammadi or Olan-a ergögdegsen). And Mongol chroniclers did their best to link the genealogy of the Mongol khans with that of Mahasammata, as he was considered by Buddhists to have been the forefather of all kings. Although this attempt had nothing to do with historicity, it had far-reaching consequences for the development of a new historical and political outlook of the Mongols.

[33] Bira, 1960, p. 3.

The fact that Mongol historians were fervent Buddhists, however, did not prevent them from being loyal to the history of their own country. Like all national historians, Mongol writers of history saw everything from a Mongol point of view and tried to glorify the history of their khans by means of Buddhism. The genealogical history of the Mongol khans continued to occupy a central place in the works of Mongol chroniclers. It is characteristic that during our period the old Mongol tradition of writing history, which may be termed the tradition of the *Mongγ ol-un Niγ ča Tobčiγan* [The Secret History of the Mongols], was successfully revived. And the rebirth of old Mongol historical traditions went along the lines of both oral history and written literature.

In this respect one should especially refer to the above-mentioned *Altan Tobči* by Lubsandanjin. It is likely that the book was written either at the very end of the seventeenth century or at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The greatest merit of Lubsandanjin as a historian is that he restored old Mongol historiographic traditions, successfully using sources of the thirteenth century, particularly the *Secret History of the Mongols*. Scholars have shown that of the 282 paragraphs of the *Secret History*, 233 are incorporated into the *Altan Tobči*. At the same time, the *Altan Tobči* of Lubsandanjin represents a unique syncretism of Mongol historical traditions with Buddhist ideology. Following the Buddhist scheme of writing history analysed above, Lubsandanjin wanted to substantiate not only the early but also the sacred origin of the Mongol khans, from Mahasammata through the Tibetan kings. He devoted particular attention to the cult of Chinggis Khan. He excelled his predecessors in extolling Chinggis Khan, elevating him to the ranks of true Buddhist Chakravartin kings, the advent of whom was allegedly foretold by the Buddha himself.

One should observe that Lubsandanjin did not reduce his writing of history solely to Buddhist mythology. Sometimes history clearly prevails over Buddhist dogma. He pays much attention to reproducing wise exhortations, teachings and sayings pronounced by historical personalities, particularly Chinggis Khan. Many of the ‘utterances’ of Chinggis actually go back to early Mongol *yosun*s (customs) and *jasa*s (laws). The author himself claims that he ‘wrote in his book what was uttered and conveyed by the sages from the time of Sutu Boγda Chinggis Khan, that it should become a law unto future generations’.[34] He recites many political admonitions and testaments traditionally ascribed to Chinggis Khan. Lubsandanjin calls these admonitions ‘the nutriment of the state and the key of administration’.[35]

Chinggis Khan himself can serve as an example of devotion to the interests of the state when he utters the following aphorism, according to Lubsandanjin:

[34] Lubsandanjin, 1937, p. 68.
[35] Ibid., p. 34.

When my body in *alda*-height takes a brief respite,[36]
How might not my kingdom weaken.
When my entire body takes a rest,
How might not my whole kingdom be ruined.
Let my body in *alda*-height grow fatigued,
Lest my state not weaken.
Let my whole body be troubled,
Lest my whole kingdom not be ruined.[37]

Lubsandanjin devoted the second part of his work to the history of the Mongols in the post-empire period, down to the beginning of the seventeenth century. By means of reproducing mostly oral historical traditions, he was able to present an overall picture of the epoch when the country was living through dissolution and internecine wars. At the same time he traced the genealogical history of the so-called small khans, the Chinggisids, who ruled Mongolia, as well as the genealogy of the Mongol nobility.

The next important work of Mongol historiography that is worth noting is the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* of Sayan Setsen. Compiled in 1662, it enjoyed great popularity among the Mongols. The history consists of a brief introduction, seven divisions and a colophon. The main part contains a history of the origin and formation of the universe, the appearance of the first living beings and a people on the earth, the history of Mongolia, and so on. It is true that Sayan Setsen wrote his history in full accord with the general scheme which had been worked out by his predecessors. But under this scheme he brings such a solid historical base that his work in places goes beyond these limits. The best pages of his work are devoted to the post-empire period, up to the second half of the seventeenth century. As a ruling Chinggisid prince, Sayan Setsen was able to hear many things from his kinsmen, the preservers of the old traditional tales of the Golden Clan. Of great interest is the genealogical history of the Mongol nobility belonging to the leading branch of the Chinggisids.

In the extended colophon of the book, written in boldly complex allegorical verses and affording not only historical but literary interest, one finds the author's philosophical reflections on the problems of history and life. He sets forth his understanding of the historical experience not only in the form of religious morality, but also in a general form of rules of worldly wisdom.

Among the works of larger historical genre, we should mention the *History of Da-Yuan*, the so-called *Dai yuwan-u Bolur Erike* [The Crystal Rosary] written in 1774–5 by

[36] *Alda* is the distance between the tips of the middle fingers of the outstretched arms of a man.
[37] Lubsandanjin, 1937, p. 52.

Rashipuntsaq, and the *Bolur Toli* [The Crystal Mirror] written in 1834–7 by Jimbadorji. Both these histories illustrate the level of maturity that Mongol genealogical and Buddhist historiography reached in the last two centuries. And both of the books are remarkable for the multitude and variety of sources and diversity of subjects dealt with by their authors. They enlarged the scope of sources by extensive use of Chinese, Manchu and Tibetan materials. And their philosophy of history was inevitably inspired by the ideas of Buddhist canonical sutras. Like the above-mentioned history of Sayan Setsen, these two works are among some of the most perfect historical compilations of the Mongols.

Rashipuntsag's *Bolur Erike* is a voluminous work consisting of five big books, each having several subdivisions devoted to the different periods of Mongol history. It is the fullest history ever written by a Mongol author of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty of China. Some characteristic features of the book should be emphasized. Unlike most Mongol chroniclers, Rashipuntsag does not begin the history of Mongolia from a Buddhist cosmology, nor does he assign a special place to the genealogy of the Indian and Tibetan kings, although he does not explicitly reject the traditional attempts of Mongol authors to link the genealogy of their khans with that of the Indian and Tibetan kings.

Rashipuntsag distinguishes himself by reconstructing the early history of the Mongols by means of Chinese sources, which contain many more materials on the ancient history of the Mongols than Mongol sources. Thus he demonstrates the significance of Chinese sources for the study of Mongol history. At the same time, he displays a keen analytical and critical approach towards his sources. He is rightly considered to be a founder of critical Mongol historiography. He is displeased with what he sees as a prejudiced interpretation and distortion of Mongol history in Chinese sources. He notices in one place that 'Chinese sages with softness of their brush secretly praise their country and ingeniously humiliate the other country.'[38] It must be admitted, however, that Rashipuntsag is obviously less critical and even partial in regard to his Mongolian sources. He even tries to justify some old Mongol legends and stories, like that of Alan Goa, the foremother of the Golden Clan of Chinggisids. He is rather nationalistic while interpreting the history of his own nation.

The *Bolur Toli* of Jimbadorji stands out for the wide range of subjects it covers. It is not solely the history of Mongolia; it also contains the history of other countries, including India, Tibet, Khotan, China, some countries of Central Asia, the Near East and Europe. The descriptions of Turkey, its capital Istanbul, the sacred city of Mecca, Russia and the Russians, and their cities (like Moscow and Astrakhan), and Germany and the Germans were quite a discovery for Mongol historiography of those days.

[38] Rashipuntsag, 1941, p. 11.

Jimbadorji naturally pays most attention to the history of his own country, to which he devotes the third book of his work. He succeeds in writing the most complete history of the Mongols against a background of the history of other countries. He actually digresses from genealogical history to a narration in which more attention is paid to the political history of the country and Mongolia's relations with neighbouring countries. The author makes the fullest use of the Tibetan sources available to him.

It is interesting to observe that the author of the *Bolur Toli*, in the colophon of his book, considers his purpose in writing history. He says: 'It is not to praise myself as a learned man who reads a good deal of books, but rather to make history known to those who know the Mongolian script' because 'with the coming of the worst time those who are seriously interested in books' or who 'correctly understand the genuine meaning of books' have become fewer than ever before.[39] And he goes on to say that his:

> intention will be achieved if those who have read this history understand what kind of political deeds had been done before or remember the sages of religion [and] so differentiate between good and bad deeds, improve themselves and get rid of wrong deeds and remember good and bad consequences.

His creed was: 'A man who does not know about his country and his ancestors is like an ape lost amidst rocks.'[40]

[39] Jimbadorji, 1984, p. 589.
[40] Ibid., p. 488.

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PHILOSOPHY, LOGIC AND COSMOLOGY

M. Dinorshoev

Contents

Introduction

Philosophy suffered a period of retrogression in the countries of Central Asia between the sixteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries. Indeed, the period was particularly sparse in new philosophical concepts, theories and systems. There also tended to be a considerable blurring of what had previously been sharply defined trends.

We see these features manifested in a number of aspects of philosophical knowledge. First, there was an intensification of the trend that had emerged in the preceding era and which led towards a *rapprochement*, blending and fusion of various schools of philosophical and religious thought long established within Islam. For that reason, none of the philosophical or religious movements of the previous centuries such as *mashā'iyya* (Peripateticism), *kalām* (dialectical theology), Ismā^{c}ilism, *ishrāq* (the philosophy of effulgence, Illuminationism) or Sufism remained intact in its original, pure state in the new era. The trend formed part of a movement towards the fusion of philosophical and religious doctrines that sought to eliminate differences and form a single system of thought.

A second aspect of the period was that philosophy, logic and cosmology turned more towards theological Islam than had been the case in previous centuries. Outwardly, this

was reflected in constant and abundant references to the Qur'an, the *hadīs* (the traditions and sayings of the Prophet) and the utterances of religious eminences, and internally by an intensification of efforts to find proof of the truth of philosophical concepts, theories and doctrines in the revelations of Islam. That in turn led to the increasing pre-eminence of mystical and religious elements in philosophical thought. The increased role of mysticism and the canonization of philosophical thought undoubtedly helped to bring about a substantial decline in the role and status of the natural sciences.

A third aspect was that the trend towards an increased role for commentators, which had emerged in the previous era, now became one of the most important distinguishing features of Central Asian philosophical activity. This is demonstrated by the fact that most of the texts on philosophy, logic, ethics, natural philosophy and politics written during the period are actually commentaries on the works of thinkers from previous centuries.

Philosophy

Such development of philosophy as took place in Central Asia in our period was mainly linked with the Isfahan school, which emerged in the sixteenth century and survived until the beginning of the twentieth. Certain ideas from this school of thought remain alive even today. The Isfahan school brought together a large number of philosophers with differing world views over an extended period of time. Some of them, such as Ghiyāsu'ddīn Dashtakī, Mīr Dāmād, Sadru'ddīn Shīrāzī and Hājī Sabzewārī, were inspired by the Illuminationism (*ishrāq*) of Shihābu'ddīn Suhrawardī, while others such as Mīr Findiriskī and ᶜAbdu'l Razzāq Fayyāz Lāhījī looked to the Peripateticism of al-Fārābī (d. 950) and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, *c*. 980–1037). Still others kept their faith in Sufism, or mysticism, while a further group attempted to synthesize all of the above doctrines. Despite its large number of followers, the glory of the Isfahan school is primarily associated with the names of Mīr Dāmād, Sadru'ddīn Shīrāzī and Hājī Sabzewārī.

Mīr Dāmād

Mīr Shamsu'ddīn Muhammad Bāqir, better known as Mīr Dāmād (d. 1631), wrote more than 20 books and treatises, including *Qabasat* [Rays], *al-Sirāt al-mustaqīm* [The Straight Path], *al-Jamᶜ wa'l-taufīq bayna ra'y al-hākimain* [Harmony and Consensus between the Views of Two Philosophers], the *Risāla fi Hudūs-i ᶜālam zātan wa qidamihu zamānan* [A Treatise on the Essential Emergence of the World and its Temporal Eternity] and the *Risāla fi Tahqīq-i mafhūm-i wujūd* [A Treatise on the Investigation of the Concept of Existence].

Central among his essays is the treatise on *hudūs* (creation) and *qidam* (eternity), the *Risāla fi Hudūs-i ᶜālam* [Tract on the Creation of the Universe].

The chief message of the last-mentioned work is that there are three dimensions in which creatures or beings are existent (*maujūd*): *zamān* (time), *dahr* (infinitely extended time) and *sarmad* (eternity, endless duration). All beings that emerge and change do so in *zamān*. All stable and inert beings that are not subject to change but that emerge from non-existence are located in *dahr*. To such beings are attributed a soul and the quality of reason. The being that has neither an end nor a beginning, i.e. Allāh or God, is located in a pure dimension, *sarmad*, that is limitless and everlasting. From that standpoint it can be inferred that *dahr* is higher than *zamān*, and that *sarmad* is higher, purer and more majestic than *dahr*. Mīr Dāmād puts the relationship between two beings subject to change in *zamān*, the relationship between a stable being and a being subject to change in *dahr*, and the relationship between two stable beings in *sarmad*. *Dahr* flows from *sarmad*, and *zamān* flows from *dahr*. Accordingly, *sarmad* encompasses both *dahr* and *zamān* without being reduced to either, since it is a superior reality.[1]

While many scholars see the doctrine of Mīr Dāmād as a philosophical innovation, the roots of his ideas are in fact to be found in the works of Ibn Sīnā.[2] The achievement of Mīr Dāmād is that he subjects the concept to a broader analysis than Ibn Sīnā and prepares the ground for the rehabilitation of philosophers following the accusations of abandonment of Islam levelled against them by Ghazālī (1058–1111) and his followers. The metaphysical ideas of Mīr Dāmād are set out in his work entitled the *Jazwa* [Sparks of Flame], in which he divides the system of existence into two levels: the level of beginning (*bad*), or effulgence from the divine essence, and the level of return to the divine source. His works resemble the emanation theories of the Peripatetics with their down-flow and up-flow lines, but adjusted to the spirit of the Illuminative philosophy of Shihābu'ddīn Suhrawardī (see below).

Mīr Dāmād distinguishes two worlds in which beings exist, namely, an abstract world and a corporal world; and he claims that the substance that gives form to the essence of a human being is organized in such a way as to contain within itself the entire world. A person is thus both a microcosm and a macrocosm. According to Mīr Dāmād, the purpose of the two levels, effulgence and return, is the creation of a human being who combines both levels of existence and can therefore both rise to the heavens and fall to the lowest level of existence.

1 Mīr Dāmād, 1367/1989, pp. 15–29.
2 Cf. Dinorshoev, 1980, pp. 122–3.

Another important component of Mīr Dāmād's metaphysical doctrine is his concept of the macrocosmos and microcosmos as a divine book, and the reason and vivacity inherent in all things that exist, including the stable constellations of stars that for him have their own soul and reason. His concept of macrocosmos and microcosmos as a divine book effectively constitutes his theory of knowledge, in accordance with which each thing that exists is a letter or word of that book. The letters and words of the divine book are inscribed in the soul of the human being by a divine pen symbolizing reason. In the words of Mīr Dāmād, divine reason describes the form of things in the soul of the Prophet, and the Prophet in turn describes those forms in the souls of the members of the human species.

Sadru'ddīn Shīrāzī (Mullā Sadrā)

Sadru'ddīn Shīrāzī (1571–1640), the great Isfahan philosopher, commonly known as Mullā Sadrā, continued the line of thinking initiated by his mentor, Mīr Dāmād. He wrote many works on canonical learning and philosophy, the most important and voluminous of which is entitled *al-Asfār al-arbaᶜa* [The Four Journeys]. Although he claims that knowledge and learning are achieved through the combination of the methods of the Peripatetics, the mystics and the followers of the philosophy of *ishrāq* (Illuminationism), it is clear from *al- Asfār al-arbaᶜa* and his other works that his philosophical system is predominantly based on an Illuminationist and Sufi foundation. Sadru'ddīn's philosophical system is multifaceted. Its essence can be understood through a brief analysis of his writings on the oneness of being, the movement of beings in their substance, divine and human knowledge, and the soul.

Much has been written throughout the history of philosophy on the oneness of existence. Sadru'ddīn, in his work entitled the *Sarayān al-wujūd* [The Flow of Existence], opts for the theory of the oneness of existence (God) and the multiplicity of beings. However, in his most important work, *al-Asfār al-arbaᶜa*, he puts forward the concept of oneness of beings that is based on their multiplicity. To explain his thesis he states that he agrees with the Sufi doctrine of the oneness of existence and beings, but not with such interpretation as leads to the fusion (*hulūl*) and oneness (*ittihād*) of existence and beings, since thus construed the doctrine leads to dualism. Sadru'ddīn rejects the version of the doctrine that considers potential beings as illusory (*izāfī*, *iᶜtibārī*) and devoid of real existence. Nevertheless, these explanations were not enough to save the philosopher from accusations of having abandoned Islam and his subsequent exile from Isfahan.

Sadru'ddīn's reflections on the movement of beings in their substance, as expounded in his *Risāla fi'l Harakāt al-jauhariyya* [Treatise on Movements in Substance], are considered to be his original contribution to philosophical learning, as the schools of philosophy

that preceded him, such as Peripateticism, rejected the notion of movement (i.e. change, transformation and renewal) in substance. Movement was believed to be possible only within the framework of quantity, quality, location and position, i.e. accidental categories. Sadru'ddīn, on the other hand, demonstrates that it can also take place within a substance, in which case it involves a change in the essential attributes of the substance, leading to its constant evolution and development. According to him, it is not just accidental categories that are in a constant state of movement, but, indeed, the entire world is constantly subject to movement, change, transformation and renewal. His logical conclusion is that if movement is recognized as possible within accidental categories, then the accidental categories are not inherent qualities of a substance and are not subject to that substance. Sadru'ddīn adopts the Sufi doctrine of the 'world in flux' and the principles of 'All beings strive for perfection' and'the permanent creation by God of all new phenomena' to back up his argument for the existence of movements in substance.

The fundamentals of Sadru'ddīn's theory of divine and human knowledge may be summarized as follows. First, divine knowledge does not represent the reflection of form in the essence of God, as the Peripatetics claim. Neither does it represent the presence of the forms of objects in the essence of God, as the proponents of the philosophy of effulgence would have it. Divine knowledge is essentially God's vision of form and essence, in the manner of a mirror. God thus possesses absolute knowledge of the general and of the particular, and is therefore capable of giving objects existence by looking into the mirror of His essence.[3]

Second, human knowledge of things and realities is the result of human beings' reflection on their forms in the mirror of their existence – the soul. Human knowledge is similar to divine knowledge, but with the difference that divine knowledge creates real existence, whereas human knowledge gives rise only to intellectual existence that is governed by reason, the existence of concepts. The human soul is endowed with a creative faculty (*qudrat-i khallāq*) that is similar to the creative force of God. Human knowledge creates the forms of things in the soul which depend for their existence on the soul in the same way that divine knowledge gives rise to an external world that depends for its existence on the divine essence (*zāt-i haqq*).

The essence of Sadru'ddīn's doctrine of the soul is described in his thesis that'the soul is initially material, but then becomes spiritual'. In analysing that thesis in the context of his concept of movements in substance, he sets out to demonstrate that the soul passes through mineral, vegetable, animal and human phases of development, acquiring along the way the specific characteristics of each category: at the mineral stage it acquires the capacity to

[3] Mullā Sadrā, 1315/1937, pp. 308–9.

retain its form; at the vegetable stage it acquires the capacity to nourish itself, grow and multiply; at the animal stage it acquires movement, passion and external and internal sensibilities; and at the human stage it improves its internal sensibilities and acquires reflective capacities.[4] All of these theories recall quite clearly the Peripatetic ideas of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. The same may be said of Sadru'ddīn's ideas on the theorizing force of the soul or reason. In the manner of the Peripatetics, Sadru'ddīn differentiates between material reason, experiential reason, actual reason and acquired reason. However, unlike the Peripatetics, he canonizes these ideas and imbues them with a significant mystical element.

Hājī Sabzewārī

The ideas and concepts of Sadru'ddīn Shīrāzī were later supported and taken further by Hājī Sabzewārī (1797–1878), from whose pen flowed a series of commentaries and glossaries on Sadrā's essays: *Hāshiya bar'al-Asrār'* [Glosses on '*al-Asrār*'], *Ta^c^līq bar'al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya'* [Commentary on 'Divine Revelations'], *Ta^c^līq bar'Mafātīh al-ghayb'* [Commentary on 'Keys to Secrets'] and *Hawāshi alā'al-Mabda wa'l ma^c^ād'* [Glosses on 'The Beginning and the Return']. His essays entitled *Manzūma al-hikma* [A Philosophical Poem] and *Sharh'al-Manzūma al-hikma'* [Commentary on 'A Philosophical Poem'] deal with all aspects of philosophy, including logic.

Mīr Findiriskī

The Isfahan school included thinkers who followed in the footsteps of al- Fārābīand Ibn Sīnā. Among them were Mīr Abū'l Qāsim Findiriskī and ^c^Abdu'l Razzāq Fayyāz Lāhījī. Mīr Findiriskī (d. 1640), in his works entitled the *Risāla-i Sanā'ī^c^* [Treatise on the Arts] and the *Maqāla fi'l-harakāt* [Contemplations on Movement], rejected in very decisive terms the theory behind Plato's teachings on luminous and suspended ideas, movements in substance, the unity of reason (*^c^aql*), the possessor of reason (*^c^āqil*) and that which is accessible through reason (*ma^c^qūl*), which occupied a central position in the philosophy of effulgence and the theosophical utterances of Sadru'ddīn Shīrāzī (and Hājī Sabzewārī). When resolving issues on which the Peripatetics and the Illuminationists disagreed, Mīr Findiriskī opted for the position of the former. This shows that he accepted neither the philosophy of effulgence nor Sufi ideas.

[4] Mullā Sadrā, 1366/1988, p. 230.

Fayyāz Lāhījī

Fayyāz Lāhījī (d. after 1661), in his essays entitled *Gauhar-i murād* [The Essence of Desires] and *Sarmāya-i īmān* [The Essence of Faith], explores all the traditional problems of philosophy: the issue of substance and accident, material and form, visible form and differences between bodies, finiteness and infinity, cause, soul and body, the immortality of the soul grounded in reason, the proofs of the existence of God and His attributes, the imperative for prophecy, etc. In his works we also find a brief analysis of the issues of knowledge and cognition. The manner in which he approaches these issues leaves no room for doubt as to whether he is a follower of Ibn Sīnā. Lāhījī, like Ibn Sīnā, sees God as an essential being and the world as potentiality; he sees substance as a wholly self-sufficient essence upon which accident is absolutely contingent; and he sees the causative determination of phenomena as a consequence of the existence of objects and processes, and believes that the ultimate sphere of cause and effect resides with God. Like Ibn Sīnā, he insists on the theory of the soul as having a beginning by demonstrating the imperishable nature of the human soul as originating in the onset of reason. In the *Gauhar-i murād*, he shows that he also understands the essence of human knowledge in the manner of Ibn Sīnā. Lahījī writes:

> Judgement is a force and a means in which the forms of objects become apparent… A form is an element of a thing that is not exactly that same thing, but corresponds to it, like the form of a person in a mirror, or the form of a horse on a wall.[5]

Yūsuf Qarābāghī

The Peripatetic line of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā was also pursued in the seventeenth century outside the Isfahan school. A significant role in this regard was played by Yūsuf Qarābāghī (d. after 1620). In his work entitled the *Haft bihisht* [Seven Heavens], Qarābāghī analyses the problems of existence and knowledge in the same manner as Ibn Sīnā. This is particularly evident in the manner in which he addresses the issue of the relationship between body and soul, intuitive and rational knowledge, etc. However, he distances himself from the Peripatetics in relation to Plato's theory of ideas, and takes up the line adopted by the followers of *ishrāq* and the Sufi tradition. His understanding of the issues of intuition, revelation and effulgence is based on Sufi thought, thus lending support to the idea that philosophical thinking in this period was indeed characterized by a striving to fuse fundamentally different philosophical concepts.

[5] Fayyāz Lāhījī, 1372/1994, p. 53.

Mystical philosophy

The mystical philosophy of Sufism gained widespread popularity during the period from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, as witnessed by the proliferation of Sufi orders. The Naqshbandi and Maulawi orders gained the most popularity and influence during the period. The Naqshbandi order, which originated in Bukhara in the fourteenth century, spread during the following centuries to Afghanistan, India, Iran (where it was suppressed), Turkey, the Caucasus and the Balkans. Its most important proponents between the sixteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries were Ahmad Sirhindī, Miyān Faqīrullāh Jalālābādī and Shāh Walīullāh Dihlawī.

Ahmad Sirhindī

Ahmad Sirhindī (1564–1624), who was designated Mujaddid-i Alf-i Sānī (Reviver of the Second Millennium) by his followers, set out his concept of Sufism in three volumes of letters (*Maktūbāt*). Judging by his writings, he considers the Naqshbandis to represent the only true teaching, and on that basis he advocates a total submission of Sufism to Islam and its *sharī*ᶜ*a* (Islamic law). The difference between the true and the false believer lies in the steadfastness of their compliance or non-compliance with the *sharī*ᶜ*a*. He who is a true believer will not contravene the *sharī*ᶜ*a*, even while in a state of mystical reverie. 'But he who is a false believer will find obeying the commands of the *sharī*ᶜ*a* more difficult than climbing Mount Caucasus.'[6] Sirhindī is uncompromising in his rejection of all forms of innovation (*bid*ᶜ*a*), considering that Islam represents absolute perfection and that no innovation is required, since innovation leads the public into delusion and erodes the roots of Islam.[7]

In order to integrate Sufism fully with Islam, Sirhindī tries to provide a critical assessment of the Sufi teachings on *wahdat al-wujūd* (the oneness of existence) propounded by Ibn al-ᶜArabī and his followers. He sets out to demonstrate in particular that divine unity (*tauhīd*) is not *wahdat al-wujūd*, 'as He [God] is not one with anything. He is He – Supreme and All-Holy – and the world is the world'.[8] Sirhindī cites the weaknesses inherent in the doctrine of the oneness of existence in his arguments for the rejection of that doctrine. The originators and followers of the doctrine consider that what is not God does not exist. At the same time, they argue that that which is not God is the *mazhar* (manifestation) of God. Sirhindī, on the other hand, argues that what does not exist cannot in any way be

[6] Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, n.d., Vol. 2, Letter no. 95.
[7] Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, n.d., Vol. 3, Letter no. 23.
[8] Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, n.d., Vol. 1, Letter no. 31.

construed as the manifestation of God or an argument in favour of the oneness of existence. In rejecting the theory of the oneness of existence, Sirhindīalso looks to religion, stating that the prophets never called the people to believe in the oneness of existence, and never denounced as polytheists those who recognize two existences. 'They appealed[only] to the oneness of God.'[9] In rejecting the doctrine of the oneness of existence, Sirhindīaffirms the concept of *wahdat al-shuhūd* (the oneness of the sight [of God]). The difference between the doctrine of the oneness of existence (which affirms the oneness of God and the manifestation of His shadow as the basis for all other essences) and the doctrine of the oneness of the sight [of God] is that from the point of view of the latter doctrine the shadow of God cannot, under any circumstances, be identical to God Himself.

Miyān Faqīrullāh Jalālābādī

The assertions of Ahmad Sirhindīon the oneness of contemplation, the subordination of the Sufi path (*tarīqa*) to Islam, gnosis (*ma^{c}rifa*) and the truth (*haqīqa*) of *sharī^{c}a* were taken up again in the eighteenth century by Miyān Faqīrullāh Jalālābādī, who wrote many works, including the *Fath al-jamīl fi'l-madārij al-takmīl* [The Splendid Beginning in Levels of Perfection], the *Fiyūdāt al-ilāhīyya* [Divine Effulgence], the *Jauhar al-aurād* [The Essence of Prayer], the *Barāhīn al-najāh* [Arguments on Salvation] and the *Tarīq al-irshād* [The Path of Admonition]. His position on the teachings of his predecessors with regard to the oneness of existence is, however, somewhat different from that of Sirhindī. In his view, the advocates of the doctrine of the oneness of existence fall into two categories: the monotheists (*muwahiddūn*, sing. *muwahhid*) and the heretics (*mulhidūn*, sing. *mulhid*). In his view, the heretics believe that the Truth (God) is not an essence in itself, separate from the world of spirits and bodies. On the contrary, for them the Truth is the world in its entirety. The relationship between the Almighty and the individual things of the world is similar to the relationship between a general quality and the individual essences that make up that quality. In other words, the world is God and God is the world. There is nothing other than the world that could be called God.[10] According to Jalālābādī, such judgements lead to the conclusion that the world has no beginning, which is the position of the *dahriya*s (atheists), who believe that the world has no creator and that it necessarily exists of itself.[11] Unlike Sirhindī, Miyān Faqīrullāh does not consider the teachings of Ibn al-^{c}Arabī to be contrary to Islam, and indeed he sets out to demonstrate their total compatibility with Islam.

[9] Ibid., Letter no. 272.
[10] Miyān Faqīrullāh Jalālābādī, 1981, p. 154.
[11] Ibid., p. 156.

Shāh Walīullāh Dihlawī

An attempt was made by Shāh Walīullāh Dihlawī (1703–62) to integrate the teachings of Ibn al-^{c}Arabī on the oneness of existence, Ahmad Sirhindī's teachings on the oneness of the sight [of God] and the doctrines of Islam. In his treatises entitled the *Hujjat Allāh al-bālīgha* [The Excellent Proof of God] and the *Faysalāt al-wahdat al-wujūd wa wahdat al-shuhūd* [Explanations on the Oneness of Existence and the Oneness of Sight], he argues that there are no differences, save for rhetorical differences, between Ibn al-^{c}Arabī's theory on the oneness of existence, which is based on the idea that the essential quality of an essence is immutable by force of its divine attributes, and Sirhindī's doctrine on the oneness of the sight [of God], which is founded on the idea that an essence is immutable by force of its divine attributes.[12]

Shāh Walīullāh's metaphysical theory conceives of the existence of two worlds in addition to God: the material world and the spiritual world. The spiritual world is the link between the material world and its Creator. The creative will of God is initially reflected in the spiritual world, and is then materialized in various forms and images. All essences and phenomena are initially reflected in the world of ideas, and then find material form. The spiritual world is free of temporal and spatial constraints. Shāh Walīullāh's judgements reflect certain aspects of the teachings of Plato. Shāh Walīullāh considers the problems of time and place (space). He demonstrates that rather than being two separate and independent categories, time and space represent one category that reflects the temporal-spatial dimensions of existence. According to the philosopher, time and space are inseparable, and it is this inseparability that confers order upon the world. If it were not the case, the world would be seized by such chaos as would render the existence of creation impossible even for a second.[13]

Shāh Walīullāh develops his metaphysical compromise further in his analysis of the issue of will (*jabr*) and freedom of conscience. He believes that will is a necessary component of faith, and stresses that those who do not believe in that principle cannot consider themselves Muslims. From his point of view, the will of God determines the fate of the entire world, and His ordinances have the force of immutable law. Nevertheless, Shāh Walīullāh does not consider the human being to be a mere toy in the hands of fate. Were that the case, it would not be possible to consider a person accountable for his or her actions. Divine equity demands that all human beings should be granted the freedom to avoid evil and to pursue the path of obedience to God. It should be noted that Shāh

[12] Shāh Wālīullāh al-Dihlawī, n.d., *Faysalāt* . . . , p. 7.
[13] Ibid., pp. 29–30.

Walīullāh's intellectual activity was not restricted to Sufi and Islamic metaphysics. He was also interested in issues of economics, politics, society, philosophy, history, etc., though on these his opinions are often of a rather naive kind.

No other notable figures emerged to address other aspects of Sufi philosophy during the period. Most writers restricted themselves to commentaries on their predecessors' works. Noteworthy in this respect are the followers of the Maulawi Sufi order, which was founded in the thirteenth century by the great Sufi poet Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī. They produced an enormous quantity of Persianand Turkish-language commentaries on the poet's *Masnawī*.[14]

Logic

No particularly noteworthy developments emerged in Central Asia in the sphere of logic during our period, and no new systems were developed. Developments in the field of logic were mainly restricted to commentaries on the works of logicians of previous eras and accompanying glossaries. Many commentaries were written on the *Shamsiyya* [Enlightenment] by Najmu'ddīn Dabīranī (d. 1277), the *Ādāb al-bahs* [The Etiquette of Discussion] by ᶜAdudu'ddīn al-Idjī, the *Ādāb al-bahs* by Shamsu'ddīn Samarqandī (d. 1214) and the *Tahzīb al-mantiq wa'l-kalām* [The Correction of Logic and *Kalām*] by Sa ᶜdu'ddīn Taftāzānī Samarqandī (d. 1390). Among the best-known commentators and glossary writers were Mīr Husayn al-Maybudī (d. 1504), Shujāᶜu'ddīn Ilyās Rūmī (d. 1523), Muhammad Badakhshī (d. 1517), Muhammad Bīrjandī (d. 1526), Ahmad Kāshī (sixteenth century), Abū'l Fat'h Saᶜīd (d. 1543) and Husayn Khalkhālī (d. 1605). Unfortunately, their commentaries and glossaries have not yet been adequately studied and it is therefore impossible to say to what extent they encouraged the development of logic during the period.

Works of a general character that are prefaced with a logic-related introduction include the essays of Fayyāz Lāhījī entitled *Gauhar-i murād* and *Sarmāya-iīmān*, and Sabzewārī's *Manzūma al-hikma* and *Sharh 'al-Manzūma al-hikma'*, all mentioned above. In his works, Lāhījī restricts himself to a summary treatment of such issues as those of a logical nature, type, categorical differences, definition, description, judgement and inference.[15] A more detailed discussion of logic-related issues is contained in Sabzewārī's two works mentioned above.

In defining logic as a legitimate organon, Sabzewārī sees its purpose as guarding against error and delusion. He is more thorough than Fayyāz Lāhījī in his consideration of the

[14] For further details, see Zabihollāh Safā, 1363/1985, Vol. 5, Part 1, pp. 222–8.
[15] See Fayyāz Lāhījī, 1372/1994, pp. 53–66.

issues of logic. In addition to analysing the issues of acquired and non-acquired knowledge (*ᶜilm-i husūlī* and ᶜilm-i huzūrī), nature, type, categorical differences, the general and the particular, the special and the general, the substantial and the accidental, types of logical issues, and the essence of definition, description and understanding, he also provides a more detailed analysis of the issues of judgement, syllogism, induction and analogy. He pays particular attention to the notion of proof, and in particular proof originating from cause, and proof originating from consequence (*al-burhān al-limmī* and *al-burhān al-innī*),[16] etc. Throughout his analysis, Sabzewārī refers to Ibn Sīnā, but only rarely offers any critical comments on his work. This implies that the philosophers of the period in question relied heavily on the achievements of their predecessors from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, but, unlike them, failed to come up with any new systems.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that the period in question saw no fundamentally new philosophical systems emerge in Central Asia, it would not be accurate to say that following the blows dealt to it by Ghazālī, philosophical thinking ceased to exist in the region. The truth is that despite its general decline in the Islamic world, including Central Asia, philosophy survived throughout our period, and indeed began to display some signs of a revival,[17] however feeble.

[16] See Hājī Sabzewārī, 1369/1991.
[17] See *Tārīkh-i falsafa dar Islām*, 1370/1992, Vol. 4, pp. 45–276.

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RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Th. Zarcone, Irfan Habib, Y. Ishihama, J. S. Grewal, C. E. Bosworth and J. Calmard

Contents

Part One

ISLAM

The Sufi orders in northern Central Asia

(*Th. Zarcone**)

An important aspect of the history of Sufism and the Sufi orders (*silsilah*s) from the early sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, in other words from the beginning of Shaybanid rule until the Russian conquests, was undoubtedly the political and social ascension of the Naqshbandi order, which gradually imposed itself, following lengthy conflicts, on all other orders of the region, in particular the Kubrāwi and the Yasawi orders. Furthermore, during the eighteenth century, under the influence of the Indian Naqshbandi renovator Ahmad Sirhindī(d. 1624), the Naqshbandi order itself underwent a doctrinal evolution which made it a champion of *sharī*ᶜ*a* (Islamic law). This helped it to gain control of a large part of religious teaching, and explains why its *shaykh*s (religious leaders, spiritual guides) became exponents of Islamic law and theology.

The advent of the Safavid dynasty in 1501 led to constant warring between the Shiᶜite Persians and the Sunni Uzbeks. The Naqshbandi order was eliminated from the cities under Persian control, Qazvin, Tabriz and even Herat, where it had been represented by major Sufi figures such as ᶜAbdu'l Rahmān Jāmī, whose tomb was profaned in 1510. The struggle against Shi ᶜism as personified by the Safavids was useful to the Naqshbandi order, particularly in its endeavour to compete against the other two main Sufi orders of Central Asia, the Kubrāwiyya and the Yasawiyya. These were both orders with an ᶜAlid spiritual genealogy which highlighted the role of ᶜAlī, as did most mystical orders, whereas the Naqshbandiyya carried back its *silsila* (lineage) to the Prophet through Abū Bakr, the first caliph.

Despite its increasingly visible social and political role, the Naqshbandi order was subject to serious internal divisions. Quarrels over the succession weakened it, in particular following the death of its two main figures, one at the end of the fifteenth century, ᶜUbaydullāh Ahrār (d. 1490), and the other in the mid-sixteenth century, Maulānā Khwājagī Kāshāni

* Th. Zarcone's text incorporates in part the contribution of E. Karimov.

Dahbidī – Makhdūmi A^czam (d. 1542). Shaybānī Khān, who held Transoxania between 1500 and 1510, relied on all three orders, the Naqshbandi, Kubrāwi and Yasawi, and made frequent use of *shaykh*s as political mediators with rebel tribes. Above all, these Sufi *shaykh*s served as counsellors or spiritual guides to the khans. In return, a number of them were appointed to prestigious positions such as that of *shaykh al-islām* (principal theologian). Sufis who did not do the ruler's bidding were either eliminated or exiled; that is what happened to the Naqshbandi, Khwāja Yahyā, a son of ᶜUbaydullāh Ahrār, in Samarkand, and to the Yasawi, Jalālu'ddīn ᶜAzīzān.[1]

The ruler's patronage of the Sufis also took the form of the construction or embellishment of majestic mausoleums. The Shaybanids added a number of constructions (mosques; *madrasa*s, or religious schools; *khānaqāh*s, or hospices) to the tomb of Bahā'u'ddīn Naqshband in Bukhara. The saint was becoming the patron of his city, and with time, the pilgrimage to his tomb acquired an official character. The Manghīt Amīr Nasrullāh Khān (1827–60) was particularly attached to it. Shaybanid, Janid (Astarkhanid) and Manghīt rulers chose to be buried in the cemetery that grew up by the mausoleum. Numerous other Central Asian tombs or necropolises were honoured by various rulers: the mausoleum of the Yasawi ᶜAzīzān *shaykh*s at Karmina and the mausoleum of Ahmad Yasawīat Yasi (Turkestan) by the Shaybanids, that of the Naqshbandi Ahrār at Samarkand by the Janids, and the necropolis of Chār-Bakr in the village of Sumitan, where the Juyb ārī Naqshbandi *shaykh*s were buried. The administration of Sufi holy places was an important matter that generally remained under the control of descendants of the deceased or of *shaykh*s of the order to which he had belonged.[2]

From the time of ᶜUbaydullāh Ahrār, Naqshbandi *shaykh*s considered political and social action to be an essential part of their spiritual quest. Muhammad Qāzī (d. 1516–17), a pupil of Ahrār, who was protected by the Moghul rulers of Tashkent, was the author of a treatise on the art of governing in accordance with the *sharī ᶜa*. His disciple, Makhdūm-i Aᶜzam (d. 1542), the most brilliant Sufi *shaykh* in Central Asia after Ahrār, developed a theory of political relations between the prince and the Sufis which was to encourage all Sufi *shaykh*s in the following centuries in Central Asia and India. In his political treatise, the *Risāla-i Tanbīh al-salātīn* [Tract on Admonition to Sultans], he granted the prince a central place in his conception of the perfect Islamic state modelled on Qur'anic precepts. He stressed that in a period of decline, Sufis should reinforce the sense of fraternity (*ikhwān*) uniting them, disseminate everywhere (in every *makān*, or place) the ideas of their *tarīqa* (Sufi way), and not let themselves be divided by the circumstances of the age (*zamān*, time)

1 Babajanov, 1997.
2 Zarcone, 1995*a*; McChesney, 1996*b*, pp. 92–115; Bernardini, 1997; Schwarz, 1997.

in which they were living. With regard to mystical doctrine, Makhdūmi A^czam studied all the Sufi traditions, even non-Naqshbandi teachings, and showed great flexibility in his spiritual teachings, while affirming the superiority of his own path over all others. Makhdūm-i A^czam was recognized by all Naqshbandi groups in Transoxania, becoming an authority for the order's doctrine and practice which were laid down in his abundant writings.[3]

After the death of Makhdūm-i A^czam in 1542, the order was again divided: the Naqshbandis of the Bukhara region supported Muhammad Islām Juybārī (d. 1563), whereas those of Tashkent and Ferghana recognized Lutfullāh Chūstī (d. 1572–3). The former had greater prestige and power, and his descendants, known under the title of *khwāja* or *shaykh-i Juybārī*, remained the chief spiritual force under the Shaybanids and the Janids until the midnineteenth century. Thanks to the patronage of the Shaybanid ^cAbdullāh Khān (1557–98) and that of his father, Iskandar Khān, Islām Juybārīwas able to provide his *tarīqa* with sound material foundations and guarantee wealth and power to his family. Like Shaykh ^cUbaydullāh Ahrār at the end of the fifteenth century, this Naqshbandi family owned extensive lands, the result of a systematic policy of land purchases begun by Islām Juybārī and continued by his son Khwāja Sa^cd (d. 1589) and grandsons Khwāja Tāju'ddīn Hasan (d. 1646) and Khwāja ^cAbdu'l Rahīm (d. 1628).[4] The family also grew rich through trade, sending commercial agents as far afield as Moscow. The Juybāris also consolidated their position through marriages with members of reigning dynasties. The majestic family necropolis at Chār-Bakr, not far from Bukhara, is a perfect illustration of the power of this dynasty, many of whose members were recognized either as *shaykh al-islām* or as *qāzī al-quzāt* (chief justice) down to the nineteenth century.[5] It was a Naqshbandi *shaykh*, Īshān Sultān Khānam Khwāja (d. 1835), who occupied the position of *shaykh al-islām* at Bukhara when the French traveller Jean-Jacques Pierre Desmaisons visited the city.[6]

Sufis had considerable influence, and also competed with each other, at the Chaghatayid court in East Turkistan. At Kashghar, it was the descendants and envoys of ^cUbaydullāh Ahrār that were the best represented. One such, Khwāja Khwān Nūrā, persuaded Sa^cīd Khan to launch an unsuccessful holy war against pagan Tibet.[7] During the reign of his son, ^cAbdu'l Rashīd Khan (1533–1559/60), the Naqshbandis were sidelined in favour of a Sufi affiliated to no particular brotherhood, Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf (d. 1555–6), who founded the Uwaysi brotherhood at Yarkand. The Uwaysi *shaykh*s occupied a prominent place during the reign of ^cAbdu'l Rashīd Khan and that of his successor, ^cAbdu'l

3 Babajanov, 1996*b*, pp. 405–7; Makhdūm-i A^czam, 2001.
4 Ivanov, 1954, pp. 48–83; Paul, 1997; Schwarz, 1999.
5 Nekrasova, 1996.
6 Desmaisons, 1983; Rahmatullāh Wāzih, 1913–14, pp. 16–38.
7 Zarcone, 1995*b*, pp. 327–8.

Karīm Khan. But during the seventeenth century, when the latter's brother, Muhammad Khan, ascended the throne of Kashgharia, the Uwaysi *shaykh*s saw their power decline in favour of newcomers, the Naqshbandis of Samarkand, who owed allegiance to Makhdūm-i A^c^zam. In the oasis of Kucha, the leading position was occupied by the spiritual descendants of the Kataki Sufis, who had no clear affiliation to any brotherhood, but who had Islamized the Eastern Moghuls in the mid-fourteenth century; in the fifteenth century they adopted the title of *khwāja* and joined the Naqshbandiyya.[8]

Finally, Makhdūm-i A^c^zam was also the progenitor of the celebrated dynasty of the Khwājas, who ruled East Turkistan from the late seventeenth century until the mid-eighteenth century as subordinates of the Buddhist Dzungars. One of his sons, Ishāq Walī (d. 1599), and one of his grandsons, Muhammad Yūsuf (d. 1653), gave rise in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century to two branches of the Naqshbandiyya – the Ishāqiyya and the Āfāqiyya[9] – who came into conflict when Āfāq Khwāja (Khoja) Hidāyatullāh (d. 1694), the son of Muhammad Yūsuf, founded the Khwāja dynasty (1679–1759) with Kashghar as its main seat. The rival Ishāqi branch was based in the oasis of Yarkand, capital of the Moghul khanate.

Āfāq Khwāja strengthened his legitimacy by allying himself to Dughlāt and Chinggiskhanid princesses.[10] In doctrinal matters, like Makhdūm-i A^c^zam, he authorized both silent and audible *zikr* (vocal recollection of God) and spiritual oratorio (*samā^c^*), and constantly recited the *Masnawī* (poem in couplets) of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī. Āfāq introduced the Naqshbandiyya into northern Tibet and also spread it among the Chinese Muslims (Hui, Dungan) of Qinghai and Gansu, where some of his disciples bore revealing names: Mullā Yūnus Chīnī, Bābā Khwāja Māchīn.[11] The Khwāja state disappeared following the conquest of the region by Qing China in 1759. However, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the followers of Āfāq Khwāja's lineage never ceased launching holy wars against China from the emirate of Kokand (Khoqand), where they had taken refuge, with a view to reconquering their kingdom. One of them, Jahāngīr Khwāja (d. 1828), managed in 1824–5 to establish an ephemeral emirate at Kashghar.

The Naqshbandi *shaykh*s found themselves spearheading the Muslim revolts which in the mid-nineteenth century paralysed the principal oases of East Turkistan (Kucha, Urumchi, Kashghar, Yarkand and Kokand) in an extension of the great uprising of the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) of Chanxi and Gansu. At Kashghar in 1865, a Khwāja named

[8] Fletcher, 1995, pp. 4–5; Kim, 1996.

[9] These two groups were known in the eighteenth century as the 'Black Mountain' and 'White Mountain' groups; Fletcher, 1995, p. 10; Togan, 2002.

[10] Togan, 1992; Fletcher, 1995, pp. 4–11; Fikrät, 2000.

[11] Mīr Khālu'ddīn Kātib b. Maulānā Qāzī Shāh Kūchak al-Yārkandī, MS, fols. 207–10; Guo- Guang, 1998.

Buzurg Khān Tūra seized power before being deposed by his own military chief, Ya^cqūb, who founded the emirate of Kashgharia (1865–78) under the name of Ya^cqūb Khān. That emirate nevertheless gave a prominent place to Sufism, Sufi orders and the veneration of saints.[12]

The Naqshbandis were not the only Sufis to obtain the favour of Shaybanid rulers; they had competition from the Kubrāwi and Yasawi *shaykh*s. As the spiritual inheritor of the celebrated Najmu'ddīn Kubrā (d. 1221), who lies buried at Kuhna- Urgench, in Khwarazm, the Kubrāwi order embodies a rich mystical tradition which, although it was absorbed by the Naqshbandiyya during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, nevertheless left a strong imprint on that *tarīqa* from the doctrinal point of view. In particular, the Eleven Holy Words (*kalimāt-i qudsīya*), the veritable backbone of the Naqshbandiyya (*hūsh dar dam*, 'mindfulness in breathing'; *nazar dar qadam*, 'eyes on one's steps'; *safar dar watan*, 'journey homeward'; *khalwat dar anjuman*, 'solitude in the crowd', etc.), elaborated by the first masters of the order in order to discipline the Sufi's attention and regulate his contemplative life, seem to be inspired by the Ten-point Rule of Kubrā, which itself follows the Eight Principles of the Arab Sufi, Junayd (d. 910).[13]

The main and last great representative of the Kubrāwiyya in Central Asia in the sixteenth century was Husayn Khwārazmī (d. 1551), who lived in Khwarazm and in Samarkand. Respected by the Shaybanid khans, he endowed his *tarīqa* with a strong financial and institutional basis – a *waqf* (religious endowment) and a *khānaqāh* – but could not halt its decline or compete with the Naqshbandiyya, which denounced his crypto- Shi^cism. In Tashkent, the disciples of Husayn Khwārazmī clashed violently with Lutfullāh Chūstī, a disciple of Makhdūm-i A^czam; the quarrel was decided in favour of the Naqshbandis by the Shaybanid Barak Khān. The Kubrāwiyya nevertheless maintained a weak presence in Central Asia until the nineteenth century through several *shaykh*s, such as Maulānā Shaykh Pāyanda Sāktarī (or Sātaragī) in Bukhara and others in Samarkand, Tashkent, Hisar, Badakhshan and Kabul.[14]

The second major Sufi tradition in Central Asia, and one that was also absorbed by the Naqshbandiyya between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was the Yasawiyya. This mystical tradition manifested itself in two quite distinct and unrelated forms: first, an order, the Yasawiyya itself; and, second, a family lineage through which the high military and administrative functions of *naqīb* were transmitted from the fourteenth century on. In the sixteenth century, certain Naqshbandi and Yasawi *shaykh*s were very close, but

[12] Kim, 1986; Zarcone, 1998.
[13] Najmu'ddīn Kubrā, 1984; Pārsā, 1977.
[14] DeWeese, 1988, pp. 69–77; Schwarz, 2000*b*.

as a general rule, the Naqshbandis denounced, as they had already done for some centuries, many Yasawi beliefs and customs: the ᶜAlid spiritual genealogy, the practice of vocal *zikr* and the hereditary succession of *shaykh*s. Yasawi *shaykh*s and whole Yasawi communities (in Khwarazm) joined the Naqshbandiyya in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, a number of important Naqshbandi figures came to the defence of the Yasawiyya with careful expositions of its doctrines, practices and originality with respect to the Naqshbandiyya.

In 1626 ᶜĀlim Shaykh ᶜAzīzān (d. 1632) published an exceptional work in Persian, the *Lamahāt min nafahāt al-quds*,[15] which gives precise biographical data concerning the last representatives of a Yasawi lineage (*silsila*) going back to Ahmad Yasawī through his disciple Hakīm Atā (d. 1183). The main *shaykh*s of this Yasawi branch, who resided at Samarkand and the surrounding area, were Jamālu'ddīn ᶜAzīzān (d. 1507), its founder, followed by Khudāydād (d. 1532), a true ascetic, and Qāsim Shaykh of Karmia (d. 1579). Jamālu'ddīn ᶜAzīzān was the spiritual guide of Shaybānī Khān for a time, but then Shaybānī Khān chose a Naqshbandi *shaykh* to replace him and eventually exiled Jamālu'ddīn ᶜAzīzān to Herat. The *Lamahāt min nafahāt al-quds* helps to correct a distorted image of the Yasawiyya encouraged by Naqshbandi hagiologists (in particular, in the *Rashahāt ᶜayn al-hayāt* by Fakhru'ddīn ᶜAlīb. Husayn Wāᶜiz Kāshifī, 1503–4), according to which the order pandered to popular superstition and showed scant respect for Islam, was derived from the Naqshbandiyya, and was strictly limited to the Turkic-speaking nomadic world. The *Lamahāt* demonstrates the contrary, and quotes numerous biographies of Yasawi *shaykh*s who were renowned theologians and jurists. The order, subsequently known as the ᶜAzīziyya, eventually disappeared in the mid-eighteenth century.[16]

The *Lamahāt*, however, makes no mention of the existence of the descendants of Sayyid Atā, a thirteenth-century Yasawi saint who was reputedly instrumental in the Islamization of the Dasht-i Qipchaq (Kipchak steppe) and the conversion to Islam of the ruler of the Golden Horde, Özbek Khān. This action enabled the physical and spiritual descendants of the saint, the Atā'is, to keep in their family, down to the nineteenth century, the post of *naqīb*, one of the highest administrative and military functions in Central Asia. In the sixteenth century, numbers of the family held this office in Bukhara and Balkh, but not in Khwarazm, the site of the mausoleum of Sayyid Atā. The prestige of the family in Khwarazm was much greater among the nomadic and tribal populations than at the palace. Its members were appointed to high administrative positions within the Khiva khanate only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the end of the sixteenth century, Sayyid

[15] Al-ᶜAlawī, 1909.

[16] DeWeese, 1996; 1999*b*; Babajanov, 1996*a*.

Hasan Khwāja Naqīb was an intimate counsellor of the khan, and a military chief who sometimes acted as the ruler's envoy to rebellious *amīr*s. However, the gradual political ascension of the Naqshbandiyya, in their search for positions of power, at length devalued the office of *naqīb* and eventually caused the Atā'is of Transoxania and Khurasan to lose it altogether. In the seventeenth century, the *naqīb* of Bukhara, an Atā'i, was appointed by the khan, but with the approval of his Juybārī adviser. At the end of the seventeenth century, the *naqīb* Muhammad Saᶜīd Khwāja was in fact a descendant of Makhdūm-i Aᶜzam. In this way, royal favours were slowly transferred from a Yasawi family to a Naqshbandi family.[17]

The rest of Central Asia, in particular the southern regions of Kazakhstan, had numerous Yasawi families, all of whom traced their origins to a brother of Ahmad Yasawī, Sadr Atā, as shown by numerous manuscript genealogies. In 1840 one of these families controlled, admittedly not without some conflict with other branches of the family, the pilgrimage to the mausoleum of Ahmad Yasawī at Yasi. No fewer than 100 Yasawi families were to be found in that city by the time of the Russian conquest.[18]

Sufism underwent a fundamental doctrinal change which had major social and political consequences in Central Asia at the end of the seventeenth century, when Cetral Asian *shaykh*s became aware of the Indian version of the Naqshbandiyya propounded by Ahmad Sirhindī, which they adopted enthusiastically. Ahmad Sirhindī codified and expounded systematically in his letters (the *Maktūbāt*) his version of the doctrine and practices of the order. He laid great stress on the order's duty to remain faithful to the commandments of the Qur'an, its role in the fight against Shiᶜism, and the supremacy of silent *zikr*. He made Sufism subservient to the *sharīᶜa*, and distinguished good Sufis, who respected the law of the Prophet, from bad Sufis, who claimed the liberty to go beyond it.

This new version of the *tarīqa* called the Mujaddidiyya (from *mujaddid*, or renovator, a name by which Ahmad Sirhindī became commonly known) was gradually adopted by all Naqshbandi groups throughout the Muslim world. It was introduced to Bukhara by Habībullāh Bukhārī (d. 1700), a disciple of Muhammad Maᶜsūm, a son of Sirhindī. The most celebrated of the pupils of Habībullāh was the Sufi Allāhyār (d. 1720), a well-known writer of mystical poetry and treatises on Islamic law.[19] The Mujaddidis became well established in Transoxania during the second half of the eighteenth century; their chief representative was Khwāja Mūsā Khān Dahbidī (d. 1776), a descendant of Makhdūm-i Aᶜzam who was admitted to the order in Kashmir before introducing it at Samarkand.

[17] DeWeese, 1995; 2001.
[18] Muminov, 1998; DeWeese, 1999*a*. One such genealogy has been published with a commentary by Muminov, 2000.
[19] Von Kükelgen, 1998, pp. 115–16.

The late eighteenth century was a golden age for the Mujaddidis, which had the support of the Manghīt ruler, Shāh Murād (1785–1800), himself a member of the order. Under the influence of its spiritual master, Shaykh Safar (d. 1785), Shāh Murād unleashed a campaign against Sufi adepts of the vocal *zikr*, a practice described as a heretical innovation which had been combated for centuries by the Naqshbandis, who preferred the silent *zikr*. One of the *shaykh*s targeted by this campaign was Khalīfa Khudāy-dād Khwārazmī (d. 1800–1), the pupil of a certain ᶜAzīzān Lutfullāh, who may have been a physical or spiritual descendant of the *shaykh*s of the Yasawiyya-affiliated ᶜAzīziyya.[20] The Mujaddidi order also gained a foothold in Transoxania thanks to Indian *shaykh*s who settled in the region; the main such *shaykh* in Bukhara was Miyān Fazl Ahmad, or Sāhib-zāda (d. 1855), with others residing in Kokand. Miyān Fazl Ahmad was the second spiritual master of Shāh Murād, and he also became the spiritual master of Shāh Murād's successor, Amīr Haydar (1800–26).[21] The early history of the Manghīt dynasty was strongly influenced by the Naqshbandiyya, which served the *amīr*s' policy of religious austerity.

The development of the Mujaddidi order went hand in hand with a renewed interest in the *madrasa*s, which were seen as an indispensable adjunct to Sufi hospices or hostelries (*khānaqāh*s), and as such were encouraged by the Manghīt *amīr*s Shāh Murād and Amīr Haydar, who had new *madrasa*s built. The *madrasa*s of the most prestigious *shaykh*s were celebrated and sought out by students from all over Central Asia, from East Turkistan and Siberia to Tataristan. Those most sought after were the Kabul *madrasa* of Muhammad Hasan Atā Kābulī (d. 1800), which was later directed by his son, Fayz-Khān Atā Kābulī (d. 1802), and the Bukhara *madrasa* of Niyāz Qulī (d. 1820).[22] Niyāz Qulī deserves special attention for his doctrinal works, which attempt to reconcile mystical theories with Islamic law.[23]

The Naqshbandi–Mujaddidi branch that allowed only silent *zikr* is known in Transoxania as the Khafiyya (concealed), whereas the branch that prefers the vocal *zikr* is known as the Jahriyya (open, public). Mention may be made of two other minor orders which had little political influence, the Nizāmi Chishtis and the Qalandars, which both tended to have a popular following, whereas the Naqshbandis were more often connected to the scholarly elite. The Nizāmi branch of the Chishtis, which arose in India, was brought by Niyāz Ahmad Sirhindī (d. 1834) and his disciples to Ferghana, Kokand and East Turkistan. This branch also disseminated Qādirīpractices in Transoxania, drawing close to and even

[20] Nāsiru'ddīn al-Hanafī al-Husainī al-Bukhārī, 1910, p. 96.
[21] Von Kükelgen, 1998, pp. 128–31; 2000.
[22] Shihābu'ddīn al-Marjānī, 1900, Vol. 2, pp. 101, 108, 176, 192, 200, 221–2, 231, 235–7, 254–5, 258.
[23] *Tarīqa-yi Naqshbandīya-yi Mujaddīya-yi Maᶜsūmīya-yi Faizānīya*, 1874; Babajanov, 1996*b*, pp. 398–9; von Kükelgen, 1998, pp. 131–6, 142–7; Zarcone, 2000*a*, pp. 293–5.

becoming identified with the Jahriyya.[24] On the other hand, despite the fact that dervishes known as Qalandars had been wandering throughout Central Asia since earlier times, it is only in the eighteenth century in Samarkand that one finds a brotherhood known as the Qalandariyya, founded by Bābā Hājī Safā (d. 1740–1). It had branches in a number of other cities in Transoxania, such as Tashkent, Bukhara and Khiva, and was still in existence in the late nineteenth century.[25] The Qalandariyya, which was known for its irreverence towards the *sharīᶜa*, was regularly denounced by Naqshbandis, even though certain Qalandaris claimed that their order was linked to the Naqshbandiyya. In fact, there were two Qalandari currents, one of which was close to the Naqshbandiyya and proposed a middle way between the two Sufi orders.

Central to this *rapprochement*, at the end of the seventeenth century, was a certain Qul Mazīd, a Sufi from Ghujduvan, near Bukhara, the spiritual heir of Makhdūm-i Aᶜzam, whose disciples were influential in Transoxania, at Yarkand in East Turkistan (ᶜAbdullāh Nidā'ī, d. 1760), and in the Deccan in India (Bābā Shāh Saᶜīd Palangpūsh, d. 1699[26]). Bābā Hājī Safāwas one of his spiritual descendants; his Qalandariyya thus shows distinct Naqshbandi influence. The Qalandaris were also well represented in East Turkistan. One of these, Muhammad Sādiq Zalīlī (b. 1676 or 1680), who left a sizeable opus of poetry and prose, travelled throughout Central Asia, going from one saint's mausoleum to another, from the tomb of Āfāq Khwāja at Kashghar, to the tomb of Bahā'u'ddīn Naqshband at Bukhara. By training he was more a Naqshbandi than a Qalandari; he had studied at a *madrasa*, and knew Persian and Arabic, but, like the Qalandaris, he was unmarried and had no fixed abode, begging for his living.[27]

When Bukhara was attacked by the Russians, the Muslims turned to their patron saint, Bahā'u'ddīn Naqshband, begging him to work a miracle in order to save the emirate. The emirate was nevertheless compelled to accept subordination to St Petersburg in 1868. Ten years later, in 1878, China strengthened its administrative control over East Turkistan or, as it has been called from 1884 onwards, Xinjiang. Under these conditions the Sufi orders, especially the Naqshbandiyya, lost much of the political patronage they had previously enjoyed, though there were no particular restrictions imposed on their religious activities.

24 Zarcone, 2000*b*, pp. 304–5, 313.

25 Abū Tāhir Khwāja Samarqandī, 1988, p. 192; 1991, pp. 51–2; *EI*², art. 'Tarīk. a in the Turkish Lands' (Th. Zarcone).

26 Shāh Mahmūd, 1939–40, p. 13; Digby, 1990; Algar, 1999, pp. 5–6.

27 Zälili, 1985.

Shi[c]ism in Iran

(*Irfan Habib*)

The conquest of Herat in 1510 by Shāh Ismā[c]īl I (1501–24) marked the incorporation of the larger part of Khurasan into the Safavid empire and the declaration of Shi[c]ism as the state religion in the area. With the natural emergence of Mashhad, containing the shrine of Imām [c]Alī Rizā, as a major Shi[c]ite centre and place of pilgrimage, the religious life of the western part of Khurasan became intertwined with the rest of Iran so that henceforth it is not possible to separate the religious history of the two regions.[28]

At the time that Shāh Ismā[c]īl conquered Khurasan, the two ideological pillars on which he based his power were his own position as a Sufi *pīr* (spiritual master) and Twelver Shi[c]ism. On the one side was his special appeal to the Qizilbāsh (Red-Heads), the followers of his ancestral line of Sufi spiritual guides (*pīr*s or *murshid*s). Originally a Sunni Sufi order established by Shaykh Safī (d. 1334) at Ardabil in north-eastern Azarbaijan (Iran), it traced, like most Sufi orders, its spiritual (and, later, its genealogical) lineage through [c]Alī, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, so that a turn towards Shi[c]ism, under favourable circumstances, was not unnatural. What was more unique was that the command over the spiritual allegiance of numerous followers was converted into a source of political and military power. These twin processes seem to have been completed by the time of Ismā[c]īl's grandfather Junayd (1447–60). Succeeding to the office of *pīr* in 1494, Shāh Ismā[c]īl built his power by gathering his Qizilbāsh followers, mostly Turkmāns of eastern Anatolia, and forging them into a messianic army of *ghāzī*s (religious warriors). In 1501 he occupied Tabriz, where he proclaimed full allegiance to 'Twelver' Shi[c]ism (*isnā-[c]asharīyya*). Yet the Qizilbāsh, with their various divisions, asserted their position as Ismā[c]īl's most loyal followers, acclaiming, in what was called *ghūluw* (excess, exaggeration), Shāh Ismā[c]īl not only as their absolute Master, but indeed, a divine being.[29]

This supreme, even semi-divine status for Ismā[c]īl (of which he made good use) sat ill with Twelver Shi[c]ism, to which Ismā[c]īl had not only proclaimed his attachment immediately after his seizure of Tabriz, but which (by demanding the public execration of the first three caliphs) he also imposed all over his dominions. The doctrine of the Twelve Imāms,

[28] This section draws heavily on the analysis and information in Arjomand, 1984.

[29] Roemer, 1986, pp. 190–215, for the development of the Safavid order from one of dervishes to a military force.

the last of whom would emerge in future as the Mahdī, or the promised messiah, had been clearly enunciated by this time. A contrived *sayyid* genealogy (a *sayyid* is a descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fatima, the wife of ᶜAlī) could still assign to Ismāᶜīl no greater position than that of regent on behalf of the coming Mahdī, as an enforcer of the Shiᶜite version of Muslim law. Yet it was Shiᶜism, not the Qizilbāsh sect, which alone could become a popular faith in Iran in the face of Sunni sentiment, which had until then commanded the allegiance of the major part of the population of Iran, including Khurasan.

It was prudent on the part of Shāh Ismāᶜīl to maintain a balance between his two ideological props.[30] While disclaiming the god-like status that the Qizilbāsh were prone to assign him, he nevertheless treated the office of the *khalifat-u'l khulafā*, the principal dignitary of the shah's Sufi order, as the highest religious office of the realm. But the strength of the spiritual ties between Ismāᶜīl's successors and the Qizilbāsh was bound to decline, as the aspect of royalty came to overshadow that of the *pīr*. Moreover, the struggle for spoils gave the relationship an increasingly mercenary character on the part of the Qizilbāsh, who fell to fighting among themselves, first in the early years of Shāh Tahmāsp I's long reign (1524–76) and then again, after his death. After Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629) had eliminated a number of Qizilbāsh leaders, the Qizilbāsh component in the army was no longer of decisive importance; and although the Safavid rulers never formally abandoned their claims to mystic headship, their patronage was now almost exclusively devoted to the promotion of Twelver Shiᶜism.

When Shāh Ismāᶜīl proclaimed the total acceptance of Twelver Shiᶜism, and his insistence on the public execration of the first three caliphs left no possibility for any Sunni theologian to lead public worship, let alone serve in any office, he was faced with one obvious difficulty. This was the small number of Shiᶜite scholars in Iran competent to undertake religious and judicial functions. The Safavids, Shāh Tahmāsp in particular, therefore made an effort to meet the need by inviting Shiᶜite divines from outside Iran, notably the ᶜAmil region of Lebanon, a centre of Shiᶜite scholarship.[31] But they also promoted Shiᶜite learning on an impressive scale within Iran. This created in time a strong and vocal Shiᶜite clergy, which made the establishment of any equilibrium between Shiᶜism and Sunnism, such as the one attempted by Tahmāsp's son Shāh Ismāᶜīl II (1576–7), and later by Nādir Shāh (1736–47), ever more impossible.

While strengthening the Shiᶜite clergy, the Safavids took strong measures to suppress any tendency that diverged from Twelver Shiᶜism. The Naqshbandis, who traced their spiritual lineage through Abū Bakr, the first caliph, and who enjoyed a prominent posi-

[30] Cf. Babayan, 1994.
[31] Abisaab, 1994.

tion in Timurid Khurasan, were among the first Sufi orders to be suppressed by Shāh Ismāᶜīl I. Another Sunni order, the Khalwatis, was also extirpated, though it found new homes in Turkey and Egypt. The ᶜAlid Sufi orders of Khurasan fared only little better. The Nūrbakhshi *shaykh* Bahā'uddīn was executed under Ismāᶜīl, and Qawāmu'ddīn under Tahmāsp. The order of Niᶜmatullāhis prudently transformed itself into a Shiᶜite order after Shāh Ismāᶜīl's accession to power; it was tolerated, but not generously patronized.[32] The suppression or decline of the Sufi orders did not, however, mean the elimination of Sufi thought within orthodox Shiᶜism. Mīr Findiriskī (d. 1640) (see Chapter 24), the famous Shiᶜite scholar of Isfahan, travelled to India to study asceticism. But Sufi thought tended to be treated henceforth as part of the Shiᶜite theologian's postgraduate spiritual activity, rather than as part of popular Islam.

The Nuqtawi (or 'Wāhidi') sect, which had a millenary and esoteric character, had been founded by Mahmūd Pasīkhānī (d. 1427), who propounded a doctrine in which a complex theory of migration of souls or reincarnation and numerological predictions played an important part. The sect obtained some popularity in the later years of the rule of Tahmāsp, under whom a Nuqtawi community near Kashan was massacred in 1575–6. Subsequently, under Darwīsh Khusrau, it became powerful enough to attract ᶜAbbās I's personal interest. He himself became so affected by Nuqtawi predictions that in 1593 he briefly abdicated and put a Nuqtawi *amīn* (trustee) called Tarkishdoz on the throne, but later had him hanged. He had already executed or imprisoned the leading Nuqtawi figures.[33]

As the Shiᶜite clergy was assisted by the Safavid court in securing dominance over Iranian Islam, it associated itself with a special source of authority which had little precedence in earlier Shiᶜite theology. This was the concept of *ijtihād*. Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Karakī (d. 1534), who was designated a deputy of the Imām in 1532–3, was a stout exponent of *ijtihād*, defined by Shaykh-i Bahāī (d. 1620–1) as 'deduction of the derivative legal (*sharīᶜ*) commandment from the fundamental'. Complementary to this concept was the notion of permissibility (or rather, necessity) of *taqlīd*, or acting at the behest of a person competent to undertake *ijtihād*. Mīr Dāmād (d. 1631) (see Chapter 24) underlined the powers of those delegated by the true Imām to pronounce derived legal rulers with *ijtihād-i mutlaq* (absolute authority). Such power could turn the Shiᶜite clergy into practically a church; and the proponents of this position, who came to be known as *usūlī*s (from *usūl*, principle),

[32] On the persecution of the Sufis, see Arjomand, 1984, pp. 112–19. But see Nasr, 1986, pp. 663–6, where Sufi orders are said to have 'flourished into the 11th/17th century'.

[33] Arjomand, 1984, pp. 198–9; Amoretti, 1986, pp. 644–6; Babayan, 1994, pp. 147–56. How the surviving Nuqtawis interpreted their suppression is described in a mid-seventeenthcentury Indian account, Anon., 1362/1983, Vol. 1, pp. 275–8.

could therefore naturally expect a large undercurrent of support from within the Shiᶜite clergy.

The scope that the *usūlīs* seemed to allow for reason in *ijtihād*, however, led to a sense of discomfort among such Shiᶜite scholars as believed that the traditions (*akhbār*) of the Prophet and the *imāms* alone should supplement the Qur'an. Muhammad Amīn Astarābādī (d. 1619) took up the cudgels on behalf of the *akhbārīs* in their attack on reason and *ijtihād*, and a fierce controversy broke out in which the scholars from ᶜAmil generally defended the *usūlī* positions.[34] A new twist to the debate was given by Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī(d. 1699), a very influential theologian under Shāh Sulaymān (1666–94) and Shāh Sultān Husayn (1694–1722). He upheld the *akhbārī* attack on reason, but rejected Sufism and any element of philosophy.

In the eighteenth century, clerical Shiᶜism faced considerable obstacles when the Ghilzāi Afghans, who were Sunnis, overthrew the Safavid dynasty in 1722. Nādir Shāh (1736–47) eliminated the Afghans, but he did not wish his imperial ambitions outside Persia to be restricted by Shiᶜite sectarianism. He continued to patronize the Shiᶜite clergy in Persia and, making Mashhad his capital, greatly embellished Imām ᶜAlī Rizā's shrine, but he forbade the public execration of the first three caliphs. He promoted the notion that the Shiᶜite sect could be acknowledged as the Jaᶜfari *mazhab* (rite or sect) alongside the four *mazhabs* (Hanafi, etc.) recognized as legitimate by the Sunnis. In 1743 he held a council of Shiᶜite and Sunni theologians at Najaf to endorse this principle.[35] His assassination in 1747 put an end to this very interesting project. Shāhrukh, his grandson and claimant to his imperial inheritance, fully acknowledged his loyalty to Twelver Shiᶜism as he desperately strove to maintain his position in the district around the holy city of Mashhad (1748–96). In the main areas of Iran, however, Karīm Khān Zand (1750–79), a popular ruler, kept Shiᶜism alive without giving any particular encouragement to the Shiᶜite clergy.

Matters changed only towards the end of the century, when Āghā Muhammad Khān Qājār (1795–6) founded the Qajar dynasty (1795–1925). He proclaimed his attachment to the Safavid religious heritage, and his nephew and successor Fath ᶜAlī Shāh (1796–1834) followed the policy of building up the Shiᶜite clergy as a major pillar of support for the state (see Chapter 10).

In the period that intervened between the fall of the Safavids and the rise of the Qajars, Muhammad Bāqir Bihbihānī (1705–1803) was undoubtedly the principal Shiᶜite theologian. Adopting many of Bāqir Majlisī's positions – against Sufism, for example – he was

[34] An interesting discussion of the views of Amīn Astarābādīand his critics occurs in Anon., 1362/1983, Vol, 1, pp. 247–53. See also Nasr, 1986, pp. 687–8; Arjomand, 1984, *passim*.
[35] Tucker, 1994.

nevertheless a firm advocate of the *usūlī* school. Several works of his followers during the early years of Qajar rule asserted the principle of *ijtihād*, which soon afterwards ceased to be a matter of controversy. Once this right of the specially trained jurists (*mujtahid*s) was established, they as a body could lay claim to the *niyābat-i imām*, or general deputyship of the Hidden Imām, who is to appear in due time as the Mahdī.

The triumph of the established clergy did not remain unchallenged, however; once again, the challenge came mainly from a millenary movement, that of the 'Bāb', Sayyid ᶜAlī Muhammad of Shiraz (1819–50). An offshoot of the Shaykhi movement, his first disciple, Mullā Husayn of Bushruya, identified him in 1844 as the Mahdī; and thereafter his followers, known as the Bābis, grew in number. While accepting Muhammad's Prophethood, the Bāb abrogated the *sharīᶜa* and framed new moral rules and civil law, as well as details of ritual. It was a total revolt against established Shiᶜism, though there was no attempt at a political upheaval. At the convention of Badasht in 1848, the Bābis publicly proclaimed their beliefs: an important event at this convention was the unveiling of Qurratu'l ᶜAyn (d. 1852), the Bābi poetess, heroine and martyr. Persecution by the Qajar regime began immediately thereafter. The Bāb himself had already been put in prison in 1847 and was executed three years later. An attempt on the life of Nāsiru'ddīn Shāh Qājār (1848–96) in 1852 led to a new round of terror against the Bābis which almost entirely decimated the sect. Bahā'ullāh (1817–92), the future founder of the Bahai sect, however, survived to claim a millenary mission similar to that of the Bāb, of whom he had been an early follower.[36]

Islam in India[37]

(*Irfan Habib*)

Islam in India is undoubtedly a rich and complex religion due to its long coexistence with Hinduism, which itself is a loose assemblage of a variety of religious beliefs. One major consequence of this was the emergence of a trend towards pure monotheism, unrestricted by either Muslim or Hindu theology or ritual. Even an impeccably orthodox

[36] See *EIr*, art. 'Bāb' (D. M. MacEoin), Vol. 3, pp. 278–84; *EI*², arts., 'Bāb' and 'Bābīs' (A. Bausani), pp. 833–5, 846–7.
[37] See Mujeeb, 1967, for an excellent general survey; also Ahmad, 1964.

theologian such as ᶜAbdu'l Haqq of Delhi (1551–1642) was compelled to recognize that besides Muslims and infi- dels, there were'monotheists' (*muwahhid*s) on whom no judgement could be passed.[38] ᶜAbdu'l Haqq himself says this with reference to Kabīr (early sixteenth century), the Muslim weaver of Benares (Varanasi), who, in his verses, disowned both Islam and Hinduism and dedicated himself to God and to an ethical life unencumbered by identification with any sect. Kabīr undoubtedly was, and still is, a living influence among large numbers of ordinary Muslims and Hindus: and he probably also prepared the ground in the popular mind for the grand project of universal tolerance undertaken by the emperor Akbar (1556–1605) (see below).[39]

At its higher levels, Islam in India was also influenced by millenary movements. The most notable of these was the Mahdawi sect established by Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur (1443–1505), who claimed to be the Mahdī. He preached strict adherence to the prescribed mode of life and worship and critiized the worldliness of the scholars. He established *dā'irar*s, or centres for his followers, who had to live in egalitarian conditions, relying on *futūh*, or gifts from the laity. Such puritanism led to considerable respect for the Mahdawis in Gujarat and other parts of northern India. The sect suffered from temporary bouts of persecution, but seems to have declined mainly from internal inertia after the enthusiasm of the first two or three generations had died down.[40]

A movement of a similar nature was that of Bāyazīd Raushan (d. 1572–3), who was born at Jalandhar in Punjab and belonged to a family settled in Waziristan among Pashtoon tribes. Under fairly adverse conditions Bāyazīd studied theology and turned to mysticism. He received a divine call and began to claim that he was the Mahdī and was receiving God's messages (*ilhām*). Anyone who did not admit his claims was thus defying God and must be treated as an unbeliever. It was not surprising that he and his successors came into conflict both with Pashtoons of a more conventional Islamic bent and with the Mughal authorities.[41] Akbar's offer of tolerance made in 1581 was spurned. Bāyazīd wrote a text, the *Khayru'l-bayān* [Excellence of Narration], in Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Pashto. It is the last version which has survived and it is hailed as the first prose-text in the Pashto language. Ultimately the sect was decimated by war and its numbers dwindled when Bāyazīd's last successor, ᶜAbdu'l Qādir, surrendered to the Mughals during the early years of the emperor Shāh Jahān's reign (1628–58).[42]

[38] ᶜAbdu'l Haqq, 1332/1913–14, p. 306.
[39] The standard text of Kabīr's verses was edited by Das, n.d.
[40] Rizvi, 1965, pp. 68–134.
[41] Rizvi, 1967.
[42] Anon., 1362/1983, Vol. 1, pp. 279–86, a nearly contemporary account.

What can only be described as spectacular developments occurred at Akbar's court, from the 1570s onwards. The ideas of Ibn al-ᶜArabī had already become fairly well-established among Indian Sufis by this time.[43] The notion of *sulh-i kul* (Absolute Peace) and *insān al-kāmil* (the Perfect Man) gained particular prominence in Akbar's circle. The first held that all differences should be tolerated because the unity of God's existence embraces all illusory differences; and the second, that a Perfect Human Being was necessary to guide humanity to God in every age. Both principles provided the rationalization behind Akbar's policy of tolerance and his own claims to high spiritual status. To this was added the influence of Shihābu'ddīn Suhrawardī's Illuminationist (*ishrāqī*) philosophy (see Chapter 24), which, as interpreted by Abū'l Fazl (1551–1602), Akbar's brilliant minister and ideologue, would clothe a just sovereign with divine illumination.[44] Akbar had not been satisfied with the theologians' *mahzar* (declaration) of 1579 making him, as a 'just king', the interpreter of Muslim law: he may have come to think of the position as too limited or sectarian. During the last 25 years of his rule, he freely expressed his scepticism both of the notion of prophethood and of human incarnations of God, and asserted the supremacy of reason (*ᶜaql*). He extended his critique to social matters, condemning alike the Hindu practice of widow-burning (*satī*) and the smaller share in inheritance given to daughters in Muslim law.[45]

Akbar's views ceased to hold full sway after his death, though the policy of religious tolerance he established continued to be respected and even invoked by his successors, with some departures from it only during the reign of Aurangzeb (1659–1707). Prince Dārā Shukoh (1615–59) was notable not only for carrying forward Akbar's project of translations of Sanskrit texts (he himself rendered the *Upanishads* into Persian in 1657), but also for arguing that the path to gnosis (*ma ᶜrifat*) is identical in both Sufi Islam and Vedantic Hinduism.[46]

It was not fortuitous, perhaps, that Dārā Shukoh was attached to the mystic order of the Qādiris, which had been deeply influenced by the ideas of Ibn al-ᶜArabī. Its major figure was Miyān Mīr (1531?–1636) of Lahore. Of an ascetic bent, he spurned worldly affairs and advocated tolerance.[47] The popular Sufi poet of Punjab, Bulhe Shāh (1680–1757?) was a Qādiri, and he often mirrors Kabīr in his verses.[48]

[43] Rizvi, 1965, pp. 43–89.
[44] Habib, 1999, pp. 328–40.
[45] See a selection from Abū'l Fazl's record of Akbar's sayings in Moosvi, 1994, pp. 126–9.
[46] This he did in his tract, *Majmūᶜal-bahrain* [The Commingling of Two Oceans]. See Qanungo, 1952, pp. 98–118.
[47] Rizvi, 1992, Vol. 2, pp. 55–150, esp. pp. 103–8.
[48] Sharda, 1974, pp. 148–71.

A contrary trend in Sufism was represented by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī(1564–1624) (see Chapter 24). Attaching himself to the Naqshbandi order, he insisted on a very rigorous obedience to the *sharī^{c}a* and was bitterly intolerant of both Hindus and Shi^{c}ites. He rejected Ibn al-^{c}Arabī's theory of the unity of existence (*wahdat al-wujūd*) as merely based on a passing stage of mystic experience. Yet he went outside the traditional realm of the *sharī^{c}a* by asserting that Islam needed a *mujaddid* (reviver or renovator) with special powers after every millennium and, later, that God would ordain for Islam a *qayyūm* (maintainer). It was natural that he should claim both positions for himself. As was to be expected, this provoked considerable opposition, not only from the more traditional but also from the moderate theologians, like the Qādiri scholar ^{c}Abdu'l Haqq of Delhi, already mentioned for his reference to Kabīr.[49] Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī's hostility to the Shi^{c}ites had an especially Indian context, since under the tolerance extended by the Mughal regime and the patronage of Iranian émigrés, some of whom held high office, Shi^{c}ism became an established part of Indian Islam. Nūrullāh Shushtarī (1542–1610), a Shi^{c}ite theologian and martyr, served as the *qāzī* (judge) of Lahore under Akbar. In 1602 he completed his best-known work, the *Majālisu'l muminīn* [Gatherings of the Faithful], a collection of biographies of eminent Shi^{c}ites; and in 1605, the *Ihqāqu'l haqq* [The Truths of Truth], a refutation of Sunni critiques of Shi^{c}ite beliefs.[50] Sunni-Shi^{c}ite debates became a common feature in Muslim intellectual life in the 'free-for-all' atmosphere of Mughal India.

Aurangzeb was the most theologically inclined of the Mughal emperors. His interest in the *sharī^{c}a* led him to organize, under state auspices, the compilation of a comprehensive collection in Arabic of the expositions of the four Sunni legal schools on every imaginable facet of civil and personal law. This bore the title *Fatawā'-i ^{c}Ālamgīrī* [Decisions on Law (dedicated to) Emperor Aurangzeb (^{c}Ālamgīr)] and in its field it remained the most extensive and standard compilation in India.

The eighteenth century saw the very ambitious project of Shāh Walīullāh (1703–62) of Delhi, which aimed to reconcile the *sharī^{c}a* with the Sufi path (*tarīqa*). Shāh Walīullāh sought to end the controversy over Ibn al-^{c}Arabī's theory of the 'unity of existence' by declaring it as equally valid alongside the contrary theory of the 'unity of what one sees' (*wahdat al-shuhūd*). He wrote numerous spiritual and legal tracts. Among the latter, his best-known work is the *Hujjatullāh al-bālīgha* [The Excellent Proof of God]. His son, Shāh ^{c}Abdu'l ^{c}Azīz (1746–1824), was a prolific writer who continued his father's mission, polemicizing against the Shi^{c}ites and insisting on rigorous adherence to the *sharī^{c}a*.[51]

[49] Rizvi, 1965, pp. 202–313; Friedmann, 1971; Rizvi, 1992, pp. 196–249.
[50] Rizvi, 1965, pp. 313–23.
[51] Rizvi, 1980; 1982.

By the time of Shāh ᶜAbdu'l ᶜAzīz, Delhi had fallen to the British (1803) and under the new circumstances the insistence on the *sharīᶜa* necessarily obtained a political edge. Sayyid Ahmad Barelvī (d. 1831), a follower of Shāh Walīullāh, went to Mecca, where he was also influenced by Wahhabi doctrines (hence the name 'Wahhabi' given popularly, though incorrectly, to his followers, who styled themselves *ahl-i hadīs*, 'people following the Prophet's teachings'). On his return, the Sayyid began to gather followers in different parts of northern India for *jihād* (holy war). Reaching Peshawar in 1826, they began an armed resistance against Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799–1839), who was trying to annex large areas of Afghanistan. After the British occupation of Peshawar in 1845, the 'Wahhabis' fought tenaciously for over two decades, surviving many British military expeditions. In the meantime, the 1857 rebellion broke out in northern India and the 'Wahhabis', under the usual designation of *mujāhidīn* (English official translation of the time: 'fanatics'!), played a notable part in it. Despite their orthodox and sectarian origins, the 'Wahhabis' therefore became popular icons of Indian nationalism.[52]

Part Two

BUDDHISM

(*Y. Ishihama*)

The most important branch of Buddhism as far as this volume is concerned is the Tibetan form of Buddhism that prevailed among the Mongol peoples, from the shores of the Caspian Sea to Manchuria.

The conversion of the Mongols to Tibetan Buddhism

After bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho (1543–88), the third Dalai Lama, met the Mongol prince Altan Khan at Qinghai (Koko Nor) in 1578, many Mongol princes were converted to Tibetan Buddhism. The conflict between the Karma bka'-brgyud (Karma-pa) school and the dGe-lugs-pa school (Yellow Hat), the two main schools of Tibetan Buddhism, which were both seeking patronage from these princes, became fairly intense in the early

[52] For essential facts and the standard nationalist view, see Tara Chand, 1967, Vol. 2, pp. 23–30.

seventeenth century in Tibet. It only ended in 1642 when the dGe-lugs-pa school came to rule over central Tibet with the help of Güshi (or Gushri) Khan, the chieftain of the Khoshots (Qoshods), one of the Four Oirat divisions.[53]

The dGe-lugs-pa school had a highly structured monastic order and expanded it systematically. Many of the head lamas from the four main monasteries in Tibet – Se-ra, ’Bres-spungs, dGa’-ldan and bKra-shis-lhun-po – travelled all over Mongolia to encourage the spread of their order. Meanwhile, the Mongol chieftains sent their sons to Tibet for a Buddhist education and funded the construction of new temples in Mongolia and Tibet. Through such efforts, the dGe-lugs-pa beliefs had permeated the Mongol peoples by the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Don-grub-rgya-mtsho, the abbot of sGo-mang college of the ’Bres-spungs monastery in Lhasa, for example, promoted the spread of Tibetan Buddhism among the Torguts (Torguds), another of the Four Oirat divisions. In Dzungaria, Cewang Arabtan (Tsewangraptan, Tshe-dbang-rab-brtan) (1688–1727), the Dzungar ruler, invited scholars and adepts from the bKra-shis-lhun-po monastery in Shigatse and patronized the dGe-lugs-pa school. Subsequently, his son Galdan Cering (Galdan Tseren, dGa’-ldan-tshe-ring) (1727–45) took on his father’s work, inviting two more abbots, one from sGo-mang college of ’Bres-spungs and the other from Thos-bsam-gling college of bKra-shis-lhun-po, and also erected many temples in Dzungaria.[54] Moreover, Blo-bzang-phun-tshogs, a member of the Dzungar royal family, became abbot of sGo-mang college in the early eighteenth century.[55] By the late seventeenth century, the Mongol peoples had thus become a part of the ‘Tibetan Buddhist area’ while nevertheless retaining many of their own distinctive cultural features.[56]

The Bodhisattva doctrine preached by the fifth Dalai Lama

The fifth Dalai Lama (1617–82), the greatest incarnate lama of the dGe-lugspa school, came to exercise the most remarkable authority over Tibetan Buddhism. He gave a great amount of instruction orally or by letters to the Mongol chieftains in the Buddhist canon.[57] His teachings can be summarized in one phrase: ‘Be the Bodhisattva-king.’[58] The *Prajnya-Paramitta Sutra*, the most popular Mahāyāna sutra, states: ‘Bodhisattva, obeying the

[53] Ahmad, 1970, Ch. 3.
[54] Fukuda et al., 1986, pp. 108–9.
[55] Ishihama, 1989, pp. 133–8.
[56] Ishihama, 2001, Chs. 7–8.
[57] Ishihama, 2001, Ch. 6, pp. 95–102.
[58] A Bodhisattva is a being on the path of enlightenment.

perfection of discipline, assumed intentionally the life of an ideal king, Chakravartin; he leads sentient beings to the Ten Virtues.'[59]

Chakravartin, meaning 'the wheel-turner', is known as the ideal universal monarch, who conquers the world not by the use of military force but by means of a supernatural wheel which makes the enemy surrender voluntarily. In short, Chakravartin is a Bodhisattva-king who conquers the whole world without force and leads the people to the virtues.[60] This idea can also be found in the Indian treatises, on which the dGe-lugs-pa school lays stress.[61]

The fifth Dalai Lama designated King Srong-btsan-sgam-po as the most famous embodiment of the Bodhisattva-king. According to the Tibetan chronicles, King Srong-btsan-sgam-po first brought Buddhism to Tibet in the seventh century and realized 'the unity of the two laws', which means that the temporal law was made to follow the spiritual law, that is, the law of the Ten Virtues. Before he died, the king prayed that the doctrine might flourish in the future and that all sentient beings might attain happiness. Taking his hagiography as an example, the fifth Dalai Lama advised Mongol chieftains to be Bodhisattva-kings, to realize the unity of the two laws, to promote Buddhism and to comfort the people.[62]

The Mongol followers of Bodhisattva thought

The most faithful follower of the Dalai Lama's teaching was Galdan (dGa'-ldan) (1671–97), the ambitious Dzungar ruler. Soon after his birth, he was recognized as an incarnate lama of the dBen-sa-bka'-brgyud school and spent his life until adolescence in Tibet. In 1683, after he conquered Yarkand, the land of the 'heretics' (Muslims), he sent a great quantity of booty to the Dalai Lama as tribute. When Jibtsundampa (1635–1701), the most important incarnate lama of the Khalkha Mongols, sat on a seat equal in height to that of the Dalai Lama's envoy at a Khalkha assembly in 1686, Galdan interpreted this behaviour as betraying the Dalai Lama's teaching and used it as an excuse subsequently to attack the Khalkha Mongols. Jibtsundampa and his brother Tusiyetu Khan escaped into the territory of the Qing emperor, and so Galdan invaded China proper and war broke out between the

[59] Beijing ed., No. 731, Vol. nyi, 212a-16b. The Ten Virtues, that is the code of conduct of early Mahāyāna Buddhism, signify the renunciation of the ten non-virtues, i.e.: (i) the three pertaining to the body: destroying of life, stealing, and participating in improper sexual practices; (ii) the four pertaining to speech: telling of falsehoods, using abusive language, slander, and indulging in irrelevant talk; and (iii) the three pertaining to actions of the mind: being covetous, and malicious, and holding destructive beliefs.

[60] Ishihama, 2001, pp. 8–10.

[61] Ibid., pp. 8–11.

[62] Ibid., pp. 11–18.

Qing emperor and Galdan.[63] In the conflict both sides claimed to espouse the cause of the Dalai Lama, but Galdan was eventually defeated and his power was destroyed.[64]

The series of events surrounding the enthronement of the seventh Dalai Lama had special religious significance. When in 1717 the Dzungar army dispatched by Cewang Arabtan invaded Tibet, they claimed that they had come'to promote the growth of Buddhism and to comfort the peoples' by deposing the false sixth Dalai Lama, whom the Qing emperor had set up, and replacing him with the seventh Dalai Lama. The Qing promptly dispatched an army to the Koko Nor area and persuaded the seventh Dalai Lama and his protectors, the descendants of Güshi Khan, to take their side.[65] The Qing army then brought the seventh Dalai Lama to Lhasa, claiming that Bodhisattva Manyjushri's army had come to Lhasa in order to restore the doctrine that the Dzungars had destroyed, and to comfort the Tibetan people after the calamity that the Dzungars had brought upon them.[66]

In the eighteenth century, the Qing empire came to include almost all of the Tibetan Buddhist area. The Qing emperor also saw himself as a Bodhisattva-king. This was symbolically revealed in his actions when, every time that he gained a new territory in Central Asia, he built a Tibetan-style temple at his summer palace, modelled after the old temple built by an ancient Bodhisattva- king. For example, in 1755, when the Qing emperor held a banquet with the chieftains of the Four Oirat divisions in celebration of the conquest of Dzungaria, he built a new temple named 'All Pacifying Temple' in imitation of the bSam-yas monastery, built by the ancient Tibetan Bodhisattva-king Khri-srong-lde-btsan. The arrangement of the temple symbolized the world as seen from a Buddhist perspective.[67]

When in 1771 the Torguts, an Oirat people who had settled in the lower Volga basin, returned to Dzungaria after an epic migration[68] and gave their allegiance to the Qing emperor, the latter built a new temple in imitation of the Potala palace, first built by Srong-btsan-sgam-po and later rebuilt by the fifth Dalai Lama. Both of these leaders were known as Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara incarnated as Chakravartin.

[63] Ahmad, 1970, Chs. 7–11.
[64] Ishihama, 2001, pp. 114–18, 236–54.
[65] Petech, 1972, Chs. 4–5.
[66] Ishihama, 2001, pp. 281–315.
[67] Ibid., pp. 350–3.
[68] Halcovic, 1985.

Part Three

HINDUISM

(*J. S. Grewal*)

What is today known as 'Hinduism' covered three major systems of religious belief and practice during the period covered by this volume: Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Shaktism.

Vaishnavism

The *Dabistān-i mazāhib* [The School of Religions] speaks of 'Vaishnavas' as a distinct category of 'Hindus': they are those who regard Vishnu as the supreme deity and the other two gods of the 'trinity', that is, Brahma and Shiva, as deities created by him. A consort was associated with him and he had ten incarnations.[69] Idols of Vishnu and his incarnations were installed in temples (*thākurdwāra*s). Mathura and Haridwar were two of the most important places of pilgrimage for the Vaishnavas. They attached great importance to the sacred thread and reverenced the cow and the Brahmans. They abstained from liquor and ate no meat.[70] They looked upon the four *Vedas* as divine and treated the *Vishnu Purāna*, the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, the *Bhāgavad Gīta*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* as their sacred texts.[71]

In the sixteenth century Vaishnavism gained much strength through the Bhakti movement. For its protagonists, the only way to liberation was 'loving devotion' (*bhakti*) to Rama and Sita, or Krishna and Radha, Rama and Krishna being the last two incarnations of Vishnu, and Sita and Radha their respective consorts. Their idols were installed in temples. The movement was promoted by a number of sects, each having its celibate renunciants (*bairāgi*s). Their influence spread to the north-western regions, which came to have a large number of Vaishnava centres by the mid-nineteenth century. Many of these were patronized by the Mughal and Sikh rulers.[72]

[69] *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, n.d., pp. 140–2, 148, 198–9; see also Grewal, 1969, pp. 118–20.
[70] *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, n.d., pp. 199–205; Rose, 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 259, 366–7, 369–72.
[71] Cf. Sachau (tr.), 1989, Vol. 1, pp. 130–2.
[72] Grewal, 1969, pp. 122–6, 223–6; Goswamy and Grewal, 1969; Rose, 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 388–9, 393–4; Grewal and Banga, 1975.

By far the most important centre of Vaishnava *bhakti* was Mathura, together with Vrindaban a short distance away. Though the cult of Rama was represented in Mathura and Vrindaban, the great majority of temples there were dedicated to Krishna and Radha. The Nimbārka and Gauriya sects raised the doctrine of energy (*shakti*) to a place of central importance in their religious life. The Rādhāvallabhis gave Radha priority over Krishna and worshipped her as a supreme deity who bestowed bliss even on Krishna. Though founded by the Gauriyas (followers of Shri Chaitanya of Bengal), Vrindaban came to attract followers of other Krishna sects like the Nimbārkas and the Rādhāvallabhis as well, while Mathura was nearly dominated by the Vallabhas and the Nimbārkas.

Dramatic representations of the 'sports' of Krishna or Rama, combining acting and dialogue with music and dance, called the *Rāslīlā* or the *Rāmlīlā*, were meant to kindle the sentiment of devotion (*bhaktirasa*) in all who were involved in the drama. Tulsīdas' *Rāmcharitmānas* (*c*. 1570) became the favourite text for the *Rāmlīlā*, which was performed by local actors all over northern India. Actors from Mathura had a monopoly over the *Rāslīlā*, but they moved from place to place in the north. As a popular institution, Vaishnava theatre exercised a powerful influence over the common people.[73]

Shaivism

The second important component of Hinduism was Shaivism. It is stated in the *Dabistān* that Mahādeva (Shiva) was raised to the status of the supreme deity by his worshippers, who looked upon other gods as his creation. He was associated with his consort (Pārvatī, Umā or Gaurī). Their images were installed in temples (Shivdwālās, Shivālās). More often, however, Shiva was represented by a conical stone symbolizing the *lingā* (phallus) for regenerative power. Flowers, leaves and water were offered to him with the ringing of bells and singing of hymns. Shaivites often had no objection to the use of meat or liquor. In fact Shiva himself was believed to be fond of *bhang* (an intoxicant), which he drank in ample measure.[74]

The strength of Shaivism lay in its monastic orders. According to the *Dabistān*, there were two categories of Sannyāsis (religious mendicants): the ordinary renunciants who kept their hair long and followed the injunctions of the legal texts (*Smriti*s), and the celibate ascetics who smeared their bodies with ashes (*bhabūt*) and had matted hair or no hair at all. Miracles were associated with them. Jadrūp ('Chitrarupa' in the *Dabistān*), who

[73] Hein, 1972, pp. 4–9, 9–14.
[74] *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, n.d., pp. 145, 189; Rose, 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 259, 260.

was venerated by the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr (1605–27), was an eminent Sannyāsi. The various categories of Sannyāsis practised different forms of austerity or penance.

There were 10 orders among the Sannyāsis known as *dasnāmī*. They wore ochre-coloured garments or went naked. They used tiger or panther skins for sitting on during meditation. Yoga was associated primarily with the Shaivite yogis (or *jogi*s). In their view, a created being (*jīv*) could attain emancipation only by following the path of union with the creator (*yog*). Among the essentials of the path were celibacy, austerity, restraint over the five senses, control over the breath (*habs-i dam*) and meditation. Gorakh Nāth and Machhandar Nāth, both called perfect *Siddha*s of indeterminate date, had founded this path.

There were 12 orders (*panth*s) among the Yogis. One of their sacred texts, the *Amritkund*, was translated into Persian as the *Hauz al-hayāt* [The Pool of Life]. They established a number of centres (*math*s, or monasteries), many of which were patronized by the Mughal and Sikh rulers. With their matted hair, their bodies smeared with ashes, and wearing only a loincloth and large earrings, they had a striking appearance. They kept fire (*dhūnī*) burning all the time. They were associated with medicine, alchemy and the power to perform supernatural feats, like flying in the air or water. However, their ultimate aim was a state of eternal bliss (*ānand, mahāsukh*), when the individual became one with the whole universe. The Gorakhnāthi Yogis disregarded the distinctions of caste, but not the difference of gender. Only men were admitted to their orders.[75]

Shaktism

Closely related to, but distinct from the Shaivites were the worshippers of the mother goddess. They were known as Shaktas because the supreme deity for them was not Shiva but Shakti. She was known by various names. The divinities of disease, like Sitala and Masani, were associated with the mother goddess. Her worshippers had their own literature, especially the *Devī Purāna*. A part of the *Markandeya Purāna*, known as the *Devī Mahātam*, described the heroic battles of the goddess against demons. It served as a major theme for painters and creative writers. Images of the goddess in various forms were installed in temples. The right-handers among the Shaktas were no different from their Shaiva counterparts, but the left-handers practised a secret rite which involved eating meat and fish, drinking liquor and indulging in sexual intercourse with any woman: she was treated as a

[75] *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, n.d., pp. 177–87; Ghurye, 1953; Goswamy and Grewal, 1967; Grewal, 1969, pp. 190–7, 215–22.

divine maiden (*dev-kanyā*). For the left-handers, this rite was the most efficacious means of spiritual elevation, but such rituals made them socially disreputable.[76]

Smārtism

The *Dabistān* talks of orthodox Hindus as a category distinct from the Vaishnavas and the Shaivas (and the Shaktas).They were called Smārtas because they treated the *Smriti*s (legal texts) as their basic law. This law was based on the *Vedas*, which were revealed by the Supreme Being through Brahma as the source of all philosophy and religion. Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh were manifestations of God as the Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer. The Smārtas subscribed to the Puranic theories of creation and to the idea of 'four ages' (*yuga*s). They believed in the doctrines of *karma* (action), *āvāgaman* (transmigration of souls) and *moksha* (liberation). They interpreted the incarnations of Vishnu in allegorical or metaphorical terms. Their modes of worship were prayers (*sandhya*s) and sacrifice to the fire (*hom*). They subscribed to the ideal social order of the four castes (*varna*s). An individual who did not belong to any of these was regarded as a 'brute' (*rākhshasa*). They upheld the ideal of conjugal fidelity for women, supporting the practice of *satī* (a widow's selfimmolation) and the imposition of restrictions on widows.[77]

Vedantism

The elite group of the Vedantists (from *vedānta*, 'end of the *Vedas*') differed from the Smārtas. They looked upon heaven and hell, rewards and punishments, and indeed the whole world as a 'delusive appearance' (*māyā*), comparing the seeming realities to the fanciful shapes seen in a dream. Only the path of knowledge could lead to liberation. Therefore, the *Vedānta* as a spiritual science was not meant for everybody.[78] The *Dabistān* refers to the works of Shankaracharya (eighth century) and compares the Vedantists to the Muslim Sufis. To the Vedantist, there is only one eternal reality, and human souls stand in the same relationship to it as the waves to the ocean, or the spark to the fire. The knowledge (*gyān*) of this reality leads to liberation, the state in which the *jīvātmā* (soul) becomes the *parmātmā* (God). Their maxim was represented in the Persian formula 'I am all' (*hama*

[76] Grewal, 1969, pp. 131–3; *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, n.d., pp. 187–96, 190–2; Rose, 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 269, 318–19.

[77] *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, n.d., pp. 134–65.

[78] Jarrett (tr.), 1989, Vol. 2, pp. 172–9.

man-am) and not 'All is from Him (*hama az U-st*). The Vedantists had nothing to do with ritual or 'loving devotion'.[79]

Although the weaver–poet Kabīr (*c*. 1500), the great monotheist, and son of Muslim parents, could not be regarded as either a Hindu or a Muslim, the community of his followers, or *panth*, had been much 'Vaishnavized' by the mid-nineteenth century. A recent study clearly indicates that Kabīr presented a synthesis or rather transcendation of Vaishnava Bhakti, Yoga and Sufism.[80] He propounded a reinforced belief in monotheism in the language of the people. It was open to all men irrespective of caste or creed. Towards women, however, Kabīr was not so considerate.[81] The *Dabistān* refers to Kabīr as a strict monotheist (*muwahhid*) who was emancipated from both the Hindu and Islamic systems. At the same time he is called a *bairāgi*, since he was now reputed (on rather weak grounds) to have been a disciple of Rāmānand.[82] This indicates that Kabīr had begun to be Vaishnavized by the mid-seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century, the bulk of the Kabīr-Panthis were regarded as 'Hindus', but there were some 'Muslim' Kabīr-Panthis too. The position of Dādū (a sixteenth-century monotheistic preacher in Rajasthan) and the history of the Dādū-Panthis appears to have witnessed a rather similar development.[83]

Equally interesting were the Satnāmi *bairāgi*s of Haryana (near Delhi), who rose in revolt against Aurangzeb in 1672. They had gained some popularity in the early years of his reign as staunch monotheists who condemned ritual and superstition and made no caste distinctions. They were antagonistic to wealth and authority. They had converted 4–5,000 families of peasants and petty traders and most of them carried arms and weapons. Their revolt was sparked off by a trooper's high-handed treatment of a Satnāmi peasant. They defeated and killed the *faujdār* (commandant) of Narnaul and established their own authority in the town and the neighbouring villages. The revolt was crushed but the bitterness of their battle with the imperial army reminded their contemporaries of the great battle of Mahābhārata. In the nineteenth century, the Satnāmis were no longer militant but they still did not observe Brahmanic ritual nor did they uphold any distinction of caste.[84]

79 *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, n.d., pp. 165–76.
80 Vaudeville, 1964, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 191–201.
81 Grewal, 1969, pp. 126–30.
82 *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, n.d., pp. 200–1. Kabīr does not mention Rāmānand in any of his verses.
83 Lorenzen, 1981, pp. 151–71; *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, n.d., p. 218; Rose, 1970, Vol. 2, pp. 215–16.
84 Habib, 1963, pp. 342–4; Rose, 1970, Vol. 3, p. 389.

Part Four

SIKHISM

(*J. S. Grewal*)

The religious system founded by Gurū Nānak (1469–1539) has come to be known as Sikhism because his followers were 'the *Sikh*s (disciples) of the *Gurū* (Preceptor)'.[85] His compositions, written in the spoken language of the people (now called Panjabi), reveal no appreciation of any contemporary system of religious belief and practice. The Brahmans and the *ᶜulamā '*(sing. *ᶜālim*; scholars learned in the Islamic legal and theological sciences) are seen as preoccupied with the externals of worship, and devoid of inner faith, love or devotion; the Yogis practise renunciation and reject God's grace; the Sufis depend upon state patronage; and the devotees of Rama and Krishna subscribe to incarnation and worship idols. Gurū Nānak denounces the inegalitarian social system with its inbuilt discrimination, especially against the common people and women. He condemns administrative oppression and corruption, and the discriminatory policy of the contemporary Muslim rulers against their non-Muslim subjects.[86]

Gurū Nānak's response was informed essentially by his theological thought and ethical values. He believed in one eternal God who is transcendent and immanent at the same time. He alone is the Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer of everything. He is to be worshipped in love and fear. He can be known to the extent that He has revealed Himself in His creation. Reflection on divine self-expression in the physical and moral worlds leads to the realization that everything conforms to the divine order. Open to all men and women in theory, liberation is impossible without God's grace.[87] Gurū Nānak insists on the renunciation of renunciation. Social responsibility does not end with the attainment of liberation.[88]

[85] *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, n.d., p. 223. The author uses the term 'Nanak-Panthis' as well as '*Gur- Sikhān*' (the Sikhs of the Gurū) for the followers of Gurū Nānak and his successors. In Gurū Nānak's *Japuji*, the term used for his followers is 'Sikh'.

[86] Grewal, 1969, pp. 143–233.

[87] McLeod, 1968, pp. 163–77.

[88] Singh, 1994, pp. 25–249.

Gurū Nānak claimed divine inspiration for his utterances and assumed the formal position of a guide (*gurū*). Settled at Kartarpur (now known as Dera Baba Nanak), he started a system of congregational worship (*sangat*) in which his own compositions were used for devotional singing (*kīrtan*). He instituted a community meal (*langar*) with voluntary offers of cash, goods and services from his followers. Before his death, he installed one of his disciples as the *gurū*.[89]

Gurū Nānak was followed by 9 *gurū*s: Angad (1539–52), Amar Dās (1552–74), Rām Dās (1574–81), Arjan (1581–1606), Hargobind (1606–44), Har Rāi (1644–61), Har Krishan (1661–4), Tegh Bahādur (1664–75) and Gobind Singh (1675–1708). All the *gurū*s were believed to be one in spirit. No one could be regarded as a *gurū* without being installed or designated by a reigning *gurū*. The office of *gurū* was thus one, continuous and indivisible. The decisions taken by a successor were as sacrosanct as the decisions taken by the founder.[90] What was said and done by all the 10 *gurū*s constitutes the Sikh tradition.

The essential link between this early Sikh tradition and later Sikh history was provided by the doctrine of *gurū*ship. Before his death in October 1708, Gurū Gobind Singh proclaimed that *gurū*ship henceforth was vested in the *Shabad-Bānī*. The epithet *shabad* (the Word) was used by Gurū Nānak for the medium of divine self-expression and it was equated with the Gurū (the Divine Preceptor). This equation between the Word and the Divine Preceptor assumed crucial significance when the *shabad* came to be equated with the utterances (*bāni*s) of Gurū Nānak and his successors. Gurū Arjan compiled the Sikh scripture in 1604, containing the compositions of the first five *gurū*s, and of a number of other devotional theists, including Shaykh Faridu'ddīn Ganj-i Shakar (1175–1265), the first Sufi *shaykh* who had addressed himself to the common people in their own language. To this holy book (*granth*) were added before 1675 the compositions of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. The *Shabad-Bānī* of Gurū Gobind Singh's proclamation was also equated with the *Granth*, though the doctrine of the Gurū Granth crystallized in the eighteenth century. The compilation of the *Dasam Granth* [Book of the Tenth Master] in the eighteenth century did not affect the pre-eminence of the Sikh scripture now known as the *Ādi Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib* [The First Holy Book of the Gurūs].[91]

Gurū Gobind Singh also proclaimed on the eve of his death that the *khālsā* (community) represented his visible form. The installation of Angad by Gurū Nānak had been seen by his followers as an interchange between the position of *gurū* and disciple. The individual Sikh was given increasing importance by the *gurū*s. The Sikh congregation (*sangat*) came to be

[89] Grewal, 1969, pp. 282–6.
[90] Ibid., pp. 290–302.
[91] Grewal, 1995, pp. 133–9.

equated with the *gurū* much before Gurū Gobind Singh made his enunciation. Whereas Gurū Nānak had vested *gurū*ship in one disciple, Gurū Gobind Singh vested it in the entire body of the *khālsā*. The doctrine of the Gurū Panth (body of the *gurū*'s followers) played an important cohesive role in the political struggle of the *khālsā*. Their collective decisions (*gurmata*s) were seen as the decisions of the *gurū* and, therefore, treated as sacrosanct by all. They served as the basis for concerted action by the whole body (*dal khālsā*) under a single command.[92]

The most important institution of the Sikhs was called *dharmsālā* (the place of righteousness) in the sixteenth century and *gurdwārā* (the door of the *gurū*) by the mid-nineteenth century. This was the sacred space where *kīrtan* (devotional singing) was performed and the community kitchen was maintained. Especially sacrosanct was the place where the *gurū* resided. Its *dharmsālā* became a centre of Sikh pilgrimage (like Goindwal, Ramdaspur, Kiratpur and Anandpur). The status of the *dharmsālā* was enhanced when it became the locus of the Gurū Granth (Scripture) and the Gurū Panth (Community). With the establishment of Sikh rule, impressive *dharmsālā*s were founded at places associated with the *gurū*s. They came to be known as *gurdwārā*s and served as centres of pilgrimage. The most famous of these is the Golden Temple (Harmandar) at Amritsar.[93]

The most obvious result of the Sikh movement was the Sikh community, called the Sikh Panth. The number of Sikhs had begun to increase by the time of Gurū Amar Dās, who had to appoint agents to look after distant congregations. By the time of Gurū Arjan, Sikhs were to be found not only in the countryside and the towns of Punjab but also in many cities of the Mughal empire. Sikh traders started visiting Afghanistan and Central Asia. Gurū Arjan gave the dignified designation of *masand* (from the Persian *masnad*, seat of authority) to his agents. Among other duties, they collected tithes for the *gurū*. From their growing resources the *gurū*s founded townships that functioned as autonomous centres of trade and administration. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Sikhs had become conscious of their distinct identity and the Sikh Panth could even be seen as a kind of state within the Mughal empire.[94]

This was one reason why the Mughal rulers started interfering with the affairs of the Sikhs. Gurū Arjan was sentenced to death by an imperial order in 1606. Emperor Jahāngīr (1605–27) himself said that the *gurū*'s blessings on the rebel prince Khusrau were only the immediate cause.[95] Jahāngīr imprisoned Gurū Hargobind for some time in the fort

[92] Grewal, 1995, pp. 87–97.
[93] The term 'Amritsar' was used originally for the pool in Ramdaspur in the midst of which stood the Sikh temple. The town of Ramdaspur developed into a city and was given the name of Amritsar.
[94] Grewal, 1990, pp. 42–61.
[95] Grewal, 1990, p. 63.

of Gwalior; and under Shāh Jahān (1628–58), commandants (*faujdār*s) used armed force against him. Gurū Hargobind abandoned Ramdaspur to reside at Kiratpur in the territory of a hill chief. Aurangzeb (1659–1707) interfered in the succession to the *gurū*ship and Gurū Tegh Bahādur was executed in Delhi on his orders in 1675. At the same time, rival claimants to the *gurū*ship (for example, Pirthi Chand, the elder brother of Gurū Arjan, and his line) were patronized by the Mughal emperors.[96]

This was the difficult situation in which Gurū Gobind Singh decided to transform the Sikh Panth into a political entity. He asked all the Sikhs to offer direct affiliation to him and, thereby, to become his *khālsā*, or special domain. The rival claimants to *gurū*ship and the *masand*s were now faced with the option of either accepting total obedience or being excommunicated. Furthermore, Gurū Gobind Singh asked all his followers to be baptized afresh through a ceremony involving the ritual use of a two-edged sword. The baptized followers were instructed to bear arms, to use the epithet 'Singh' (Lion) in their names and to refrain from cutting their hair. Other injunctions were added relating to the conduct of the individual, his relations with the other members of the *khālsā* and his relations with outsiders.[97] Through the institution of the *khālsā*, in 1699 a unified, well-armed community, a visibly distinct and egalitarian order, was created. The community came into armed conflict with the local hill chiefs and the Mughal *faujdār*s. Gurū Gobind Singh had to leave Anandpur in 1704. His negotiations with Aurangzeb first and then with Bahādur Shāh (1707–12) failed to produce any result in his lifetime.[98]

Consisting largely of Jat peasantry, the Sikhs rose in revolt in 1709–16 under Banda Bahādur's leadership.[99] Sikh rule was established over a considerable part of Punjab for some time. This success confirmed the Sikhs in their belief that the *khālsā* was meant to rule. They continued their struggle after Banda's capture and execution in 1716, gaining power stage by stage. After his triumph over the Marāthās at the battle of Panipat in 1761, the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (1747–72) realized that he had to contend with the Sikhs in Punjab. At the time of his death in 1772, Punjab was no longer a part of his empire. Sikh leaders now ruled over much of the province of Lahore and the *sarkār* (sub-province) of Sarhind.[100] In the early nineteenth century, Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799–1839) unified most of the chiefs under his own authority. Confined to the north of the River Sutlej by

[96] Grewal, 1995, pp. 39–46.
[97] For the earliest known *khālsā* code of conduct, see McLeod (tr. and ed.), 1987.
[98] For the economic dimension of this and other peasant revolts against the Mughal empire, see Habib, 1963.
[99] For Gurū Gobind Singh's relations with Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shāh in this phase, see Grewal, 1995, pp. 63–72.
[100] For detailed information on Sikh rulers, see Sachdeva, 1993, pp. 16–49, 159–93.

the treaty of Amritsar with the British in 1809, Ranjit Singh conquered Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar. Modernizing his army on 'Western' lines, he established a powerful state which otherwise resembled its 'medieval' predecessors. The British annexed the kingdom of Ranjit Singh's successors in 1849. The Sikh chiefs between the Sutlej and the Jamuna had already accepted British paramountcy in 1809.

The political process of the eighteenth century and a near century of Sikh rule came to have a close bearing on the Sikh community, the bulk of which was constituted by the Jat Sikhs. Among them were some rulers and members of the ruling class, but the large majority still cultivated the land.[101] Artisans and landless labourers had a greater representation in the Sikh Panth than the trading communities. The total numbers in the socially differentiated *khālsā* in the 1840s were estimated at between 1.25 and 1.5 million.[102]

During the course of three and a half centuries, a large body of Sikh literature was produced, including some historical works. On the whole, in the realms of religion, society, polity and literary culture, the Sikh Panth had developed a rich and substantial tradition of its own before the mid-nineteenth century.[103] This tradition was redefined and revitalized under colonial rule so that Sikh identity became the basis of Sikh politics for the majority of the Sikh people. In India today, they represent a conspicuous 'ethnicity'.[104]

Part Five

SHAMANISM

(*C. E. Bosworth*)

Strictly defined, shamanism is essentially a religious phenomenon of Siberia and Inner Asia, although ethnologists of religion have found parallel systems in such disparate regions as Polynesia and North America. The term itself comes to us through Russian sources from the Tungusic word *shaman/khaman*. The earlier views that it came from the Further Eastern cultural world of Buddhism, Sanskrit *sramana*, Pali *samana*, Chinese *shamên*, though

[101] For agrarian classes among the Sikhs, see Banga, 1974.
[102] Grewal, 1990, pp. 113–18.
[103] For Sikh literature, see McLeod, 1980; also McLeod (tr.), 1984.
[104] For the history of the Sikhs after 1849, see Grewal, 1990, pp. 128–236.

denied by certain scholars, seem now to be confirmed by the discovery of equivalent terms in such languages as Sogdian and Tokharian, especially as it is undeniable that Lamaist Buddhism had a significant effect on the development of shamanism among the Mongols and such eastern Siberian peoples as the Tungusic Evenkis and the Mongol Buriats.[105]

In older Turkish, the standard word for shaman is *qam*, but after the time of the Mongol invasions, other terms appear like *parīkhwān* and *bakhshi* (the latter taken from Buddhism, where the Sanskrit word *bhikshu*, or beggar, meant monk or scholar, and by extension, scribe or secretary, but descending in the social scale in the Turkish lands came to mean wandering ascetic, religious devotee, mountebank, etc.).[106] In Mongolian and Buriat, *böö* was the original word for shaman, and then after the imperial period, *bakhshi* also. Shamanism is not itself a religion but, rather, a complex of various rites and beliefs surrounding the activities of the male or female shaman, which may have connections with such differing religious systems as Buddhism, Confucianism, the older Tibetan Bon system (see on this last, Volume IV, Part Two, pp. 52, 66), Islam and Christianity.

The pioneering North American anthropologist and ethnologist A. L. Kroeber provided a definition of the shaman in the light of his research among the indigenous Indian tribes of North America:

> an individual without official authority but often of great influence. His supposed power comes to him from the spirits as a gift or grant... His communion with the spirits enables the shaman to foretell the future, change the weather, blast the crops or multiply game, avert catastrophes or precipitate them on foes; above all, to inflict or cure disease. He is therefore the medicine-man; a word which in American ethnology is synonymous with shaman. The terms doctor, wizard, juggler, which have established themselves in usage in certain regions, are more or less appropriate: they all denote shamans.[107]

However, one of the classic authorities on shamanism as a worldwide phenomenon, the Romanian scholar Mircea Eliade, regarded this definition as being too wide; individuals with religio-magical powers are found all through premodern societies, whereas shamans have specialized powers, such as mastery over fire, magical levitation and flights. Above all, the shaman has the ability to enter into a trance 'during which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky and descend to the underworld'.

Eliade believed that the idea of ecstatic experience, the links with animals and birds in various ceremonies and the flight of the soul were the bases of a shamanism whose distant roots lay in the hunting cultures of Palaeolithic times within the northern Arctic and sub-Arctic zones of the Old World. The shaman filled vital social functions beyond

[105] Eliade, 1964, pp. 495 et seq.
[106] *EIr*, art. 'Bakwī' (P. Jackson).
[107] Kroeber, 1923, pp. 363–4.

his ecstatic experiences as the religious figure embodying the deepest religious feelings of his community, but he was not necessarily the dominant figure within that community. Because of his special powers of controlling spirits, and his ability to communicate with the dead, the spirits of nature and demons (without, however, being himself possessed by them), he was something of an outsider in the community. His specialist services were resorted to when there was some individual crisis, like physical or mental illness, or some disharmony or imbalance within the community. Hence the wider life of the community normally went on without the services of the shaman; it was much more concerned with the routines of life, of hunting, of animal husbandry and agriculture, and it needed for these the cultivation of spirits of ancestors or nature rather than the ecstatic performances of the shaman.[108]

We have extensive documentation on the shamanism of northernmost Europe and Siberia, from the Lapps and Voguls to the Yakuts and Palaeoasiatic peoples of the Farthest East, through the prolonged contacts of Russian ethnologists with these groups. It is less rich for the taiga and forests lying to the south, however, for the Imperial Russian advance only gradually affected such peoples as the Kazakhs during the eighteenth century, and other Turkish peoples in Transoxania and Semirechye not until the nineteenth century, while Imperial China only established its authority in East Turkistan or Xinjiang in the mid-eighteenth century. Hence for these more southerly regions we must rely for the pre-modern period on the Islamic Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources, since by the sixteenth century the Islamic faith had become dominant in almost the whole of Inner Asia and the Kazakh steppes, entailing the final conversion of the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz. However, in the lands to the east of these peoples, Lamaist Buddhism had expanded its influence. Followers of the Buddha's teaching appeared in Mongolia during the fourteenth century, and the mass conversion of nearly the whole of the Mongols followed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the Turkish Tuvinians and the eastern Buriats likewise adopting it in the seventeenth century.

A third competing religion – Russian Orthodox Christianity – appeared in Siberia as Russian traders, officials and colonists pushed eastwards across Siberia, so that this faith spread among the western Buriats in the late seventeenth century and among the peoples of the Altai-Sayan region (the Khalkhas, Shors and Altaians).

These three great faiths struggled actively against the local religions of indigenous peoples, most of whose animist beliefs included shamanism as a significant component. Since the shamans were guardians of the community's spiritual traditions and identity, mediating

[108] Eliade, 1964, pp. 3–6; 1986, pp. 202–6.

between the community and the spirit world, they became prime targets for the missionary zeal of Muslims, Buddhists and Christians.

For such Muslim activity, it was the Sufis, familiar with the steppe-lands and forests of Inner Asia, unlike the urban-based *ᶜulamā'*, who were most prominent here. Such Sufi enthusiasts included the Yasawis, followers of the mystical path of Khwāja Ahmad Yasawī (d. 1166), whose shrine at Yasi, the later town of Turkestan in the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) valley, early became a pilgrimage centre for the Muslims of Central Asia (see Volume IV, Part Two, p. 84); and the Naqshbandis, who from the fifteenth century onwards were active in the steppes.[109]

Although shamanism probably survived only as a substratum of belief among the Turkish nomads of the Transoxanian steppe-lands, among the superficially Islamized Kyrgyz, whose herds pastured in both the eastern fringes of those steppes and the uplands of the Tian Shan, Ala Tau and Altai, shamans seem to have remained important figures in the tribal community, openly practising their mediation between that community and the spirit world, at least until Naqshbandi missionary activity began in the later sixteenth century. This is known to us from the Persian *Ziyāᶜ al-qulūb* [Light of the Hearts] of Muhammad ᶜIwad, begun in 1603, which is a collection of episodes in the life of the Naqshbandi Khoja Is'hāq Walī (d. *c.* 1605, progenitor of the so-called 'Black Mountain' or Is'hāqi *khoja*s [Persian, *khwāja*s] who dominated the Altyshahr or 'Six Cities' of western Xinjiang well into the period of Chinese rule there). Cited here as proof of the *khoja*'s spiritual gifts is the fact that he travelled to the land of the Kyrgyz and the Kalmuks (Qalmāqs) (here perhaps meaning Mongols in general), destroyed 18 idol sanctuaries (*but-khāna*s), converted 18,000 idol-worshipping unbelievers (*kāfirān-i but-parast*) to Islam and banned shamanistic practices. In this same hagiographical work, a disciple of his, Khoja Husayn, cures a sick Kyrgyz chief whom shamanistic rituals, including the offering of food to a silver idol suspended from a tree, had been unable to cure, and converts him and 400 families to Islam.[110]

A topos in the Muslim accounts of such confrontations is that of contests between Muslim holy men and shamans. Classic occasions of this type occur in the account of the conversion of the ruler of the Mongol Golden Horde (see Volume IV, Part One, pp. 262 et seq.) Muhammad Özbeg (1313–41), as recorded in the sixteenth-century *Tārīkh-i Dūst Sultān* of a certain Ötemish Hājī. Here the Muslim protagonist is an enigmatic holy man, Baba Tükles ('the hairy, shaggy one' [?], himself a distinctly shaman-like character), who confronts the then infidel Özbeg Khān and his retinue of 'sorcerers' and 'magicians' (*sāhir*s,

[109] *EI*², arts. 'Nakshbandiyya. 1. In Persia' (H. Algar); 'Yasawiyya' (Th. Zarcone).
[110] Fletcher, 1976, pp. 169–72; DeWeese, 1994, pp. 174–5.

*kāhin*s) by invading the sacred tribal area (*qoruq*) of the khan's ancestors and enters there a fiery oven-pit, safely emerging (a feat which itself parallels the dismemberment and reconstituting of the shaman's body during the shamanistic initiatory rites). Baba Tükles then emerges purified, as the founder of the new Muslim community of the Uzbeks, just as the shaman was traditionally the guardian of the spiritual heritage and traditions of the old community.[111]

When Lamaist Buddhism secured its ascendancy among the Mongols, shamanism was fiercely persecuted in Mongolia. A law promulgated by an assembly of Mongol chiefs in the sixteenth century prescribed that:

> If a person invites [for a ritual purpose] a male or female shaman, [he should be punished as follows]: his horse and that of the visiting shaman should be confiscated; if someone witnesses [the coming of a shaman] and does not seize the latter's horse, his own horse is to be confiscated.

A nineteenth-century lord in the present Choibalsan *aymaq* or province (at the easternmost tip of Mongolia) is said to have exterminated the 'black religion', i.e. shamanism, by fire and sword and to have promoted the 'yellow religion', i.e. Buddhism. In the Buriat lands – where the local form of shamanism was more elaborate than that of other Siberian peoples like the Kets and the Tungus, with the revering not only of the spirits of natural phenomena but also with a complex pantheon of divinities in addition to the numerous ancestors and their offspring, and with blood sacrifice, usually of a white horse, to the sky god Tengri[112] – the Buddhist clergy enlisted the help of the secular authorities to hunt down shamans and to destroy their sacred places and ritual objects.[113]

In the wake of Russian penetration across northern Asia, the Orthodox Christian Church combated shamanism where it could, although success was limited when a missionary was working alone and could only communicate with the indigenous peoples through an intermediary. In the more rational atmosphere of the time of Catherine the Great (1762–96), that of the later eighteenth century, force tended to be eschewed in favour of argument and persuasion, and at the beginning of the next century permission was required from the local governor to undertake missionary work; but more strenuous measures were subsequently employed. Thus in 1876 a mass conversion of 3,000 Yenisei-Abakan Tatars took place, with collective baptism under duress by the bishop of Krasnoyarsk. Even so, these Turkish peoples retained their old animist beliefs: the beating of shamans' drums was heard at night, and communal gatherings were held to sacrifice lambs and to invoke the spirits of the

[111] DeWeese, 1994, pp. 90 et seq.
[112] Forsyth, 1992, p. 85.
[113] Diószegi, 1961, p. 201; Mikhailov, 1979, p. 129.

heavens, the mountains or the waters. In the Altai *c*. 1900 missionaries were giving out 10 roubles and a shirt for each soul gained.[114] (Measures were also undertaken from the 1920s onwards by the Soviet regime to restrict shamanism, with shamans forbidden to perform their rites in public, and shamans' costumes, drums, etc. confiscated; local shamans particularly opposed the introduction of schools and medical services, supposing themselves to be the recognized repositories of wisdom and healing power for the community.[115])

It was inevitable that converts, even when willing and not forced, would continue to be affected by earlier customs and shamanistic practices. Russian travellers and observers of the nineteenth century, such as W. Radloff, stressed that peoples like the Kyrgyz, Kazakhs, Altai Tatars, Tuvinians and Buriats understood the newer faiths, whether of Islam, Christianity or Buddhism, very imperfectly and superficially.[116] Thus, as happens universally when one faith replaces or overlays another one, the old sacred places were transformed into holy places for the new religion – in the context of Islam, into *mazār*s, goals of pilgrimage to sacred sites and saints' tombs.

The early contacts, survival and interaction of shamanistic practices with the Islamic world can be traced in scattered references of the Muslim sources once the faith began to penetrate the Central Asian and south Russian steppes and when Muslims came into contact with Turkish and then Mongol invaders of the Middle Eastern lands from Inner Asia. The Arab traveller Ahmad b. Fazlān travelled in 922 from Khwarazm to the recently Islamized kingdom of the Bulghars (Bulgars) on the middle Volga. He noted that, among the Bulghars, 'Whenever they see a man endowed with a penetrating mind and knowledge of things, they say, "This man must serve our Lord God," so they seize him, tie a cord round his neck and hang him from a tree until his corpse disintegrates.' This has been interpreted, probably correctly, as a description of how the Bulghar neo- Muslims combated the infi- dels around them, naturally including the shamans, these 'sagacious men'.[117] An anonymous Persian geographer, writing *c*. 982, speaks of the Oghuz Turks' esteem for their 'physicians' (*tabīb*s, *pijishk*s), who have command over their lives and belongings.[118] Two writers, one of the mid-eleventh century, Gardīzī, and the other of the early twelfth century, Marwazī, give inter-esting details of the *qam*s (shamans) of the Kyrgyz, whom they call *faghīnūn*, a corruption of a Sogdian term **vāghvewān* (God's prophet). Marwazī states that:

[114] Donner, 1946, p. 220–1; Forsyth, 1992, p. 181.
[115] Forsyth, 1992, pp. 287–90.
[116] Radloff, 1884.
[117] Togan, 1939, 65, text p. 29, tr. pp. 65–6; Donner, 1946, pp. 218–19.
[118] Anon., 1970, 19, tr. p. 100.

> Among the Khirkhiz is a man, a commoner, called *faghīnūn*, who is summoned on a fixed day every year; about him there gather singers and players and so forth, who begin drinking and feasting. When the company is well away, the man faints and falls as if in a fit; he is asked about all the events that are going to happen in the coming year, and he gives information whether [crops] will be plentiful or scarce, whether there will be rain or drought, and so forth; and they believe that what he says is true.[119]

This is probably the earliest description in Islamic sources of prophecy during a shamanistic trance, and the next references occur in the context of the cataclysmic entry of the Mongols into the Islamic Middle East: Jūzjānī's description of Chinggis Khan. This historian states that Chinggis was an adept in magic and deception, and commanded demons. He would fall into trances, as had happened to him at the outset of his rise to power within Mongolia, when the demons predicted his future conquests. The predictions that he made in his trances were written down at the time, and were subsequently found to correspond with what had actually happened.[120]

The technique of falling into ecstatic trances for prophecy is thus attested among both Turks and Mongols, but only among the Mongols do we have evidence for two notable aspects of shamanistic power, i.e. levitation and flight, and magical power over fire. These two faculties are ascribed to the shaman Teb-Tengri, who watched over Chinggis during his rise to power and conferred on the originally named Temüjin the designation of Chinggis 'Oceanic, i.e. Universal, Khan'. It was claimed by the Mongols that Teb-Tengri mounted up to heaven on a white horse, and that his mastery over fire involved imperviousness to extremes of heat or cold, walking naked through the extremely cold Mongol winter and melting ice and snow by the mystical heat of his body.[121]

As has been amply documented and observed in Siberia and Inner Asia, the shaman's adjuncts include a special dress of leather or cloth and special objects designed to bring him into nearness with the spirit world. The headdress may include feathers, or a bear's snout, or reindeer antlers; in the Altai this most commonly represents a bird such as an owl or an eagle. Among the Samoyeds and Kets of northern Siberia, the dress is reminiscent of a bear. The dress may have metal or bone or cloth pendants sewn on to it, and as a whole, represents the mysteries experienced by the shaman and the dwelling-place of spirits, so that the dress itself is thought to possess supernatural powers. Above all, the shaman has his drum, whose names often evoke the shaman's ecstatic journeys; by means of his drum, he 'rides' or 'flies', i.e. achieves an altered state of consciousness. The wooden frame comes

[119] Marwazī, 1942, tr. p. 30.
[120] Jūzjānī, 1881–99, Vol. 2, pp. 1077–8; Boyle, 1972, p. 181.
[121] Boyle, 1972, pp. 181–2, citing Rashīdu'ddīn and Juwaynī.

from a special tree designated by the spirits, and the membrane from the skin of an animal likewise chosen by the spirits.[122]

Magical objects or those believed to contain religious or magical power existed alongside the personages of the shamans in communities with an animistic view of the universe, such as the Turks and the Mongols before they were influenced by more conventional religions. Marco Polo says of the 'Tartars' that they had something like household gods, specifically, a god Natigay whom they say 'is the god of the earth, who watches over their children, cattle and crops'. Each household had effigies of Natigay and his wife and children, made of felt and cloth, which they smeared with the fat of meat when they ate, esteeming that the god and his family had had their share of the household's food.[123] Kai Donner remarked that this accords remarkably closely with the custom of the Samoyeds in the early twentieth century of making household gods which they ate at ritual meals.[124]

One power of the shaman known over a wide area of Inner Asia and Siberia was his ability to control and change the weather by means of a magical procedure called *yat* or *yad* among the Turks, taken thence into Mongol as *jada*. In particular, this involved the use of a special stone, *yada tash*, in a shamanistic ceremony (which the lexicographer of early Turkish, Mahmūd Kāshgharī, calls *kahāna*, or sorcery), for inducing rainstorms, hail, snow, high winds, etc., usually, though not always, to confound enemies.[125] Similar usages have been noted outside northern and Inner Asia as far afield as Africa and Australasia. The data on the use of such stones are copious in Islamic literature. Kāshgharī says that he was once personally present, while in the country of the Yaghma Turks (i.e. the northern or central Tian Shan), when a fall of snow was induced at midsummer to put out a fire.[126]

From the Turks, the use of weather stones passed to the Mongols. (The annals of the Northern Liao or Kitan, who had in the tenth century founded a kingdom in northern China and who were, as Buddhists, during the twelfth century to move westwards and constitute the power controlling Muslim Transoxania [see Volume IV, Part One, Chapter 11], mention rain-making ceremonies, including the drenching of individuals in water, standing in water and the curious practice of firing arrows at willow trees, but not the actual use of rain stones.[127]) According to *The Secret History of the Mongols* (see Volume IV, Part Two), during the rise to power within Mongolia of Temüjin/Chinggis Khan, at the battle of Köiten in 1202 his opponnts from the Turkish (or possibly, Mongolized Turkish) tribe of the Naimans

[122] Siikala, 1987, pp. 212–13.
[123] Marco Polo, 1902, Vol. 1, pp. 257–9.
[124] Donner, 1946, p. 219.
[125] See, in general, for the phenomenon, Molnár, 1994, and *EI2* art. 'Yada tash' (C. E. Bosworth).
[126] Boyle, 1972, p. 189; Kāshgharī, 1982, Vol. 2, p. 147; Molnár, 1994, p. 34.
[127] Boyle, 1972, p. 190; Molnár, 1994, pp. 43–4.

used their rain stone to raise up a snowstorm in the face of the Mongols, a weapon which was, however, turned back on the Naimans themselves by a change of wind.[128]

Thereafter, the use of weather magic, including that of the *jada*, became a much-used practice of the Mongols within the Islamic lands, with information not only available from the Islamic sources but also from such contemporary Western ones as Marco Polo, who mentions Tibetan and Kashmiri sorcerers employed by Qubilay to protect the Great Khan's capital of Shang-tu in northern China.[129] Subsequently, the Mongols of the Chaghatay khanate (see Volume IV, Part One, Chapter 13) used it in 1365 to conjure up thunder, lightning and torrential rain to defeat Timur, then at the beginning of his career of conquest.[130] In such a well-known Central Asian Turkish epic as *Manas* (see Volume IV, Part Two, Chapter 15, Part Five and, above, Chapter 23, Parts One and Two), Manas' companion Almambet produces fog and rain during a clash with the traditional opponents of the Kyrgyz, the Kalmuks.[131]

There is much evidence from more recent times of the shamans' use of rain stones and other weather magic practices over a wide zone of northern Eurasia, from the Chuvash and Kazan Tatars of the middle Volga region to the Buriats and Mongols. According to data collected by Russian ethnologists in the late nineteenth century, the Buriats used a kind of red stone (presumably some type of bezoar, a concretion found in the alimentary tract of certain ruminants) to induce the *zada* wind that brings rain or snow.[132] In the twentieth century, the authority on the Ordos Mongols of Inner Mongolia, Fr. Antoine Mostaert, described rain-making ceremonies in times of drought there, with the practitioners here assuming the role of ancient shamans and using a round, white stone the size of a pheasant's egg.[133]

It has been mentioned that, as Islam spread northwards from Transoxania, permeating the steppe-lands of Inner Asia, many sites sacred for the indigenous animistic beliefs continued to be venerated while at the same time being Islamized in varying degrees. Persisting shamanistic rituals and practices might now begin with the invocation of Allāh and various local Muslim saints (*awlīyā*, sing. *walī*), and help might also be sought from spirits for healing disturbed mental states and physical illnesses, these spirits now conceived as a variety of the Islamic *jinn*.

[128] Grousset, 1970, p. 207; Boyle, 1972, p. 190; Molnár, 1994, pp. 44–5.
[129] Marco Polo, 1902, Vol. 1, p. 301, cf. pp. 309–11; Molnár, 1994, pp. 48–9.
[130] Boyle, 1972, p. 191.
[131] Molnár, 1994, pp. 76–7.
[132] Harva, 1938, pp. 221–2; Molnár, 1994, pp. 96–7.
[133] Boyle, 1972, p. 192; Molnár, 1994, pp. 102–3.

The explicit *zikr* formulae of the Sufis (*zikr jahrī*) might be employed by shamans to facilitate the attainment of ecstatic states and then to effect cures or various magical operations, following the practice in this use of *zikr* of many extravagant Sufis of the class known in the Persian lands as *dīvāna*, or 'mad, possessed of spirits' (in the Turkish lands, this Persian term was often transformed into *dumāna, dubāna*). It is recorded that shamans jumped on the cupola of a yurt, licked red-hot irons and stuck daggers into themselves or a sufferer's body to the accompaniment of Sufi formulae like *Allāh hū!* or the Muslim *shahāda*, or profession of faith.[134] Among the Kyrgyz and the Kazakhs, some *dumāna*s, like the shamans, wore a headdress of swan's skin and feathers.[135]

A further syncretism of Sufi and shamanistic practices is seen in the merging of the Sufi adept's periods of abstinence and isolation, often of 40 days (*chilla*) (especially characteristic of such Sufi orders as the Chishtis of northern India and Afghanistan), with the initiatory ceremony for shamans, which involved prolonged seclusion within darkness while imbibing the shamanistic traditions, learning to use the drum for heightening ecstatic experiences, composing the shaman's own personal songs and chants, etc.[136]

Notable in the less formal religious practice of Central Asia is the role of women, excluded from participation in the more formal ceremonies of the Islamic cult (and by the rigorist Naqshbandis, even from being present at *zikr* ceremonies), who are prominent in saints' cults and in Islamized shamanism. Here it has been observed that, in recent times, a considerable number of shamans are women, and where the shaman is a man, his assistants are all females.[137]

Within the Buddhist lands of Inner Asia, the earlier hostility of Buddhism to shamanism, at the time when the two systems of belief were contending for people's souls there (see above, p. 805), tended to moderate and decrease over the course of time.[138] A flexible attitude of Lamaist Buddhism towards shamanism was especially notable in Tuva, Mongolia and the Buriat lands. The names of spirits in shamanism were assimilated to Buddhist deities; thus the Mongol god Gujir tengri, extensively worshipped, was absorbed into the cult of Mahakala. Shamanistic deities acquired Buddhist names and legendary biographies were created for them, explaining how the deity in question had accepted the Buddha's teaching after meeting a Buddhist saint. Thus the Buriat god Bukha noyon received the new name of Rinchin Khan and his iconographic depiction, and during the nineteenth century a Lamaist Buddhist chapel was built on the sacred rock marking the original site of Bukha

134 Basilov, 1987; Basilow, 1995; Zarcone, 2001, pp. 269–71.
135 Bayadeva, 1972, pp. 120–1.
136 Donner, 1946, pp. 225–6; Eliade, 1964, pp. 33 et seq.; Siikala, 1987, p. 211.
137 Zarcone, 2001, p. 271.
138 Diószegi, 1961, p. 202.

noyon's shrine.[139] In Tuva, Buddhist-shamanist syncretism is especially clear. Individuals called 'Buddha's shamans' (*burkhan böö*s) actually taught in some Lamaist monasteries, and their dress combined elements of the two systems of belief, with threads hanging down from the lama's hat resembling a shaman's headdress and covering the face.[140]

Pre-Buddhist traditions of a shamanistic nature persisted also in Tibet even into the nineteenth century. The Russian explorer Przhevalskii described the Tangut shamans (*saksa*s), who wore lamas' clothes, with a distinctive headdress of hair heaped up, twisted and piled up in a turban-like shape; they functioned, among other things, as rain-makers and still had a very great influence among the Tanguts of north-eastern Tibet.[141]

Finally, one may note, in the northern Inner Asian context, that a small, Manchu-speaking community in the Ili valley of northern Xinjiang, the Sibes, preserved shamanistic elements, including a consecration ceremony for shamans during which the novice shaman climbed a'magic ladder' made of sharp swords.[142]

A small and very isolated region, the Hindu Kush of eastern Afghanistan, was until the very end of the nineteenth century the home of Indo-Iranian peoples opprobriously called by the surrounding Muslims 'Kafirs', hence Kafiristan (after the Afghan conquest of 1895–6 and the conversion of the Kafirs to Islam, it was renamed Nuristan, 'Land of Light'). The Kafirs had an ancient and complex polytheistic religion, with a pantheon headed by the god Imrā. Shamanism was a part of this, and in the later nineteenth century, when European observers first penetrated the region, shamans enjoyed quite a high social position. Among the Shina-speaking peoples, the shaman (*dayal*) was aided by spirits (*peri*s). The shaman's initiation ceremony involved his *peri* taking him to the latter's land, where his body was cut open and his flesh and bones cleansed in a milky pond before the shaman revived and came back to normal life. At the opening of a shamanistic ceremony, the *dayal* inhaled the smoke of burnt juniper branches and went into a trance. He received queries on various aspects of life from those of his fellow-tribesmen present at the seance and reported the answers given by his *peri*; the *peri* had come to the shaman, been involved in a magical dance with him, and had taken the shaman's soul in flight over remote lands.[143]

How far Hinduism in India contains any genuine shamanistic survivals or intrusions is a complex question. Devotional trances where a communion between the worshipper and

[139] Mikhailov, 1979, pp. 130–1.
[140] Ibid., pp. 133–4, 169–72.
[141] Przhevalskii, 1883, p. 276.
[142] Pang, 1994.
[143] Robertson, 1896, pp. 376–433; Jettmar, 1975, pp. 277 et seq.

the deity may occur can be legitimately traced to a whole body of philosophical thought in the *bhakti* tradition (see Volume IV, Part Two and, above, Part Three). Similarly, the tantric's claims to supernatural powers (which probably mingled well with a possible local shamanism when transmitted through Mahāyāna Buddhism to Tibet) demonstrably go back to the Yogic-tantric schools of philosophy and have little to do with the world of spirits in which shamanism dwells. On the other hand, the belief that evil spirits take possession of persons and make them ill or mad is quite widespread among both Hindus and Muslims (the latter calling such spirits *jinn*s, like their co-religionists in the Turkish lands of Central Asia). Exorcists are therefore often called upon for assistance, but these do not usually come from the ranks of the established Brahmanic priesthood or the Muslim *ᶜulamā'*.[144]

Part Six

CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS CROSS-FERTILIZATION BETWEEN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE INDO-PERSIAN WORLD

(*J. Calmard*)

The decline of Muslim civilization, particularly after the Mongol invasions and the fall of the ᶜAbbasid caliphate of Baghdad in 1258, has too often been seen as evidence of cultural decadence continuing inexorably until the 'reform' (*islāh*) and 'renaissance' (*nahda*) movements which began in the late eighteenth century. While partly true of some regions of the Muslim West, this is not the case of eastern Islam where, despite historical vicissitudes, cultural life and philosophical movements continued to develop and were sometimes original and innovative. After being underestimated, the importance of the Sufi orders (*tarīqa*s) in the development of spiritual life has been reassessed and highlighted. Among other things, it enabled the Nizāri Ismāᶜilis to survive under the cover of Sufism and spread, above all in India and, to a lesser extent, in Central Asia. From the eleventh century onwards social, economic and cultural life developed on Perso-Islamic models in the vast 'Turco-Persian' region taking in Turkey, Iran, India and Central Asia.

[144] This last paragraph was supplied by Professor Irfan Habib.

The emergence of new powers in the early sixteenth century did not alter this context fundamentally, at least with respect to the circulation of people and ideas, and cultural cross-fertilization. The establishment in 1501 of the Safavid state accentuated the division of the Turco-Persian entity into hostile or rival powers: Ottomans, Safavids, Uzbeks and Mughals. In the east, the Timurid inheritance was divided between the last three of these dynasties. Political and religious cleavages, and above all the Safavid repression of the Sunnis, accelerated Persian migration to India, both to the Deccan and the Mughal empire, and to a lesser extent to Transoxania and Ottoman Turkey. The lives of these immigrants, known to us through some of their writings, tell us about philosophical trends, notably the continuing influence of Sufism. While Islamic cultures constantly diversified, we shall concentrate here essentially on the shifting scene of people, ideas, religious communities, movements and schools of thought along the major axes Iran–India–Central Asia– Russia.

The Safavid order itself (the *tarīqa safawiya*, 1301–1501) was at first Sunni but in the fifteenth century went over to a sort of 'Shi^c^ite' heterodoxy; the origins of the dynasty (1501–1722), founded through the militancy of Qizilbāsh Turkmen disciples who followed their young master-messiah Shāh Ismā^c^īl, and the imposition of Twelver Shi^c^ism, remain obscure. Despite the repression of Sunnism, especially the *tarīqa*s, from the time of Shāh Ismā^c^īl I (1501–24), Sunni resistance (often passive and subterranean) remained strong until the fall of the dynasty. Safavid Persia was marked by the influence of Sufism from Khurasan and Central Asia. The *tarīqa* of the Kubrāwis, founded in Khwarazm in the early thirteenth century, had been almost entirely supplanted in Central Asia by the Naqshbandis by the start of the fifteenth. Kubrāwi influence was maintained, however, through two branches that went over to Shi^c^ism. The messianic Nūrbakhshi sect functioned in Persia until the execution of its *murshid* (spiritual guide and master) Qawāmu'ddīn under Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76). It nonetheless remained influential there until the nineteenth century. An extension of the original Nūrbakhshi movement remained in Kashmir and persisted in the Baltistan ('Little Tibet') region until the nineteenth century. Saktari, near Bukhara, was an active centre of the original Kubrāwis until the eighteenth century. Another Shi^c^ite Kubrāwi branch, the Dhahābis, survived until the twentieth century in Shiraz.

The Naqshbandis are still an important Sufi *tarīqa* today. Born of the twelfth-century *tarīqa-yi khwājagān* (path or order of the 'masters') and founded in Bukhara by the eponymous Bahāu'ddīn Naqshband (d. 1389), in the fifteenth century the Naqshbandis came to dominate political and religious life in Transoxania and Khurasan under the leadership of Khwāja ^c^Ubaydullāh Ahrār (d. 1490), who had great influence with the Timurid authorities and people (peasants, craftsmen and merchants). Adroitly using the Islamic notion of 'protection' (*himāya*), he put in place a social and economic network that extended

throughout Transoxania, Turkistan and Khurasan, and even into Azarbaijan. Despite persecutions, Naqshbandi influence survived in Safavid Persia, especially in Azarbaijan, Qazvin, Sāva and Hamadan. Although the great *mujtahid* Majlisī (d. 1699) maintained that the sect had been eradicated in Persia, the Naqshbandis enjoyed a major resurgence in the nineteenth century, particularly among the Kurds (the Khālidi branch), where its importance has continued to the present day.

The great ^{c}*ālim* (pl. ^{c}*ulamā'*) Fazlullāh b. Ruzbihān Khunjī (d. 1521), a supporter of the Suhrawardis as well as the Naqshbandis, and a friend of Khwāja Ahrār, violently attacked the Safavid *tarīqa* in his *Tārīkh-i* ^{c}*ālam-ārāyi Amīnī* [The World-adorning History of Amīn]. After the accession of Ismā^{c}īl I he took refuge in Kashan in 1503, where he wrote his *Ibtāl al-bātil* [Refutation of Falsehood], a refutation of the Shi^{c}ite apologia entitled the *Kashf al-haqq va nahjd al-sida* [Exposition of Truth, etc.] by the Twelver *mujtahid* Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hillī (d. 1325). Khunjīwas refuted in his turn in a treatise entitled the *Ihqāq al-haqq va ishāq al-bātil* [Proof of Truth, etc.] by the Shi^{c}ite ^{c}*ālim* Nūrullāh Shustarī (reportedly martyred in 1610). This controversy kindled Shi^{c}ite–Sunni polemics and Sunni refutations (*radd*s) of Shi^{c}ism were written, especially in India.

Khunjī then took refuge in Bukhara at the court of Shaybānī Khān (1500– 10), where he wrote his famous *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā* [Book of Guests of Bukhara]. He became an adviser to Shaybānī Khān and stirred up his hatred of the Safavids. Aware of the growing importance of Turkish Sufi masters and to enhance the importance of his host country, Khunjī endeavoured to promote the funerary monument of the founder of the Yasawi order, Shaykh Ahmad Yasawī (d. *c*. 1166–7 in Yasi, present Turkestan). He urged Shaybānī Khān to make this 'Ka^{c}ba of the Turks' a centre of pilgrimage specifically for the Shaybanid realm, even comparing it to the al-Aqsāmosque in Jerusalem, shortly before it came under Ottoman control with Selim I (1512–20). Khunjīwas one of the many Sunni theologians who venerated the members of the Prophet's family (the *ahl-i bayt*) and the Twelve Imāms, particularly ^{c}Alī, in elegiac poems. The most famous of these adulators (*tafzīlī*s) among the Sunni theologians – at least for the success of his work in Persia – the Naqshbandi Sufi Husayn Vā'iz Kāshifī (d. 1504–5), composed the *Rawzat al-shuhadā* [Garden of Martyrs], a praise and lament for Imām Husayn and his followers, the martyrs of Karbala (680). This work gave its name to the popular Shi^{c}ite preachers (*rawza-khān*s) of the passion of Imām Husayn, who use it as a sort of breviary at Muharram ceremonies.

This veneration of the *ahl-i bayt* and the imams was also expressed in poetry by Shāh Ni^{c}matullāh Valī (d. 1430–1), founder of the Ni^{c}matullāhi *tarīqa* (Kirman, Mahan), a branch of which was established in India in Bidar, the Bahmanid capital, and remained Sunni. The Iranian branch went over to Shi^{c}ism and was favoured by the first Safavids,

though subsequently eclipsed. A Ni^{c}matullāhi from India, Ma^{c}sūm ^{c}Alī Shāh, restored the *tarīqa* in Persia in the late eighteenth century on doctrinal bases very different from the original Ni^{c}matullāhis. Having attracted a large audience, he fell victim to the hostility of the *usūlī* Shi^{c}ites (favouring *ijtihād*, or the clergy's capacity for interpretation) and was put to death in Kirmanshah in 1797–8. Despite such attacks by the Shi^{c}ite clergy under the Qajars (1795–1925), the Ni^{c}matullāhis managed to survive and then split into rival branches, one of which still survives in Iran and the West. The Ni^{c}matullāhis have no links with Central Asia.

As to the Muharram ceremonies, already widespread in the Turco-Persian region long before the Safavids, they developed in an original way in India where, however, they remained dramatized rituals and did not become performances of religious dramas (the *ta^{c}ziya*s/*shabīh-khwānī*s) as they did in Persia. Dramatized Shi^{c}ite rituals were introduced into Central Asia (Turkmenistan, Ferghana and Bukhara) by Persian elements in the late eighteenth– early nineteenth centuries. These rituals became dramatic performances (*shabīh*s) though the officiants refused to so designate them.

The *ta^{c}ziya* texts, most of which are anonymous, are a sort of collective devotional work. The same is sometimes true of the religious epics centring on the exploits of historical or legendary heroes, such as ^{c}Alī, Hamza, Iskandar (Alexander the Great), Mukhtār, Abū Muslim and Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya (half-brother of Imām Husayn, about whom proto-Shi^{c}ite sentiments and movements crystallized), which were widely disseminated throughout the Islamic East. Some of these epics, including the exploits of Abū Muslim and Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya, were censured and proscribed by some Twelver *mujtahid* clergy under the Safavids. They remained very popular in the Turco and Indo-Persian worlds, however. Grafted on to local legc the exploits of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya were widely disseminated in India, Malaysia, Indonesia and Central Asia. In addition to the Persian versions, various texts about this hero were composed in many vernacular languages, including those of the Turkic regions of Central Asia.

Contrary to an opinion widely held since the mid-nineteenth century, the imposition of Safavid Shi^{c}ism did not create a 'barrier of heterodoxy' between 'Twelver' Persia and Sunni Transoxania. The Uzbeks fought both the Safavids and one another in rival families, or against the Indian Mughals. Religious objectives were often used simply to justify exactions or abuses of power. Points of reconciliation or even convergence were provided, in particular by the above-mentioned devotion to the *ahl-i bayt* and by veneration at the tombs of the Imāms: that of Rizā, the Eighth Imām, in Safavid Mashhad, and of ^{c}Alī, the First Imām, in Mazar-i Sharif, near Balkh, a town held by the Uzbeks. People, ideas and merchandise continued to circulate, despite the dif- ficulties the Uzbeks experienced in

undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca. The symbols of Sunni–Shi^{c}ite differentiation were well-known to everyone. They could not obliterate the shared pride in a common cultural heritage centred not only on shared religious traditions, but also on the secular elements of culture, such as Persian poetry, which was part of a vast network of literary production that went beyond the Turco-Persian and Indo-Persian region.

Some literary men served as links between Transoxania, Iran and India. One of these was Muhammad Badī^{c}, a native of Samarkand who travelled in Safavid Persia for three years (1679–82). In Isfahan he met Muhammad Tāhir Nasrābādī, the author of a famous *tazkira* (anthology of poets): Nasrābādī was one of the models for Badī^{c}'s *Muzakkir al-ashāb* [A Recollection of (my) Companions], which he composed on his return to Samarkand. In Persia he went to cafés (*qahva-khānas*) and took part in poetic jousts (*mushā^{c}aras*) and religious debates about Shi^{c}ism and Sunnism. Another traveller-poet, 'Mutribī' Samarqandī, went to India and had discussions with the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr (1605–27), who spoke to him at great length about his ancestral attachment to Central Asia, Persian culture and Sufism, particularly the great Naqshbandi Sufi family of the Juybārī *shaykhs* (see below).

Indo-Persian culture, conveyed essentially by poetry, spread very widely in Central Asia and greatly influenced modes of thought. This was particularly true of the poetry of Bedil (b. 1644, Patna; d. 1721, Delhi). His parents were Turks from Central Asia, and his father died when he was a small child. This poet-philosopher and polyglot acquired wide knowledge by travelling and frequenting Hindu and Muslim mystics. He was an original thinker, is sometimes regarded as a proto-existentialist and is the most abstruse writer of Muslim India. He dealt with subjects that are unusual in Persian poetry: the origins and ultimate purpose of humanity, the world, and so forth. His considerable writings influenced Tajik and Uzbek literature until very recently. He was long ignored in Persia and even India but enjoyed what was virtually a cult following in Central Asia and Afghanistan, where he had numerous imitators.

In the India–Central Asia region, including Afghanistan, religious and political thought continued to be dominated by the influence of Sufism. The Naqshbandis remained the most influential in Transoxania and Xinjiang, despite old rivalries with other branches of Sufism, including the Yasawis, who continued to attract many followers among the Turks of Central Asia. Dominating political life in the Timurid kingdom at the end of the fifteenth century, Khwāja Ahrār set a precedent for profitable relations between the Naqshbandis and the reigning dynasties. His descendants had great influence over the Timurid Bābur (1483–1530) and his Uzbek rival Shaybānī Khān. Ahrār's descendants based in Samarkand formed a 'dynastic' group. Some emigrated to India where, with other

followers, they occupied important posts and obtained favours (without necessarily obtaining comparable influence), despite Akbar's devotion first to the Chishtis and then his indifference to orthodox Islam (*sharī^{c}a* or Sufi). Another Naqshbandi clan from Samarkand, the Dihbīdis, descendants of Khwāja Kāshānī, also known as Makhdūm-i A^{c}zam (d. 1542–3), who was the *murshid* of several Uzbek sovereigns, enjoyed great favour in both Transoxania and India. A third group of Naqshbandi *shaykh*s, the family of Khwāja Juybārī, based in Bukhara, also received favours from rulers in Transoxania and India, as is shown particularly by the sumptuous reception given by the emperor Jahāngīr to their *shaykh*, ^{c}Abdu'l Rahīm (d. 1628 in India).

With Bāqī Billāh (d. 1603), the Naqshbandi *tarīqa* was formally established in India. Bāqī Billāh was the mentor of Ahmad Sirhindī (1563–1624) (see Chapter 24), the founder of the Mujaddidis (Renovators), who separated themselves from Bāqī Billāh's descendants. Their way was not without difficulties, owing to Sirhindī's strong views on Shi^{c}ites and Hindus, and Sirhindīwas imprisoned by Jahāngīr on grounds of the excessive claims he made for himself. There was a fleeting phase during which favours were received from the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1659–1707). Shāh Walīullāh Dihlawī (1703–63) (see Chapter 24) injected new life into Ahmad Sirhindī's doctrine, while undoubtedly greatly modifying it. In the eighteenth century the Mujaddidis gained considerable numbers of followers, and their lodges spread throughout India, Afghanistan and Transoxania. This led in Central Asia to a renewed (*jadīd*) Naqshbandi tradition which refused blind imitation (*taqlīd*) and advocated the restoration of Muslim law (*sharī^{c}a*) based on a direct interpretation of the Qur'an and the *hadīs* (Islamic tradition). It was to have great influence in Bukhara, Samarkand, Ferghana and Afghanistan over reforming students and *^{c}ulamā'* (sing. *^{c}ālim*; scholars learned in the Islamic legal and theological sciences), including many Tatars.

After the blow struck against the culture of the Volga Muslims by Ivan the Terrible (1530–84) in the 1550s, intellectual exchanges between the Muslims of the Ural-Volga region and Transoxania intensified. The Russian policy of officializing the Muslim *^{c}ulamā'* applied under Catherine II (1762–96), with the establishment of the *muftīyat* ('Office of Opinions on Law') of Ufa in 1782 and the Spiritual Assembly of Orenburg in 1788, led the Muslims under Russian domination or influence to detach themselves from the Ottoman sultancaliph. Tatar students and *^{c}ulamā'*from the Ural-Volga region found their way back to the Bukharan *madrasa*s, outside the Russian orbit but at that time intellectually stagnant. Later they became, however, the promoters of an Islamic renewal long before that of the Middle Eastern reformers, Jamālu'ddīn Asadābādī 'al-Afghānī' (1838–97) and Muhammad ^{c}Abduh (1849–1905).

The most famous of these Tatar reformers, the *ᶜālim* ᶜAbdu'l Nasīr al-Qūrsāwī (1776–1812), who was influenced by the thought of Ahmad Sirhindī, was violently attacked by the conservative *ᶜulamā'* of Bukhara for his theological and legal views. He returned to his village near Kazan to work as a teacher (*mudarris*) at the local *madrasa*. Shihābu'ddīn Marjānī (1818–89) was the continuator and disseminator of Qūrsāwī's thought. Between 1838 and 1849 he studied in Bukhara and Samarkand with *shaykh*s who were very critical of traditional teaching in the *madrasa*s. When he returned to Kazan he took over and added to the work of Qūrsāwī, who had died prematurely. Occupying the important post of imam and *mudarris* (lecturer) of the Great Mosque of Kazan, he enjoyed the protection of several *muftī*s (jurists) and worked willingly with Russian public institutions such as the University of Kazan. Affiliated to the Mujaddidis, Marjānī was criticized for his innovative ideas by the conservative *shaykh*s of the Naqshbandi order, among others.

The need for emancipation and renewal eventually imposed itself in the Bukharan *madrasa*s frequented by Muslims from Central Asia and regions under Russian domination seeking arguments to combat the policy of Russification, especially in education. Quarrels between conservative or old elements (the *qadīmī*s) and innovative or modern elements (the *jadīdī*s/*jadīd*s or neo-*jadīd*s from the 1880s), sometimes expressed in pamphlets or religious controversies (*munāzara*s), led to political cleavages that persist in post-Soviet Central Asia.

Non-Muslim communities

Non-Muslim communities present in the Iranian world well before Islam survived as minorities in various regions. Legally protected as *zimmi*s on the same basis as granted to Jews, Christians and, with restrictions, Zoroastrians (*majus*), these *zimmi* minorities had nevertheless suffered numerous trials and tribulations, partly because of the legal constraints imposed on them, which were often accentuated in practice. On the other hand, in India, practice did away with a number of constraints that the *sharīᶜa* required. Respecting the diversity of religious beliefs, the emperor Akbar (1556–1605) in particular encouraged the translation into Persian of Indian secular and sacred texts (the *Mahābhārata*, the *Pañchatantra*, etc.) and in 1656 Prince Dārā Shukoh translated the *Upanishads*, thereby introducing these ancient texts of speculative philosophy for the first time to the outside world.

ZOROASTRIANS (PĀRSIS AND IRĀNIS)

After the Arab conquest, the Zoroastrians as a community were divided into Pārsis (Parsees) (in India) and Irānis (in Persia) but both continued to maintain contact with each other. Despite the interest taken in the latter by Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629), they were increasingly persecuted under his successors.

In the late sixteenth century, there was a remarkable movement under Āzār Kaywān (d. 1618), a Zoroastrian born in Iran who was much influenced by the *ishrāqī* (Illuminationist) philosophy. With a few dedicated and highly educated followers, he undertook an ambitious project to present the entire Zoroastrian heritage in an *ishrāqī* framework which also lamentably involved the invention of a false ancient Persian language (used in the *Dasātīr*). Āzār Kaywān and his followers migrated to India in Akbar's time and they produced the *Dabistān* [The School (of Religions)], a remarkable work on religious doctrines with an obvious inclination towards *ishrāqī* mysticism.[145]

Under the Mughals, the Pārsi community, mainly settled in Gujarat, prospered, thereby laying the foundations of its future cultural and economic importance. In the nineteenth century, the Bombay Pārsis effectively helped the Zoroastrian Irānis (at Kirman, Yazd, Shiraz and Tehran) financially and educationally.

CHRISTIANS

While Christianity had been widespread from the Sasanian period in the Iranian world, as far afield as Central Asia and India, it regressed considerably following the Mongol conquests and particularly after Timur's campaigns. In the fifteenth century, Nestorians (*nasturi*s) subsisted only in the north of Iraq and in Azarbaijan (Assyro- Chaldeans). One of the consequences of the Ottoman–Safavid conflicts was the deportation by Shāh ᶜAbbās I of a large Armenian community to the south of Isfahan (New Julfa), where they established important trade networks with Europe, Russia, India, etc.

In Persia, Catholic, and later Protestant, missionaries strove primarily to convert Christians belonging to various eastern Christian sects, and to a much lesser degree Muslims. There were polemics between Shiᶜism and Catholicism. Armenians saw their ancestral beliefs threatened by missionaries, especially richly endowed Americans. The Russians sided politically with the Armenians. Diplomatic friction was increased by rivalries between missions. British Anglicans sided with American Presbyterians, who hampered French Lazarist missions among the Assyro-Chaldeans. Muhammad Shāh Qājār (1834–48), backed

[145] Last attributed to a certain Mowbadshāh. See *EIr*, arts. 'Āzār Kayvān' (H. Corbin); 'Dabestān-e madāheb' (Fath Allāh Mojtabā'ī); 'Dasātīr' (Fath Allāh Mojtabā'ī).

by the Russians, forbade all conversions, of whatever type. In India, missionary activities by the Portuguese, and later the English, gave rise to Muslim-Christian, as well as Hindu-Christian, controversies. Christian missionary activities were beneficial, however, notably in the fields of education and medicine.

JEWS

Well represented in Persia ever since the time of Cyrus the Great, Jewish communities, which were variously treated by the political authorities, were scattered throughout the Turco-Iranian world, India and China. In Safavid Persia, beginning with the reign of Shāh ᶜAbbās I, the Jews were subjected to discriminatory measures and forced conversions. The persecutions continued, except under the reign of Nādir Shāh (1736–47). Under the Qajar dynasty, there were new, but short-lived, waves of persecution (1834–48, 1857).

The creation of the Safavid state had led to the isolation of the Jewish community of Central Asia as compared with that of Persia. In the sixteenth century, Bukhara became their principal centre, where they were joined by Jews from the territories that were disputed between the Safavids and the Shaybanids. In the seventeenth century, following the establishment of the Jewish district in Bukhara (*mahalla-yi kuhna*, or 'Old District'), persecuted Iranian Jews took refuge in Transoxania. Under the emirate of Bukhara (1747–1920), cut off from their roots and under pressure to convert to Islam, the Bukharan Jews were no longer capable of running their own community. Upon his arrival in Bukhara in 1793, a Moroccan rabbi, Rabbī Yosef Mamān Maghribī (1752–1823), introduced reforms, replacing in particular the Khurasani rite by the Spanish rite, and established a training centre for rabbis.

Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, a second Jewish district (*mahalla-yi nau*, or 'New District'), followed by a third, Amirābād, which also came under the community's jurisdiction, were established in Bukhara. By the eve of the Russian conquest in the 1860s, this Jewish community had established a dual administrative and religious system, directed by a *kalāntar* (mayor) and a *mullā-yi kalān* (grand mullā), the same person occasionally exercising both functions, and here the Persian terminology reflects the crosscultural influences among the religious communities. In the 1830s and 1840s, the Jewish community in Bukhara was visited by Joseph Wolff (1795–1862), the son of a rabbi converted to Anglicanism, who preached among Jews, Christians and Muslims all over the East, the Ottoman empire and India.

In India Jews suffered from practically no restrictions. The Iranian Jewish community produced a figure, Sarmad (d. 1660), who made a niche for himself in Indian history. A rabbi, he left Judaism and came to India and his knowledge of Hebrew enabled his pupil

Abhai Chand to translate the Book of Genesis into Persian in 1655 (reproduced *in extenso* in the anonymous *Dabistān*). He wrote powerful mystic poetry and was executed in Delhi in 1660 for his outspoken views on religion.

CONCLUSION

The Editors

The fact that the narrative of this volume closes at about A.D. 1850 means that with it the full story of pre-modern Central Asia is in the reader's hands. The next volume will deal with how colonialism brought Central Asia under its dominance, making it an adjunct to the global requirements of the industrial system of the West; and how the twentieth century saw social changes of a revolutionary character and the sweep of national liberation. These momentous movements constitute for Central Asia the real modern age; many of these can be explained only by events, economic factors, and ideologies on a global scale. The difficult task of summarizing these movements belongs to the Editors of Volume VI. But now that, to the best of the contributors' ability, the history of Central Asia from the earliest times to the eve of colonial dominance has been presented in the first five volumes, we may fittingly look back not only at the period covered in this volume, but at the entire pre-modern history of Central Asia and the constant evolution of cultural diversities – and unities – within it.

UNESCO, in its Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001, has recognized how cultural pluralism is important not only for the due observance of human rights, but also for any real development in both the material and spiritual spheres. The framers of the project of the present *History* firmly realized that while Central Asia is a definable geographic area, it has always been home to diverse cultures: they were, therefore, careful to entitle the series *History of Civilizations of Central Asia.* Central Asia is not unique in having had a multiplicity of cultures: what makes its study of particular value, however, is the great degree of multiplicity within it and the extensive periods of time during which such multiplicity can be studied.

Homo erectus arrived here about 2 million years ago, as demonstrated by the 'Oldowan' tools found at Riwat, in Pakistan. One of the earliest sites of animal domestication in the world is Aq Kupruk in northern Afghanistan (which could not, unfortunately, escape aerial bombing in the recent war): sheep were domesticated here by 10000 B.C. Among the first sites to give evidence of agriculture is Mehrgarh in Pakistan, with cereal cultivation dating back to 7000 B.C. Finally, among the town-based civilizations in the world, two of the earliest arose in Central Asia, viz. the Helmand civilization (in eastern Iran and Afghanistan) and the Indus civilization in Pakistan and north-western and western India, both flourishing around 2500 B.C. Central Asian routes already carried cultural influences across thousands of kilometres: thus the Kashmir neolithic (type-site, Burzahom), 2800–2000 B.C., has

demonstrable affinities with the earlier Yangshao culture of northern China, 5100–2900 B.C.

The known linguistic history of Central Asia may be said to begin early in the second millennium B.C. with the languages of the Indo-European family (mainly the Indo-Iranian branch) spreading across all parts of Central Asia with the exception of what is now Mongolia. The Iranian linguistic dominance over Transoxania and the surrounding steppes was to survive until well after A.D. 500, and two isolated Indo-European languages called Tokharian A and B persisted in Xinjiang (western China) until the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. In southern Central Asia, notably in the Indus basin, a Proto-Dravidian group of languages, linked by recent research to Proto-Elamite of south-western Iran, probably existed before the Indo-European intrusion, but was in time overwhelmed by it.

These linguistic changes took place in a period when towns appear to have decayed in Central Asia and writing seems to have been largely abandoned following the collapse of the earlier Bronze-Age cultures. A revival began after 600 B.C., notably with the construction of the Achaemenid empire in Iran, and the rise of the warlike Saka (Scythian) communities of the steppes, which have left behind some splendid artefacts of their own. To this cultural revival, Alexander's invasions added a substantive Hellenistic colour, with Greek becoming so much the lingua franca that the Kushans, believed originally to be a Yüeh-chi tribe moving from western China, used Bactrian, an Iranian language for speech, but wrote it in the Greek script. Roman influences spread along routes traversed by the Greeks, and the effect of this is apparent in the remarkably Hellenistic Gandhara art in Pakistan of the first and second centuries A.D.

In the religious sphere, it was Buddhism from India which became dominant in the early centuries of the Christian era throughout most of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Xinjiang. Central Asia was probably the main initial springboard for Buddhism to reach China; and the famous Chinese pilgrims, Faxian (Fahsien, travelled 399–413) and Xuan Zhuang (Hsüan Tsang, travelled 629– 45), passed through Central Asia on their way to India in pursuit of Buddhist scriptures. Buddhism's own contribution to the Central Asian heritage in art and literature has been considerable. The Bamiyan Buddhas and paintings in the Bamiyan caves (the former wantonly destroyed in 2000) are celebrated throughout the world. Manichaeism, or the creed of the Iranian prophet, Mani (216–76), also made converts in Central Asia so much so that its texts today survive mostly in Sogdian, the Iranian language of Transoxania. The state which represented to later generations the ideal organization of sedentary hierarchy was that of the Sasanian empire (208–651), which reached the apogee of its power under Anushirvan or Khusrau I (531–79). This was the classic age of Zoroastrianism, which established (or re-established) itself in Khwarazm and Sogdiana

(Transoxania), often forcibly supplanting Buddhist *vihā ra*s (monasteries) by its own 'fire temples'.

Within two centuries of the middle of the first millennium, two events occurred which were ultimately to alter substantially the linguistic and religious map of Central Asia. The first major event was the Turkic migrations. The Turk empire (553–682) was built by peoples who originated in Mongolia and then established their hegemony over most of Central Asia, so that the limits of their vast steppe empire marched with those of China, India, Sasanian Iran and the Byzantine empire. The Turk empire collapsed, but the migrations of the Turkic tribes eastward continued. One of the unique accompaniments of the Turkic migrations was the spread of their language. Their predecessors from the Altai regions, the Wusuns, the Huns and the Hephthalites, have left no linguistic imprints of their own, and no words or names of their original languages have survived. The Turks, on the other hand, used Turkic already in the celebrated Orkhon inscriptions in Mongolia in the eighth century; and the Uighurs, in Mongolia and Xinjiang, partially converting to Manichaeism, wrote Turkic texts in an Aramaic-derived script from the ninth century onwards. Spreading out westwards from Mongolia, the languages of the Turkic family came to be spoken by a majority of people in Xinjiang and the present Central Asian republics of the former USSR, excluding Tajikistan. Outside Central Asia, Turkic languages are spoken in Azarbaijan and Turkey; and there are Turkic-speaking minorities in Afghanistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Russian Federation. Turkic apparently spread first in the steppes, but by the eleventh century it was beginning to be widely spoken on the edge of the sedentary zone. By 1500 it had become the language of a number of Sarts, or sedentary populations, within Transoxania; and the fifteenth century saw the rise of a rich literature in Eastern Turki (Chaghatay). How far the language spread through a replacement of the indigenous populations by Turkic migrants and how far through voluntary acceptance by local non-Turkic peoples, subjugated by Turkic rulers, will long remain a matter of debate, though one can assume that both processes must have occurred.

The second major event after the middle of the first millennium was the spread of Islam, following the Arab conquests of the seventh and early eighth centuries. Practically all Central Asia south of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) passed under Arab control, the Chinese advance into western Turkistan being checked by the Arabs at Talas in 751. Conversions to Islam accompanied the Arab conquests, though it is likely that the majority of the people in Transoxania were converted only slowly, and even by 1200 most of the Turkic tribes of the steppes remained unconverted. The Arab conquests brought about a considerable destruction of Iran's ancient heritage, but there was a revival which started under the Samanids in Transoxania (tenth century). A large store of Hellenistic learning was received through the

medium of the Arabic language and led to a great flowering of science and philosophy in Iran as well as in Transoxania. The eleventh century saw in those lands two of the greatest names in pre-modern science: Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) (980–1037), physician and philosopher, educated at Bukhara, and al-Bīrūnī (Alberuni) (973–1048), mathematician, astronomer, physicist and the first Indologist, a native of Khwarazm. Later, the eleventh and twelfth centuries gave Islam one of its greatest theologian, al-Ghazālī (Algazel) (1058–1111), and the philosopher al- Rāzī (1148–1209), both from north-central and eastern Iran. The tenth century brought a revival of Persian, and Firdausi (*c.* 930– *c.* 1020), a native of Khurasan, composed the *Shāh-nā ma[*Book of Kings], the celebrated national epic of the Iranian people. Persian (Dari) henceforth became the main literary language of most parts of Central Asia inhabited by Muslims, even where popular spoken languages were different; and it retained this position until the mid-nineteenth century.

The thirteenth century witnessed what may be regarded as the most dramatic event of the pre-modern history of Central Asia: the creation by the Mongol conqueror Chinggis Khan (1206–27) and his successors of the most extensive empire ever in the Old World. At its greatest extent, it included practically the whole of Central Asia, besides China, much of West Asia and Russia. The destruction wrought by the Mongols has long been seen as a great setback to the historical development of the subjugated peoples. The pendulum in the popular perception seems now to have moved somewhat the other way, and Chinggis and the Turco-Mongol empire-builder Timur (Tamerlane, 1370–1405) are held to be national heroes in their native lands. It is, true, however, as V. Barthold argued, that the Mongols greatly encouraged longdistance trade, making Central Asia the major crossroads of international commerce. Concepts and devices passed from one civilization to another under Mongol hegemony: if China received Arab astronomy, it passed on the knowledge of gunpowder, coal and printing to the rest of the world. Crosscultural fertilization could be seen at its best in the universal multi-volume history of Rashīdu'ddīn (d. 1318), prepared under Mongol (Ilkhānid) patronage, and written in Persian and Arabic. The Timurid prince Ulugh Beg (d. 1449), who ruled Samarkand, built a celebrated observatory there; and at the Timurid capital of Herat in the late fifteenth century there developed a great school of painting, which showed clear Chinese influences.

The 350 years with which the present volume deals found Central Asia politically divided into fairly stable units. Gunpowder seems to have tilted the balance against cavalry, so that the period of the large steppe empires was now over: the Dzungar empire (1632–1755) of the Oirat Mongols was the last such polity. The linguistic and religious boundaries also became fixed more or less where they are today: the Muslim Mongols (Moghuls) ceased speaking their tongue and were absorbed into the Uighur population;

but their homeland, north of the Tian Shan was occupied by the Oirats, who spoke Mongolian. In the religious sphere, the two notable changes were the triumph of Shi^{c}ite Islam in Iran (which included, from 1510 onwards, most of Khurasan) and the conversion of practically all the Mongols to Tibetan Buddhism in the late sixteenth century.

This summary of the history of Central Asia before 1850 does scant justice to the many complexities, movements and events that cannot even be mentioned, let alone described, in a short compass. What we have been concerned with, however, is to show the enormously rich and diverse cultural influences that have been at work in Central Asia, modified and refreshed by the native genius of its peoples; and Central Asia has conversely given much of its own cultural wealth to other parts of the world. The latter aspect has not, perhaps, been brought out as adequately as we might have wished in our *History* since our attention has naturally been focused on what occurred within Central Asia: what it contributed to the world is, however, no less important.

In shaping the cultural diversities of Central Asia, the natural environment played its due part; and the relationship (both complementary and antagonistic) subsisting between the nomadic steppe communities and the sedentary peoples makes one recall Ibn Khaldūn's dictums about the part this relationship has played in history. But there is another historian whom one recalls here. Marc Bloch, who died a martyr for France, laid profound emphasis on 'comparative history'. How the same influences affect differently placed societies, and how similar institutions perform different functions under different environments, form the stuff of which comparative history is made. Central Asia offers unending examples from all aspects of its history for the comparative historian to investigate.

Amidst all diversity, elements of intercultural intercourse still stand out. An eleventh-century Persian-speaking Khwarazmian, the wise al-Bīrūnī, shows us by his great work on Indian religion and sciences how a different culture needs to be studied with sympathy and in a scientific spirit. This message finds an endorsement nearly a millennium later in UNESCO's own Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of 2001, which treats 'cultural diversity and international solidarity' as two inseparable objectives of human endeavour. Our *History* will have served much of its purpose if its readers find that while its narrative fully recognizes the growth of cultural differences, and, indeed, the reality of conflicts and oppression down the ages, as much in Central Asia as elsewhere, it does so without bias and with a firm conviction that diverse cultures have their own distinct shares in the common heritage of all humankind.

MAPS



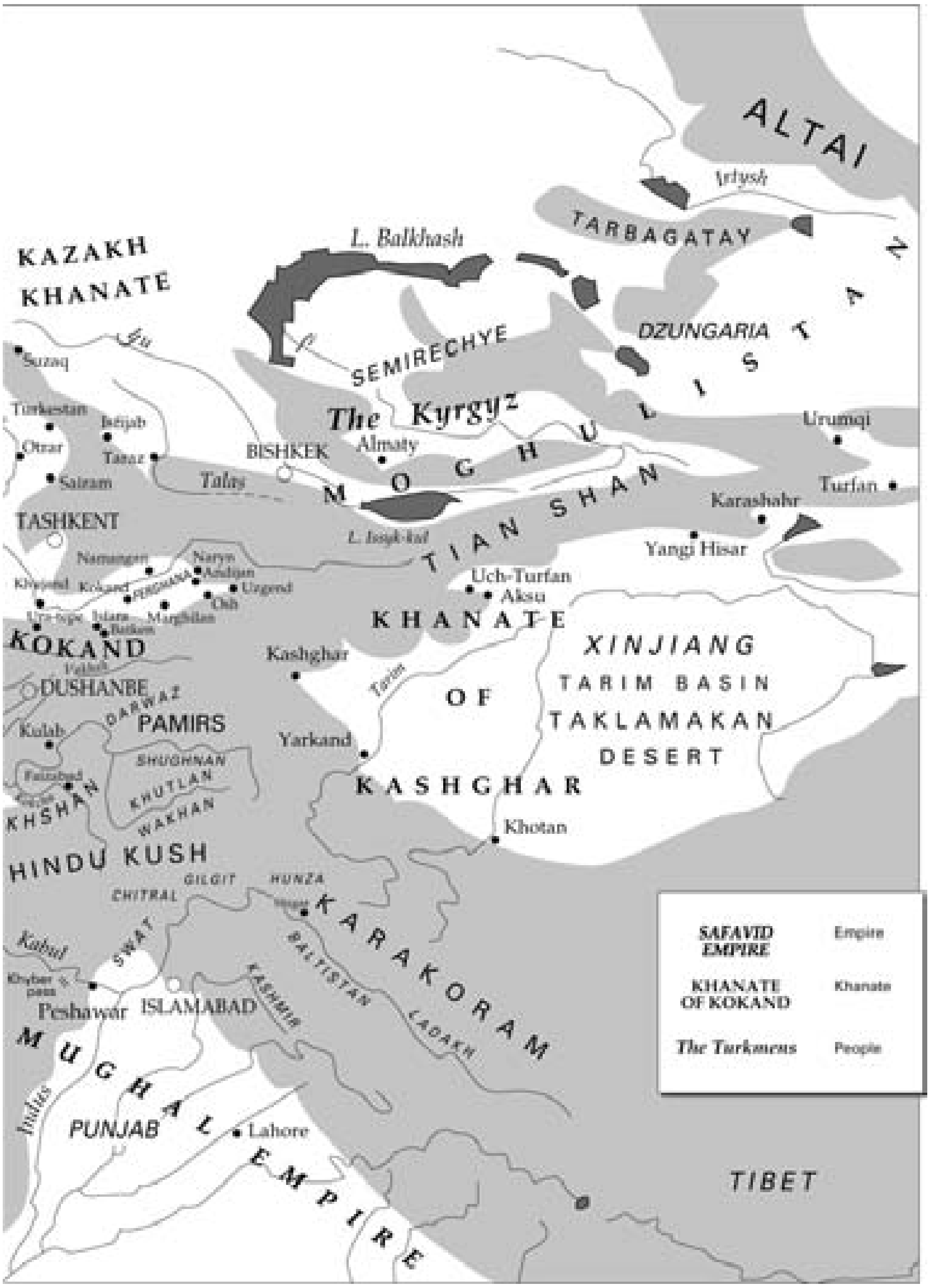
MAP 1a. General map of Central Asia (1500–1850).



MAP 1b. '*Continued.*'



MAP 2a. The khanates of Central Asia.



MAP 2b. '*Continued.*'



MAP 3a. Eastern and northern Central Asia: the Dzungar expansion.



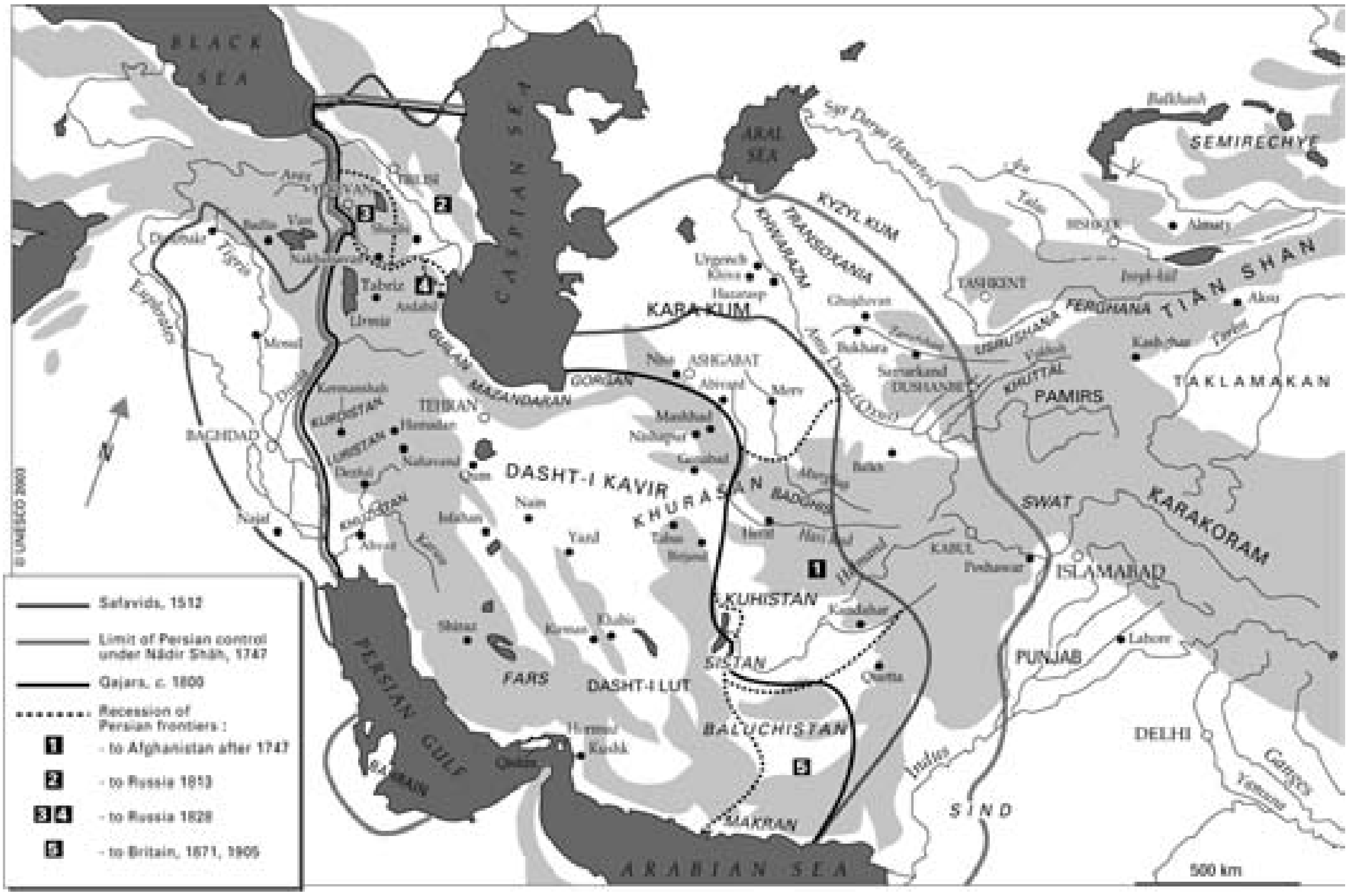
MAP 3b. '*Continued.*'



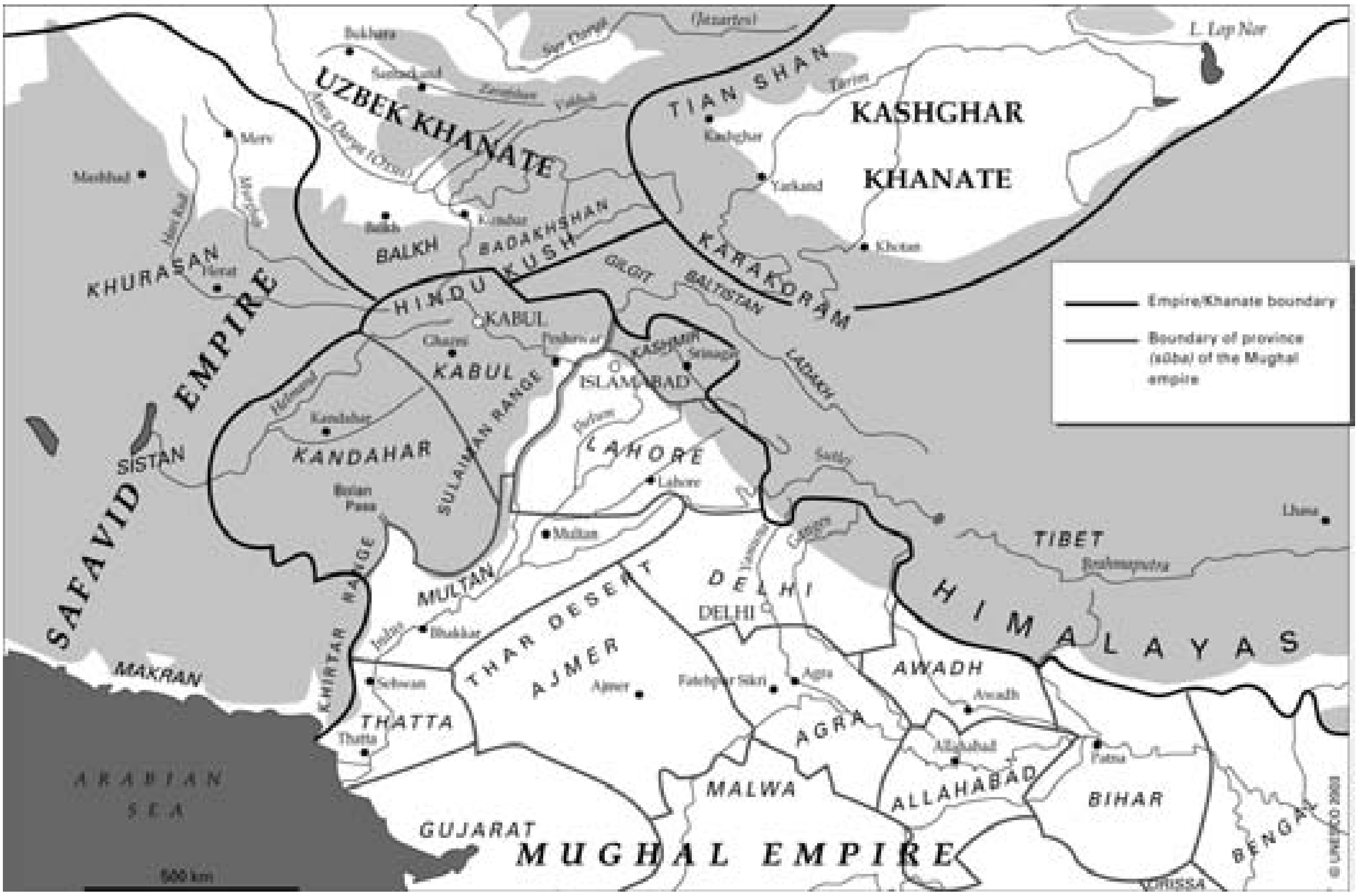
MAP 4a. The Mongols after the fall of the Dzungar empire.



MAP 4b. '*Continued.*'



MAP 5. The changing frontiers of Iran.



MAP 6. The Mughal empire and its neighbours ‘1605’.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AVPRI = Arkhiv Vneshney politiki Rossiyskoy imperii [Archives of the Russian Foreign Ministry], Moscow

BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London

EI^2 = The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., Leiden

EIr = The Encyclopaedia Iranica, London/Costa Mesa, Calif.

GMINV = Gosudarstvennyi Muzey iskusstva narodov Vostoka, Moscow

IOSASU = Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Tashkent

Izvestia AN UzSSR = Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Uzbeskoy SSR, Tashkent

LOII = Leningrad Department of the Historical Institute

MIKKh = Materialy po istorii Kazakskikh khanstv v XVI–XVII vv, Alma-Ata

MIUTT = Materialy po istorii Uzbekskoy, Tajikskoy i Turkmenskoy SSR, Leningrad

PSZ = Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoy Imperii s 1649 goda. Sobranie pervoe s 1649 po 12 dekabrya 1825 goda. 1830. St Petersburg. 42 vols.

PSZ vtoroye = Sobranie vtoroe s 12 dek. 1825 po 28 Feb. 1881. 1830–81. St Petersburg (idem 1825–81). 55 vols.

RGADA = Rossisykiy Gosudarstvenniy arkhiv drevnikh aktov [Russian Government Archives], Moscow

SPBFII = Sanktpetersburgskiy filial Instituta istorii [St Petersburg branch of the History Institute], St Petersburg

TIIAE AN KazSSR = Transactions of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Kazakh Academy of Science, Alma-Ata

ZIRGO = Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo obshestva [Transactions of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society], St Petersburg

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CHAPTER 5

Editorial note (C. Adle)

The two main sources to which the author refers are as follows:

1. 1. Henri de Couliboeuf de Blocqueville, 'Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans (1861–2)', *Le tour du monde*, 1866, pp. 225–72. The paper has highly interesting drawings about Turkmen life, including some of their fine jewellery.
2. 2. A. Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia. Being the Account of a Journey from Teheran across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva and Samarcand Performed in the Year 1863*, London, 1864.

Muraviev's travel account has been translated into English from its German edition, see:

N. Muraviev, *Muraviev's Journey to Khiva through the Turkoman Country*, *1819–20*, tr. W. S. A. Lockhart, Foreign Department Press, Calcutta, 1871. It has been reprinted with additions by the Oguz Press in London: Nikolay Murav'yov, *Journey to Khiva through the Turkoman Country*, 1977, London.

Another highly instructive travel book on the Turkmens is: E. O'Donovan, *The Merv Oasis, Travels and Adventures East of the Caspian during the Years 1879–80–81. Including Five Months' Residence among the Tekkés of Merve*, London, 1882, 2 vols. An interesting anthology of explorations by various authors is also available in English, see: *The Country of the Turkomans*. 1977. With an introduction by D. Cumming, Oguz Press, London.

A study of the social organization of parts of the Turkmens can be found in: W. Irons, *The Yomut Turkmen: A Study of Social Organization among a Central Asian Turkicspeaking Population*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1975.

On the important shrine (little known outside the Turkmen world) of the prophet Khalid (Halet Nebi), funerary costumes and the walls in the east of the Caspian (such as the Alexander Wall) see: C. Adle, 'Investigations archéologiques dans le Gorgân, au pays turcoman et aux confins irano-afghans', *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, eds. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and R. Dor, 1992, pp. 177–205, Paris.

On Turkmens in general, and especially those living in Iran as seen by a Turkmen from Iran, see: Amīn-Allāh Gulī, *Seyrīdar tārīkh-e sīyāsīva ejtema'ī-ye Torkamanha* [A Review of the Political and Social History of Turkmens], Tehran, 1366sh/1988. The book contains unpublished

documents, extracts of poems by Turkmens, interesting remarks on Turkmen clans and tribes, etc.

For sources in Persian on the Turkmens, see Chapter 10 below.

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CHAPTER 7

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CHAPTER 15

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CHAPTER 22

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CHAPTER 23

Note: Exhaustive bibliographies for literatures in the Turkic languages of Central Asia during our period will be found in S. Kleinmichel, *EI*², which the reader is advised to consult.

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GLOSSARY

a^{c}dā-i dawlat enemies of the state
^{c}ādat custom, customary law
adras cotton-weft yarn
ahl-i bayt members of the Prophet's family
ahl-i hadīs people following the Prophet's teachings
ahund Chinese rendering of Persian *akhūnd,mullā*; Sufi practitioner
akin poet in Kazakh
a^{c}lam most learned
alban tribute paid by the peoples of southern Siberia to the Dzungars
^{c}ālim see *^{c}ulamā'*
amānat hostages, lit. 'what is left in trust'
amban Chinese administrator
amīn trustee
amīr (pl. *umarā'*) commander, governor, prince; in Mughal empire, high *mansab*-holder
amīr al-mu'minīn commander of the faithful
amīr-i kabīr great emir
amlāk-dār estate-holder
^{c}aql reason
arat free nomadic pastoralist
^{c}arūz classical Arabic and Persian verse metre
āshnā friend or acquaintance
ātābeg lit. tutor, whence ruler of vassal domain
atālīq tutor, regent
aymaq tribe or army corps
aywān portal in a mosque
baghmal (bakhmal) silk velvet
bahāriyyā poem celebrating spring
bairāgi renunciant in Hinduism
baoli stepped cistern
barāt decree; order, often for payment; exemption from tax; free passage
batir (bahādur) champion, warrior
bayt couplet
beg (bek,bey) commander
beylik area ruled by a
bhakti loving devotion
bogatyr hero, warrior
bostān garden
byaz (bayāz) white, blank
chahārbāgh garden divided into four parts; classic 'Mughal garden'
chārsu 'four directions' – buildings at the intersection of two streets
chaspak gypsum
chaudhurī (qānūngo) semi-hereditary local financial official
chavdar (chaldar) glazed cotton
chhatri kiosk
chīt (from Hindi *chhint*) chintz, printed cloth, block-printed textile
chogchin Tibetan monks' main assembly temple
chörten Tibetan stupa
chulgan assembly
dādkhwāh official in charge of receiving complaints of injustice from the population
daftar tax-register
dahr infinitely extended time
dahriya atheist
dakhma plinth
dallāl broker
darūgha superintendent
darwāza gate
dāstān tale, epic
dastārkhwānchi court official, lit. 'spreader of the banquet-cloth'
dehliz vestibule

demchi (in Mongolian) inspector
dharmsālā the place of righteousness; inn established out of charity
dhimma status granted to 'People of the Book', principally Jews and Christians
dīwān collection of poems; revenue minister
*dīwān-i a*ᶜ*lā* head of the revenue and finance department
fals (pl. *fulūs*) copper coin
faqīh (pl. *fuqahā*) theologian
faqīr s the poor or indigent
fatwā religious legal opinion
faujdār commandant of a district in Mughal India
fiqh Islamic law or jurisprudence
gach gypsum
ger Mongol rectangular tent, with tent poles at each end
gereh geometric calligraphic decoration; 'knot' decoration
ghazal ode
ghāzī fighter for the faith
gol tribal design on rugs
gul flower, rose
gul-dasta turret
gulkurpa wall niche cover
gūr-khāna see *ziyārat-khānagurū* teacher; the Divine Preceptor
hadīs the traditions and sayings of the Prophet
hajj pilgrimage to Mecca
hākim governor
hākimbeg anyone in authority, governor
haqīqa truth
hauz pool, cistern
hikmat scientific learning, philosophy
himāya support, protection
ijāra revenue-farming
ijtihād-i mutlaq absolute authority of interpretation
ikat pattern weave with tie-dyed yarn
ilhām God's message
ᶜ*ilm-i bātin* mystic science
ināq chief minister
*iqtā*ᶜ land grant, revenue assignment; see also *suyūrghāl*
ishān-ra'īs headman of the gentry
ishrāq the philosophy of effulgence, Illuminationism
*isnā-*ᶜ*asharīyya* Twelver Shi ᶜism
ittihād oneness
jadīdī (jadīd) 'new', innovative or reformist
jāgīr territorial revenue assignment; territories assigned to nobles in the Mughal empire
jāgīrdār holder of land grant; holder of territorial revenue assignment, usually renewable
jaisang (in Chinese, *caixang*) chief minister
jasak chief official under the Ming dynasty
jasaq noyan in Mongolia, banner prince from among the noble *taishi*s
jihād holy war
jizya poll tax on non-Muslim 'People of the Book'
julkhyr long-pile carpet
jūybār quarter which produced
ikat fabrics
kāfir infidel, used for a non-Muslim other than Jews and Christians, and – by convention – also other than Parsees
kalām dialectical theology
kalāntar mayor; notable; prominent man; headman
kāravānbāshī caravan leader
karbās (karpās) fine cotton
kārīz (kārez) system of transferring irrigation waters through underground channels
kārkhāna manufactory, workshop
kārvānsarāy caravanserai
kāsaba guild
khālisa (*khāss*) ruler's personal domain
khālsā community
khānaqāh hospice; dervish convent
khāss see *khālisakhazāna* treasury
khazānchī beg official responsible for administration of the fields and grain taxes
khoja see *khwājakhongtaiji* supreme ruler in eastern Central Asia
khutba in Islam, Friday sermon
khwāja (*khoja*) mystic
kitāb-khāna court library
kumiss (*qumis*, *qumiz*) fermented mare's milk
lāla guardian

lingā phallus
madrasa college for higher instruction in the religious and other sciences
mahall residential quarter
mahzar statement of testimony
majlis court; literary session
mansab numerical rank that determined the salary in the Mughal empire
maqām musical mode
maqsūra screened-off enclosure in a mosque
marsiya elegy
mashā'iyya Peripateticism
masjid-i jumca Friday or congregational mosque
masnawī poem in couplets
maydān open square
mihrāb prayer niche
milk (pl. *amlāk*) state land; privately owned land
*mi*ᶜ*mār* architect
minbar pulpit in a mosque
ming-bāshi commander of '1,000' [troops]
mīr-ākhur master of the stables
mīr-shab official in charge of night duty
misgar coppersmith
mudarris lecturer, teacher
muftī jurist
mughulī Uighur script
muhtasib market inspector; teacher
mujtahid jurist
mujtahid al-shucarā chief consultant on poetic matters
mukhammas verse of five lines, pentameter
munāzara theological or philosophical controversy
munshī chancery secretary
muqaddam headman, military commander
muqaddama introduction to a work
*muqatta*ᶜ incised, carved
*muraqqa*ᶜ compilation of a work
murīd follower
murshid spiritual guide and master
musallas verse of three lines
musammat stanzaic form of poetry
*mushā*ᶜ*ara* poetic contest
mushrif supervisor, overseer, inspector
mustazād a kind of Persian poem
*mut*ᶜ*a* in Islam, temporary marriage
muwahhid monotheist
muwashshah strophic poem
muzahhib illuminator, gilder
nāib deputy
naqqāra-khāna drum-house
naqqāsh painter
naskh a variety of Arabic script
nastaclīq sloping or curving style of script developed in the fifteenth century for writing Persian
naukar soldier, military retainer
nazīra response to a poetic challenge
ney-qalam calligrapher's reed pen
nisba gentilic name; name indicating family origin, profession, locality
noyan noble, a Mongol word, which appears in Persian as *nūyīn*, prince, noble
oblast modern Russian term for district, province
otoq tribe, clan or military camp in Mongolia
paranja veil
pargana sub-district
parvānachi state finance secretary
pīr spiritual master
pishnamāz prayer leader
qabīla tribe
qalam-mu animal-hair artist's brush
qalamdān pen-case
qālib stamp
qānūngo see *chaudhurīqasīda* eulogy
qazan cauldron
qāzī judge
*qit*ᶜ*a* short poem
qoshun territorial administrative unit in Mongolia
qurchī-bāshī cavalry commander of the Qizilbāsh
qush-begī lit. 'chief of birds', 'commander of falconers'
qyshtym Turkic tribe living in the taiga in Siberia
ra'īs headman Ramazān Muslim month of fasting
rauza garden tomb

ribāt caravanserai, frontier post
risāla treatise, epistle
rubā^{c}ī (pl. *rubāciyyāt*) quatrain
sadr (pl. *sudūr*) eminence, prominent religious leader
saj^c rhymed prose
sangat Sikh congregational worship
sardāba covered water reservoir
sardār leader; commander
sarkār in India, district of a *sūba*; territorial division; nobles' administrative establishment
sarmad eternity, endless duration
sarrāf money-changer, banker
sarrāf-khāna money-changer's mart
sayyid descendant of the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima
sharī^{c}a Islamic law
shaykh headman, tribal leader
shaykh al-islām principal theologian
shaykhiyya mystical sect
Smriti Brahmanic legal text
sūba province in the Mughal empire
suburgan stupa in Mongolia
sudūr see *sadrsulh-i kul* Absolute Peace
suls (*thuluth*) a variety of Arabic script
suyūrghāl land grant, lit. gift; see also *iqtā^c sūzangar* needle-worker
taiji ruler in eastern Central Asia
tāj-i heydari headgear of the early Safavid rulers' troops
tanga silver coin
tāq arched and domed building
taqlīd following traditional beliefs and customs
tarīqa Sufi path; Safavid order; brotherhood
tazkira anthology of poets
thuluth see *sulstillā* gold coin
tümen military unit of '10,000' among the Mongols
^{c}ulamā' (sing. *cālim*) scholars learned in the Islamic legal and theological sciences
ulūs familial or tribal domain in Mongolia
umarā' see *amīrurud* Mongolian handicraft worker
ustād master
usūl principle
wakīl deputy, regent
walī (pl. *awlīyā*) saint
waqf religious endowment
waqf-nāma deed of endowment
wasīqa deed of purchase
watan-jāgīr permanent assignment held in *jāgīr* in the Mughal empire
wazīr vizier, minister
wei Ming frontier post
wen unit of Chinese currency (50 *wens*=1 *tanga*)
wilāyat province, administrative division
yanglian salary for public officials
yasaq tax, tribute; code of Mongol law, attributed to Chinggis Khan
zakāt alms-tax in Muslim law; also road tax, customs, etc.
zamān time
zamīndār local hereditary chief; holder of hereditary superior rights over land in India
zandānīchī fine cotton or silk
zij astronomical work comprising tables
zikr remembrance formulae
zikr-khāna house for the performance of Sufi ritual
zindān prison
ziyārat-khāna (*gūr-khāna*) shrine, tomb

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